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THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH BEFORE CHRIST INCARNATE.

VVritten by RICHARD MONTAGU
late Biſhop of NORWICH.



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ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΩ,

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HANC SUÆ ΕΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΗΣΕΩΣ HISTORIAM, AB INITIO RERUM ARCESSITAM, per totam οἰκονομίαν in carne, usque ad glorioſam in cœlos ἀναβίβασιν, cum bono Deo continuandam & deducendam,

RIC. MONTACUTIUS,
SERVORUM MINIMUS,
ET
INUTILISSIMUS,

Perpetuæ gratitudinis ἀντίδοσιν L.M.D.D.
CONSECRATQUE.



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ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHVRCH BEFORE CHRIST *Incarnate*.

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1 THE Church, as it is called and intended in the Acts and Monuments of Antiquity, is a State and Society of men upon earth, profeſſing one faith: Relying on one hope: Serving one God Lord and Father of all: Confeſſing one Saviour and Redeemer of all, Chriſt Jeſus Incarnate: the Son of God, made the Son of man: the ſeed of the woman; borne of his mother in due time: according to *purpoſe*, before all time, according to promiſe in the beginning of time: to Predictions, and Propheſies from time to time: to expectation of the Fathers from time to time: who ever profeſſed as they hoped that he who ſhould come, would come, and bring Redemption unto his people. Of the Church

2 This Church, ſo qualified, diſpoſed, and deſigned, is, as it was a body Collective, conſiſting of parts, and is made up out of many diverſe Portions, Parts, and Conſiſtences, and for Indowments, Adornments, inter-communicative one with another, in, and concerning thoſe many illuſtrious and inlarged priviledges of Grace, which are appropriated onely into the Church of the Redeemed, and belong unto none, nor bee imparted to any, but to ſuch as are within the Pales of the Church. What it is.

Καὶ γὰρ δῆμος ἡ Ἐκκλησία, πολλοὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἄθροισται, ὡς ἓν ὄντες τὸ σῶμα, τῇ μιᾷ κλήσει καλοῦνται ὑπὸ τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ, Just. Mart. Cum quibus communicamus jus Pacis, & fraternitatis nomen: una nobis & illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramentum; semel dixerim, Una Ecclesia sumus: ita nostrum est, quicquid nostrorum est. *Tertul. de velandis Virginibus cap.* 2.

In which state of preferment and high favour with God, and advancement above others, the sons of *Adam*, all the severall particular members of this so collective standing Body, though infinite in number, distinct in place, dispersed in time, different in condition; yet but one, a totall, complete Body, commonly called and knowne by the name of *Church*; which consisteth, as all ordered Societies and Corporations doe, of Head and Members, in combination one with another.

Christ the Head thereof.

3. *Christ Jesus Incarnate* is *Head* thereof. None beside him, none with him. Two *Heads* upon one *Body* make a Monster in Nature; and as prodigious is it in state of grace. *Head* of the *Church* is none but *Christ*. An Head, in nature and notion of the thing and words importment, is supreme Paramount unto, and over that *Body whose Head it is*. It is folly to give a bare title without substance, and it is high intrusion upon the *Right* and *Royalty* of Christ Jesus for any man to intitle himselfe Head of the Church: it is *Christs interest* as he is *ours*; flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone; not as he is God, but as he is man.

None but he.

He as Man.

For an Head must be con-naturall and co-essentiall with the Body, and so, which it is not otherwise, co-existent with the Body. Christ then, who was God, *Blessed for ever*, who was *equall to the Father as touching his Godhead, for us men, and for our salvation, came downe from heaven, made himselfe of no reputation, became subject to our infirmities, underwent death, the death of the Crosse*, a shamefull, painefull, accursed death: to free us from the curse of the Law he undertooke the restoring of the ruines of mankind, by sin *undone* and *forlorne* in the *fall of Adam*. In his owne words delivered we have the cause of his coming into the world, *To seeke and to save*, τὸ ἀπολωλὸς, *whosoever was lost in Adam*. This was Gods purpose in eternity.

Who came to save.

It is *cœtus evocatus*, called forth by God.

4. This was the cause originall of Christ Jesus mission and commission, out of Gods mercifull inclination, who *would* that *all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of himselfe*; who *loveth all things which he hath made, and hateth nothing which he hath created*, and

All.

therefore *would not the death of a sinner, but that he repent, returne, and live*. A generall intent, true and sincere, doth not annull or impeach a particular and more reserved purpose. And hence it is we reade of

Who are in the Church.

people of acquisition, of *appropriation*, of *approximation*, taken from the *totall lump* and *masse of mankind*. Such was Israel in the dayes of old, such are now the *Called by grace* to participation of God in Christ. *Ecclesia*, the Church, is a word derived of ἐκκαλεῖν, to call forth; they are *Cœtus evocatus* who live therein. Out of this dispensation in eternall purpose the Apostle asserteth, God is *Saviour of all, but especially of the Elect*. All within the Church have interest in the *Communion of Saints*, partake of those heavenly indowments by Christ conferred upon his Church, but not *all* in *one sort*, in the *same degree*: it is *exercitus ordinatus*, an army ordered and disposed of. Measures are different,

as

as merits are divers. God is not alike unto every man, nor ſtands every man affected unto God alike. *Munera divinitùs conceſſa*, ſaith *Auguſtin*, *partim ſunt propria Electorum, ſicut in hoc tempore infatigabilis charitas, & in futuro vita æterna; partim vero cum malis & perverſis communia, ſicut omnia cætera, in quibus ſunt & myſteria ſacroſancta.* Thoſe gifts which God imparteth from heaven, are partly peculiar unto his Elect, as Charity indefective in this time of our life, and in the world to come everlaſting life: partly they are communicated to wicked men and perverſe, as all things beſide thoſe, and amongſt thoſe all things the holy Sacraments of the Church. *Lib. 5. de Bapt. c. Donat. ca. 27.*

This *Combination* and *Society of men*, ſo *known* and *called* by the name of the Church, hath not come together or conſorted in one, at all adventures, as it hapned; nor yet out of ſome private, temporall, or collaterall reſpect, as other Societies and Corporations of men have done; but after divine Preſcience and Predeſtination hath beene more ſpecially fore-ſeene, fore-knowne, fore-appointed, called forth by God himſelfe, as the very name given to that *choice Society* doth imply; and ſeparated from the promiſcuous multitude and maſſe of ſuch, as deſcending from *Adam* by propagation, loſt in him, and by him, *themſelves* and *theirs*; what they were, what they had, when he tranſgreſſed that law of obedience which God had tendered him, and laid upon him for a triall, having the promiſe of life annexed for obedience, and death denounced as wages due to ſin for diſobedience. The Church of Gods appointing.

Ἐκκλησία καλεῖται σεμνύμως, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκαλεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμοῦ συνάγεσθαι. *Cyril. Hieroſol. Cat.* 18. τὸ ἀθρόισμα ἐκλέκτων ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ, *Clem. Alex. ſtrom.* 17. ubi tamen legendum eſt ἐκλέκτων.

5. This *Cœtus evocatus*, or Society of Saints, called forth by God, hath ever bin endowed and inveſted, as God in goodneſs and wiſedome did thinke fit, with many great, large, and honourable priviledges and prerogatives, not generally imparted to all mankind, but reſervedly conferred upon themſelves alone. The Churches Prerogatives.

6. Amongſt all Societies it is moſt Ancient, and therfore moſt honourable for Antiquity. πᾶν ἀρχαῖον is αἰδέσιμον: we commonly call Antiquity, as it is indeed, venerable. It is a phraſe with approbation, *Senectutem authoritatis habet*, in *Tertullian*, gray haires carry great reſpect. An *old State* it is, elder then Kingdomes and Monarchies on earth, which were not heard of till after the Floud. It was a conſiſting Corporation before any Cities built up, whereof *Cain* is remembred to have beene firſt Founder: for it began in *Adam*, when the world began, who was the *firſt man* made upon earth in the day of his Creation by the *hand of God*; then when he *built him up out of the duſt, and breathed into his noſtrils the breath of life*. For in the firſt day of his Creation he made the *woman* out of the *man*, and brought *her* unto *man* to be his *wife*, making them *two* to be *one fleſh* by combination, in a myſtery fore-deſigning the union betwixt Chriſt and his Church. Antiquity.

Eccleſia Dei, quæ eſt populus Dei in ſtitus vitæ peregrinatione, antiqua res eſt, *Auguſt.* τὸ ἐκλαμβάνειν συναλίσθαι ἰδίαν ἀρχὴ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἁγία Ἐκκλησία, *Epiphan. To.* 1. 16. 1. Prima fundamenta congregationis Eccleſiæ ſtatim ab initio rerum ſita ſunt: unde & Apoſtolus dicit ædificari Eccleſiam, non ſolum ſuper fundamenta Apoſtolorum, ſed etiam & Prophetarum; inter Prophetas autem numeratur *Adam*, *Origen. hom.* 2. *in Cantic.*

Church. Before which conjunction of man and wife, man himſelfe was ſo framed, that he had correſpondency with God himſelfe: for he made him according unto Gods own *Image* and *Similitude*, and that more wayes then one; ſomewhat in degree *lower then Angels*, the eldeſt of the workes of Creation; but in honour and prerogative ſuperiour to Angels: for the ſon of God, the ſecond Perſon, Creatour of all, tooke not in time the nature or forme of Angels, but tooke upon him the nature and forme of *man*, by union hypoſtaticall and inſeparable; who when he made man out of the duſt, tooke upon him humane ſhape by temporall diſpenſation, wherein afterwards hee often appeared to the Patriarchs and Prophets; *his delight* being *to be*, as the Scripture phraſeth it, *with the ſons of men*.

Man made in the *Image of God*, what.

Of whom it conſiſts.

7. And further, man did by the grace of Creation partake with the nature and Being of Angels. For our better part, *the Soule*, is an *Eſſence ſpirituall*, as *Angels are*; *eviternally* ſubſiſting, and immortall as Angels are: So man is companion of, and in Society joyned with the Angels: they and he, through grace of combination, are together united, incorporated, and knit in one Society of *holy ones*, by God, having commerce interchanged one with another in the day of their firſt Creation; together both ſerving God, the *common Father* and *Lord of all*; but ſo, as the perfection of men in their ſervice is ſubordinate unto, and directed by, addreſſed unto the ſervice of Angels, in the courſe of their kind, in that Petition conceived by our Saviour in the Lords Prayer, *Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven*; by us men, as by Angels.

The difference of men and Angels in the ſtate of Production.

8. In ſtate of perfection and production men and Angels were unlike; Angels were made and produced *all at once*, infinite in number, eminent in nature, tranſcendent for endowments many wayes; man was made ſolitary, and alone by himſelfe, none with him, none beſide him, til *woman* was built up out of man, from his ſides, his ribs, and given, intentionally, an Helper unto man, though ſhe proved, as many doe, otherwiſe unto him in concluſion. *Adam* and *Eve*, thus made man and wife, did build up the whole fabrick of mankind, multiplying ſucceſſion from time to time; and by ſuch their multiplication, repleniſhing the earth farre and neere, being root originall and foundation of *all* who came after in their ſeverall generations, to continue together in that courſe of *kind* till time ſhall be no more, in the finall conſummation and end of all, where there is no marriage, nor giving in marriage.

Mans propagation.

The Churches twofold exiſtence and twofold conſideration.

9. This ſacred Society, which we call the Church of the redeemed by the bloud of Jeſus, (for Angels are of an higher ſpeculation then our hiſtory of the Church will reach unto) hath a *twofold exiſtence*, and ſo a *double conſideration*, for time and place; in earth, in heaven; in this preſent world, and that which is to come; *in agro, in horreo*, ſaith Saint *Auguſtin*, in the field, and in the floore; *in illius temporis puritate*, *in iſtius temporis mixtione*; that is, mixed here with chaffe, off-corne, tares; then after threſhing, fanning, winnowing, cleanſed from what is not good corne: militant in earth for this life preſent, but regnant and triumphant

Infelix lolium & ſteriles dominantur Avenæ.

triumphant in heaven, for the life to come. Which heavenly ſtate and being for holy Saints, is far removed out of our ſight, and comes not under our ſpeculation. The being, ſtate, condition of them there, their manner of exiſtence, and ſubſiſtence in divine diſpenſation, is a ſecret to us on earth: For *It doth not yet appeare what we ſhall be*, it is laid up with God in ἀπορρήτοις, in the Reveſtries of eternity; themſelves, Inhabitants of thoſe *Tabernacles of peace*, are οἱ ἀπόκρυφοι, the *laid up, and treaſured ones of God*, as the Septuagint tranſlate the word, *Pſal.* 32. The Angels of Paradiſe, the bleſſed ſoules in glory, the ſtate of that Church which is regnant there, be of an higher contemplation, then our preſent Church-ſtory will reach unto, which doth not exceed this preſent world.

10. But as men and Angels now enjoying the preſence of God, and evermore beholding his face in glory, make up one part of the Church Catholique, that better part which we call Triumphant: So Angels and men, in the day of their creation, were parts and portions of one entire Totall, and both made up that generall collective body of the Church, in communion relative unto God, and communion of ſociety and combination with themſelves. Which band of mutuall union and aſſociation, is that which the Creed calls *Communion of Saints*, riſing up by degrees, from leſſe to more perfection, and finall (at laſt) conſummation: diſcontinued in Time, divided in Place, but ſtill, and evermore united in Affection: Confederate in one and the ſame end, Eternall happineſſe to be enjoyed with God in heaven. The Angels members of the Church.

11. Before the creating of man upon earth, millions of Angels, created in glory, and ſubſiſting with God in place of bliſſe, abandoned that firſt and originall ſtate, which they did then enjoy, and might with their Maker have enjoyed for ever. This act of Apoſtaſie, and averſion from God, inſtantly enſued their firſt creation, it was *irrecoverable*, and their ſin *impardonable*; *God ſware unto them in his wrath, they ſhould never more returne unto his reſt.* For that one act of rebellion and diſobedience, God threw them everlaſtingly out of heaven: They are and ſhall be ever ταρταρωθέντες, as the Apoſtle phraſeth it, caſt into, and irremediably detained in chaines of outward darkneſſe, unto the judgement of that great day. Fall of Angels. οἱ ἄμαχοι κρίσεως ὄρκοι, Mortal. ἐς ἀλωβήτους καὶ ἀφθάρτους αἰῶνας.

12. This breach in cómunion, by the fall of Angels, in the Church, then conſiſting in the higheſt heavens, God againe repaired, and made up, creating man, purpoſely made and framed by him, to ſucceed unto the ruines, which Angels by their fall had made in the Church, that *City of God*. This advancement of Man, bred envy and malice in the Angels to Man: *Stirpem, & genus omne nepotum exercent odiis*, and continue implacably ſo affected, as that they would, were it poſſible to doe ſo, defeat and fruſtrate the eternally purpoſed counſel of Almighty God concerning man, in procuring a totall, and finall deſolation of Man-kind, in enlarging the ruines of repaired grace; inducing Man, made for ſupply of their fall, to ſin againſt his Maker, Repaired in Man. Hence their malice.

Maker, as themſelves had done, and to tranſgreſſe that Law of Triall and Obedience, which he gave them. So *Adam* our Progenitor made a forfeit of his eſtate preſent; and with him, in him, by him, all Man-kind ſucceeding, then in his loyns, afterward in proceſſe to be derived from him, were utterly undone and forlorne for ever, caſt into a maſſe of fearfull deſolation, wherein they lay plunged every mothers child, without meanes of recovery by or from themſelves, or hoped for deliverance from that ſpoliation.

Man fell, and was reſtored: but Angels not, and why.

13. But impoſſible with man, is poſſible with God: God paſſed by, to uſe the words of the Prophet *Ezech.* 16. 6. and beheld man *polluted in his bloud*, and ſaid unto him, *Yet ſhalt thou live. Oh the height, and depth* (ſo that great Apoſtle, the ſearcher of the ſecrets of Eternity, *Rom.* 11. 33. ſtood at gaze) *of the goodneſſe, mercy, and love of God! How unſearchable are his judgments, and his wayes paſt finding out!* The Angels found no favour at his hands: Why ſo? Wherefore? Who can ſay it, who never were enformed by God himſelf thereof, and therefore not peremptorily to be inſiſted on? Yet not contrary to piety, but ſtanding with analogie and proportion of faith, the reaſons of ſome Schoolemen are not rejectitious. Firſt, there was an original difference in and betwixt the ſtate and condition of men and Angels; ſo that from their firſt creation, of Angels ſome might poſſibly ſtand, and others might fall, becauſe they were produced all at once; which in men could not be ſo, becauſe their *kind* was by courſe; they were to be ſupplyed by Propagation, and ſucceſſively to iſſue all out of one root: and thus, if *Adam* had remained *ſtatu quo* he ſtood in, by his fall, Gods counſel had been fruſtrated concerning man, appointed *to repaire the ruines of Angels* in their fall. Secondly, the Angels fell of themſelves, their own accord, without ſuggeſtion or temptation of any enemie, or Oppoſite from abroad; but Man was ſeduced and deceived by the Devill; that Tempter drew him on, to tranſgreſſe by falſe ſuggeſtion. So there was a maine difference in the meanes and manner of their fall, as much as *inter* voluntary, and ſurreptitious ſins, by miſtaking or misbeliefe. Thirdly, both Man and Angels fell away through pride; both deſiring to be as the moſt High, Soveraigne to themſelves, and independent; yet there was in this ſin, common unto both, a diſproportion in their offence, and ſo a diſcongruity in their puniſhment. In height of pride, through reflected contemplation of their owne large indowments, Angels would be like to God, in Omnipotency, which is an Attribute proper, and incommunicable. Mans deſire was but for Omniſcience, which is not of ſo high a pitch as the other. The humane ſoule of our Saviour, through union ſubſiſting, and hypoſtaticall, attained unto it in the dayes of his fleſh. Againe, the Angels, from the inſtant of their creation, actually *beheld Gods face in glory*, having the indowment of *Intuitive knowledge*, by which they could not miſcarry out of ignorance, miſpriſion, or miſ-conceit, but ſin they did of malice and ſet purpoſe. This was not mans caſe in ſtate of Innocency,

Alex. Hales p. 3. q. 1. m. 2.

cency, or nature entire, as not then conſummate, nor come unto the top of his utmoſt perfections to be obtained. And laſtly, *Hoc Angelis caſus, quod hominibus mors*, Fall was to them, that which Death is to us; a ſtate permanent and unchangeable: out of which they are immutably to continue in that caſe whereinto they have wilfully plunged themſelves, and drew many after them into deſtruction, whom juſtly God hath left unto their owne wayes; providing yet better things for *ſome*, in a gracious ſeparation, and calling forth unto the Church, and means of ſalvation, there to be had and afforded, not elſewhere or otherwiſe.

Man-kind divided in *Cain* and *Abel*.

14. This difference & diſtinction made, and yet maintained by God in Mankind, univerſally forlorne and undone in *Adam*, began at the beginning in the houſe of *Adam*, and enter his two ſons, *Cain* and *Abel*, who firſt of all came into the world by ordinary courſe of kind and propagation. *Abel*, the younger, found favour with God, accepted of him, and out of acceptation was preferred by him, before his elder brother *Cain*. Prerogative of grace was conferred, though *Cain* enjoyed prerogative of nature. He was ranked firſt in the ſociety of Saints, and ſtands firſt upon the liſt and Kalender of thoſe holy ones of God, ſo diſpoſed by warrant of Chriſt Jeſus himſelfe, in his denunciation of vengeance againſt the Jews, *From the bloud of the righteous Abel:* and ſecondly, he hath the honour done him by God, to be put before his elder brother *Cain*, as *Philo* and *Ambroſe* have obſerved. *Abel* was a keeper of ſheep, and a tiller of the ground. Probable it is, as *Philo* obſerves, that firſt the elder brother undertook the trade of tilling the ground, and then *Abel* the younger went to his trade of keeping ſheep. But even in Temporalls, howſoever the wicked have precedencie in time, as commonly they have, and of place too, yet with God, the righteous are preferred in dignity and in honour.

Non eſt otioſum, quod cum ante generatus ſit Cain, prælatus ſit Abel, ne ille ſit ordo nominis, qui eſt naturæ. Τὶ δήποτε πρεσβύτερον ὁ ἀγαθὸς τῷ Κάϊν ἢ Καὶν πῶ τῇ τάξει μετατέθεικεν, ὡς τῇ φυτικῇ διαμαρτύρεσθαι φύσιν, καὶ ἢ τῇ τοῦ ἄρχειν. ἔκλυε γὰρ λέγω. ἢ μὲν πρεσβύτερον φύσει εἰς γεωργίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἢ δὲ νεώτερον εἰς ὃν ἢ ἢ φυλάττων ἐπιμέλειαν. *Philo.*

Τὰ χθόνια πρεσβεῖα οἴεται ὁ γεωργός, τὰ δὲ οὐρανίου πατρὸς ὁ Ἄβελ. *Philo.*

Their offerings.

15. Theſe brethren, the firſt-born of Man-kind, having diſpoſed themſelves in and to their ſeverall trades, it came to paſſe, in proceſſe of time, that they brought their oblations unto the Lord, of the increaſe which accrued out of their labours, according to duty and awfull reſpect unto the Lord. For Man was not made to look upon heaven, nor to enjoy the pleaſures, profit, and fatneſſe of the earth alone, but to ſerve God *duely*, to honour him *devoutly*, to magnifie his goodneſſe and bounty unto man, by whom man ſubſiſteth, and is what he is; from whom he hath and enjoyeth whatſoever he hath. We render not to God, as ſtanding in any need of us or ours; nor by way of recompence or ſatisfaction: For what can we doe to ſatisfie him, but by way of recognition and acknowledgement of our bounden duty? We give him a Tribute, as belonging to him, out of that which we have by him, and enjoy as his. So much *Abel* ſincerely intended, and fully performed in that Oblation which he brought unto

unto him. It is ſaid, that *He honoured God with ſacrifice*; not onely that *he brought an Oblation to God*; which *Cain* alſo did, of the *fruit of his ground*, ſome Apples it may be, or eares of corne which came next to hand without choice: And therefore his Perſon and Oblation were both diſreſpected, as they deſerved: For ſuch difference, as ſucceeded in event, muſt needs ſuppoſe difference in the premiſſes. Not for quality of kind, or condition of the gift, as if God tooke more pleaſure in cattel then corne, becauſe they are naturall and propagate without the labour, or induſtry, or invention of man: of which ſort, the fruits of the ground are not: which is an idle Jewiſh conceit of *Ioſephus* in his Story.

Ὁ μὲν θεὸς ὁ ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἥδεται τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῖς αὐτομάτοις, καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γεγίνεσιν τιμιώτερα δ' ἀλλ' ἃ τοῖς κατ' ὄπωσιαν ἀνθρώπῳ πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ ζῆλον πεφυκέναι. *Ioſeph. a. Antiq. 3.*

The diff rence and occaſion of their oblations

16. *Cain*, for his courſe, did the ſame that *Abel*: He brought an Oblation, as *Abel* did, performing in ſo doing an act of ordinary worſhip and ſervice of God, in uſe and practiſe, in thoſe primer times. It was no *Will-worſhip*, as we call it, nor voluntary ſervice taken up, as it happened, nor derived out of their owne braines, but taught and directed them by their father *Adam*, who doubtleſſe was ſo inſtructed by God himſelfe. God gave him directions *how*, and *what* to doe in his ſervice and obedience, upon his reſtauration after his fall: and he, as was his duty, delivered to his children that which himſelf had received from God, that they might obſerve it in doing their duties, and tranſmit it by practiſe to poſteritie. It is a rule of Piety and Religion undeniable, God muſt not be ſerved by us Contingently, but Indiſpenſably, and in that ſort as himſelfe hath preſcribed and ſet it downe. No ſelfe-willed or taken up Religion will content him, but ſuch onely as for which we have his warrant. I confeſſe we doe not reade that *Adam* himſelfe perſonally, brought any Sacrifice or Offering to the Lord: But I anſwer, *It is not written*, is no proofe *It was never done*. Few things are written that *Adam* did, much was done by him privately, perſonally, publiquely, and exemplarily, in that long courſe of his life above nine hundred yeeres. Nor can it be conceived or ſaid of him, but that in ſome ſort or other he *ſerved God*, and that his ſervice was accepted of by God. 2. That what he heard & learned from God about his ſervice, either mediately, or by mediation of intervening Angels, he carefully and diligently taught his children. As God was his Creator and Author of his life and being, ſo was he Lord and Directer of his life and ſervice, and himſelfe the like unto his children. It ever was, and ſtill is the indiſpenſeable duty of Parents, to teach their children the way to ſerve, worſhip, and honour God: and doubtleſſe *Adam* was not defective therein, after ſo great benefit of reſtauration.

The one accepted, the other not, why.

17. So that thus far, for giving to God, and offering unto him, *de ſuis*, a part of what they had, and by him they enjoyed, they differed not. *Cain* knew as well as *Abel* what he had ſeene, heard, and learned alike, that to offer was his duty, expected from him, and required of him, or he would not otherwiſe have done that at all, which

which he did performe, though he did it *ill*. *Rectè* therefore *obtulit*, he offered well, in doing what he ſhould: he gave unto God, to God alone, the onely true God, Creator of heaven and earth, no ſuppoſed, falſe, ſubintroducted God or Gods, which then were none, nor was Idolatry heard of in the world; but *non rectè diviſit*, He divided not aright, betwixt God and himſelfe: becauſe his heart was not upright with God. God therefore conſidering his untoward and depraved heart, did not behold his Offering, nor looke upon his Perſon with reſpect, though what he gave, he brought with a full purpoſe and intent, to give it to God: therefore it is not ſaid of him, as of *Abel*, that *he honoured God*, but barely, that *he brought an Oblation to God*. Originally, God is no more honoured with Sheep, Lambs, Oxen, Goats, then he is with Corne, Wine, Oyle, or other fruits of the earth. For all be alike, the *good things of God:* all go along with that *Elogium Creaturæ*, and *Loe every thing which God made was exceeding good*.

Τὴ σκαιότητι τῆς γνώμης σφετέρων ὁ θεὸς, ἐπ' αὐτῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐφέρετο τότε δῶρα αὐτῷ, ἐσπάσατο καίπερ ἐν σεβάσεως σπουδαίοις. Ibid. Peluſiot. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 230.

18 And yet, though I approve not *Ioſephus* opinion before remembred for any ſuch difference in themſelves unto God, yet I conceive and apprehend a difference in them, as Oblations, as applied unto God in his ſervice. So the ſacrifices of *Abel*, for his Oblation was a reall ſacrifice from the increaſe of his Flock, was in it ſelfe a more acceptable, not onely accepted ſervice, then were fruits, the Offering of *Cain*. For ſacrifice, in *ſhedding of bloud*, was the principall ſtaple, ſtanding Service of God in Nature, as well as under the Law, referring directly and in kinde, unto that Great, Al-ſufficient, Expiatory ſacrifice of Chriſt, a Lamb without ſpot, therefore ſaid to be *ſlaine from the beginning of the world*, in ſhedding, and offering up his owne blood upon the Croſſe, an atonement for the ſins of all the world: *In*, *for*, *by*, which only ſervice, by him ſo performed, all ſervice is accepted, and not otherwiſe; without either wine, oyle, or other fruits of the earth, all expiation under the Law, was with Blood: but without ſhedding of blood, *Abels* Offering, there was no atonement under the Law. *Sacrificium omne viſibile, inviſibilis Sacrificii Sacramentum fuit*. Every viſible ſacrifice (ſo S. *Auguſtine*) was a Sacrament, or Repreſentation of the inviſible ſacrifice of Chriſt, *De Civ. Dei. Lib.* 10. *Cap.* 5. The nature of their ſacrifices.

19 For Cains *Rectè obtulit*, but *Non rectè diviſit*, He offered rightly, but divided not aright: betwixt God and himſelfe he made no juſt or proportionable diviſion. He dealt fraudulently with God, and gave him not his due; that implies firſt, He gave not himſelfe to God: which is the true, juſt, and right courſe of ſerving God: who doth not as men doe, *Accept the Giver for the Gift, but the Gift for the Givers ſake*. Firſt, he ſhould have given *ſe* himſelfe; and then *de ſuis*, of his ſubſtance. For ſo is Gods demand according to his minde, *Fili, da cor*; My ſon, give me thy heart, Thy ſelfe; then will follow without asking, Whatſoever thou haſt: this is good diviſion: and makes *Cains* ſacrifice, how defective.

makes a perfect gift. *Abel* did ſo: Firſt he gave *Himſelfe*; and then *de ſuis, ſua*, that which he had. Nothing was too good, or too deare for God. The firſt, the beſt, the choyceſt, the principall, the fatteſt, and faireſt of his flock. Πρῶτα, πρωτεῖα, πρωτογενήματα, τὰ σίατα, τὰ τιμιώτατα, τὰ ἐξαίρετα, πρωτότοκα. as the Grecians have ſtyled *Abels* Oblation, becauſe he gave it with a *willing minde*, a *ſingle heart*, a *ſimple good intent*: and therefore with a *cheerfull eye*, and a *liberall hand*: But *Cain*, becauſe he gave not *ſe*, himſelfe firſt, therefore he divided not his *aright*; ἡ θυσίαν ξημίαν ἡγάμενος, conceiving of his Oblation as a loſſe to his eſtate, ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκίμου τὴν τιμὴν τῷ τιμωμένῳ προσήνεγκε, *He honoured God, whom he would ſeeme to ſerve, with the worſt he had.* That which he offered, was, *Of his fruits*. Some part of them onely, which came next hand, not the choyce, the top, the flowre of his wheat, as if any thing had been *good enough*, if not *too good*, for God, according to the common, accuſtomed, deformed devotion of Reformed Times.

Abels not ſo.

Baſil. Seleuc.

ἀκροθίνια.

Cain thus deſervingly diſpleaſing God, and for that cauſe not being accepted as he would, whereas he ſhould have been diſcontented with himſelfe, converted his diſpleaſure upon his brother, and murthered him privily out of malice. This was the firſt preſident & leading Act, to ſhedding of mans blood upon ſlight occaſions: which prophane Ruffians account a Peccadillo; a point of Court-ſhip, Bravery, or, as the horridneſſe thereof is commonly mollified, a *point of honor*: and Lawes, too much allaying the horrid deformity of a Calling, a Crying, a Roring ſin, gently miſnameth that *Manſlaughter*, which with God is *wilfull murther*, and calls for vengeance upon the Actors, Abettors, Protectors, yea and not-Revengers thereof. It is a Morall, and therefore an Eternall, Irreverſible, and Indiſpenſable doome, *Whoſoever ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood bee ſhed.* It were to be wiſhed, this Precept were more obſerved, and Pardons not ſo frequent in caſes of ſuch facts. God, though he needed not give a reaſon of his Edict, yet hath he tendred this charge fortified with a reaſon of proofe, which lookes to *Crimen laſæ Majeſtatis Divinæ*, High Treaſon againſt the Majeſty of Heaven: *For into the Image of God did he make man*; as much as, when the Word made man out of the duſt, he framed him to that Image & ſimilitude, which himſelfe would inſeparably unite unto himſelfe in fulneſſe of time, of God and man, making *one Chriſt*; in which Image he often appeared to the Patriarchs of old, before the time of his Incarnation. This glorious Image of the Son of God in man, which advanceth him in honor above all creatures, if it be defaced, ſpoyled, ſtabbed, aboliſhed by any preſuming accurſed hand, makes the delinquent as much, rather more guilty of Treaſon, then he is, or can be, who defaceth and ſpoyleth the Image of his King. God in nothing was ſo ſtrict, ſo ſevere, ſo rigorous an exactor of deſerved puniſhment upon Malefactors, as in this caſe of murther, man-ſlaughter, ſhedding of blood; even in caſes of meere *Chance-medly*, as our Law nameth it. In Iſrael of old, he appointed ſome Cities of refuge, into which,

Cain murthers *Abel.*

A precedent for murther.

Of man the Image of God.

In which God is rigorous.

which, men who had caſually indeed ſlaine another, might flye for their lives, and there be ſafe from purſuit, if he could recover them, and eſcape the Avenger of blood; but if he could not recover ſuch a City, he died without mercy, being apprehended, notwithſtanding all Pleas of more and true Chance-medly: all Allegations, Proofes, and Conſtats of Ignorance invincible, unwillingneſſe, unwittingneſſe: No former purpoſe, malice, grudge, fallings out, or the like. In which caſe, no Clergy, no Book, no Reprivement would be had: no pardon, or leaſe of life would ſerve. And if he did eſcape the Avenger of blood, and recovered any one of thoſe Cities of Refuge, he was yet to abjure his own Native Country, and upon perill of his life, to be under the revenge of the Purſuer for blood, not to returne home to his Poſſeſſions, wife, and children, untill the *Death of the high Prieſt in being*, the chiefe Ruler over Gods houſe in Iſrael. *All things were in Types and ſhadowes unto them*, ſaith the Apoſtle. Here, in a Myſtery was implyed, that man, for murthering his owne ſoule, and aboliſhing the Image of God by ſin, became an exile from his native ſoyle, Paradiſe his inheritance, ſometime his habitation: and as a Fugitive upon earth, wandred farre from his friends and acquaintance, holy Angels, ſometime his kindred and allies, untill the death of that great high Prieſt over all the houſe of God, an *high Prieſt of a better covenant*, by whom, in his blood, expiation being made, he reverted from exile, to the Land of his Inheritance, Paradiſe, Gods Preſence, Gods Face in Glory, the higheſt heaven; which untill his Aſcenſion was not permitted. So much we profeſſe, if we underſtand our ſelves, in our Common ſervice, *When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the kingdome of heaven to all beleevers.*

21 No doubt the Devil had his ends in this act of *Cains* murthering his brother *Abel*: upon whom reſted, as he thought, the onely hope of Gods Promiſe, as being firſt and principall upon the Roll of Grace. His drift was to fruſtrate and annull that promiſe made to man, in the day of Reſtauration after his fall: *The ſeed of the woman ſhall bruiſe the ſerpents head*: which was intended to, and ſhould have been fulfilled upon *Abel* and his poſterity, had he ſurvived to enjoy it, and to leave poſterity behind him. For next unto *Adam*, in courſe of Gods election, but not in courſe of kinde, he was chiefe and principall in that City of God, that choſen company of holy Saints, who live here, as ſtrangers and pilgrims upon earth, and by their converſation in this world, declare, that they expect and ſeek after a Country elſewhere. Their habitation is conſummate, as their word importeth, *at home in heaven*; as if not ſetled, till they come there, into that City of God on high, not built on earth, nor in earthly places. It is remembred by *Moſes*, *Cain built a City, and called it Enos, of his ſons name*; as if he and his ſon meant to dwel there for ever, to ſet up his reſt upon that abode, and there to provide for his poſterity. *Abel* built no City for himſelfe, nor yet *Seth* his Succeſſor for his Poſterity. God was their portion; the Lot of their Inheritance, Jeruſalem above,

The Devils drift in *Cains* murthering *Abel*.

above, that City where they would make their abode and habitation in the *Land of the living, and seeing God.* Thus in those brethren that difference and division first began, which hath so continued ever since, of two cities or societies in opposition, the children of God, those heires of Promise, and that castaway company of forlorne miscreants, of which company *Cain* was first and principall, Head and Patriarch; as first *Abel*, and after him *Seth*, was chiefe of that other family and society, from whom that *promised seed of the woman* was to issue and descend, which by removing *Abel* out of the way, the devil would frustrate and undoe for ever.

Seth instead of *Abel*, the foundation of the Church.

22. But who can resist the most High in his intents, or crosse God in his counsels and resolutions? Stand they must, and stand they shall unavoidably: And therefore to accomplish what God had determined, *Seth* came in place of *Abel* whom *Cain* slew: So much the mother of them both professeth, *God hath appointed me another seed for Abel whom Cain slew.* She saith, God had *appointed*, as out of counsell, and setled purpose, upon deliberation, as resolving to make good what he had resolved, and therefore *appointed* the way to bring it to passe. Nor doth she say another *sonne*, another *child*, but *another seed for Abel*, as referring unto, and reflecting so upon that first originall Promise of Grace, *The seed of the woman shall break the Serpents head:* Which promise being evacuated and made frustrate, in the devills purpose, by the death of *Abel*, dead without issue or succession, as if it had been confined to his person alone, and onely the descendents of his body, was re-enforced and confirmed in *Seth*, appointed to succeed in *Abels* place, and laid as a foundation in the walls of that to be builded City of God, whose *foundation is upon the holy hils:* a City, ἀχειροποίητος, built up without hands. And so much was insinuated in and by his name. *Seth enim propriè* שית, *id est, Positio dicitur, quia posuerat eum Deus pro Abele. Seth*, saith *Hierome*, in propriety of speech, is Position; so called, because God put him in place of *Abel*.

From him, *Noah.*

From *Seth*, in direct line descendent, came those holy Patriarchs before the flood, *Enos, Kenan, Mehahaleel, Iared, Enoch, Methusalah, Lamech, Noah*, the great Patriarch, and Founder of a second world, restored and renewed againe after the Flood.

23. Amongst those ancient Patriarchs who lived and died before the Flood, from *Adam* descending unto *Noah*, the Church of God, the subject of this our present discourse, subsisted visibly to be seen and knowne of all, not in one house or family, but in divers: For Families were multiplyed even in and amongst the descendents from *Seth*, into more then those of the mentioned Patriarchs; fulfilling that generall benediction at first, *Increase, multiply, and repleniſh the earth*; who could not but be diffused far and neare in so long a tract of time, extracted from those two principall stems, *Seth* and *Cain*, in their generations, related by distinct and different names, *the children of men*, and *the sonnes of God.* The descendents from *Cain*, as for the generall they corrupted their wayes, fell away from God,

God, brought in that multiplyed and prevailing Iniquity into the world, which could not be expiated, nor the filthineſſe of it waſhed off, but with a generall Deluge and inundation: So in ſome particulars, here and there, now and then, there were found amongſt them ſome few in number, who truly and religiouſly ſerved God: and though outwardly they were of that earthly City, built up by *Cain* in the Land of his Baniſhment, and Fugacy from God; yet belonged they intrinſecally to that everlaſting City of God, built for and upon *Seth* and his Poſterity. Nor were all particular Deſcendents from the loynes of *Seth*, intrinſecally and reſervedly within the City of God, the pales of the Church. The beſt of men, who have aſcended unto the very top of perfection incident unto, and attainable by man, doe ſometime ſtumble, through humane infirmity: and the worſt of men, upon the other ſide, doe ſome things well. There be Wolves ſometime within, clad in ſheepe-skins, as well as ſheepe without, amongſt Wolves. *As all were not Iſraelites*, who, reſpecting deſcent and carnall generation, came *De femore Iacob*, out of Jacobs loynes; nor did all Aſcendents out of Egypt, enter into the Promiſed Land of Canaan: Nor dare I ſay that all who died, and were drowned in the flood, periſhed eternally, as temporally they did; no more then that all who were ſaved in the Ark, were eternally ſaved in the Ark of Gods Church. *Cham* was accurſed, as well as *Sem* and *Iaphet* were bleſſed. There is nothing ſo bad, but hath mixture of good; nothing ſo good, but hath withall a ſprinkling or taint of bad. Extremities incompoſſible are in none of Gods creatures: the Divels have ſomething which is good, as *Knowledge*, in great abundant meaſure.

Some good in the line of *Cain*.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱς ἄφρον ἀρετῆς ἐλλιπακόντες ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώπινόν τι πλάσμα, ἀλλὰ κ) ἐν οἷς τὸν πολυθρύλητον τῆς κακίας ἐμπεπλεκότες, ἔχειν τι κατόρθωμα. *Iſid. Pelu. Lib. 4 Ep. 116.* Secundum præſcientiam, & præderſtinationem, quam multæ oves foris ſunt: quam multi lupi intus? Quid eſt quod dixi, quam multæ oves foris? Quam multi luxuriantur, caſti futuri? quam multi blaſphemant Chriſtum, crediturí in Chriſtum? et hi oves ſunt: veruntamen modo alienam vocem audiunt, alienos ſequuntur. Iterùm, quam multi intus laudant, blaſphematuri? caſti ſunt, fornicaturi? ſtant, caſuri? & non ſunt oves. *Auguſt.*

Some bad in the deſcent of *Seth*.

24 There ever have been, in the beſt and Nobleſt Families, ſome who degenerating from their worthy Anceſters, and diſhonouring the Nobility of their Birth, the Badge and Cogniſance of their Houſes Vertue, Valour, worthy actions, doe forfeit their Honour, and noble Anceſters reputation. No marvel then, if for externall Intereſt, ſome deſcended of, and belonging unto *Cain*, behaved themſelves as the ſons and Poſterity of *Seth*: and ſome, who according to carnall propagation, came of *Seth*, for Life, Carriage, and Converſation were as the Iſſue of *Cain*; which laſt part is plainly avouched in that paſſage of, *The ſons of God going in unto the daughters of men.*

25 So was the courſe of things in thoſe firſt Patriarchicall daies, ſo it is in the Church of theſe times. Many Wolves within, and Sheep without. But all thoſe ſo particularly and punctually remembred in *Moſes*, by their names, to have by *Seth* deſcended from *Adam*, were *Intrinſecè*, I ſuppoſe, and *occulto intus*, Heires of the Promiſe, partaking in grace: Teachers, Doctors, Phyſitians to the world, as *Chryſoſtome* hath phraſed it, *Hom. in Gen.* 27. Men, who pleaſed

God in their generations; walking on uprightly and unblamably in his wayes: from whom in direct line Christ Jesus came, as in that Ascending Genealogicall Pedegree by S. *Luke*. And doubtlesse, these so remembred by *Moses*, were not all of them the first borne unto their Parents. Of *Abel*, and *Seth*, we are sure they were not. Much lesse were they the onely children of their Parents, as some fondly and falsly have conceited it. This holy Text of *Genesis* is positive against it: It is punctually concluded of every particular, he lived so long, and *begat sons and daughters*. And indeed, it could not be, but very inconvenient, that in the first age of the world, for peopling and replenishing the earth, when all Countries lay vacant, and were to be inhabited farre and neare, especially men living so long for that purpose, that divers should have so few children. It is an absurdity to imagine, that *Seth* for instance, should live two ages almost of a man now, that is *an hundred and five years*, before he had any child at all: and so the rest of those ancient Patriarchs proportionably: but having formerly had other children, sons and daughters intermixedly, as God sent them, the remembred ones in the *line* of holy Ancesters, from whom that *seed of the woman*, who must *bruise the serpents head*, was to issue and descend, were borne unto their Parents, not first, or last, but at such a time of their age, as is remembred by *Moses* in his story. S. *Augustine* to this purpose saith thus, *De Civ. Dei.* 15.15. *Non enim quia soli nominati sunt, propter ordines generationum, quas commemorare oportebat, ideò consequens videri debet, solos esse generatos. Not because they onely are named in order of their Generation, which it was convenient hee should set downe, must wee thereupon suppose that their parents had no other children beside them.* And hee saith againe, *Seth vixit ducentos & quinque annos, & genuit Enos. Quis possit, nisi inconsideratus asseverare hunc ejus fuisse Primogenitum; ut admirantes meritò requiramus, quomodo per tot annos immunis fucrat à connubio, sine ullo proposito continentiæ. Seth lived two hundred and five yeares,* (so he found it written in his copies, and not an hundred and five as the Hebrew hath it) *and begat Enos. Now no man considerate, and well advised will beleeve, that Enos was the first-borne unto Seth*; (as if he had lived childlesse, or unmarried so long) *So that it may be questioned with wonderment enough, why Seth lived so long time single without a wife, intending no setled course of continency:* and hereupon his Conclusion is direct and to purpose, *Veteres illos ante Diluvium, non fuisse Primogenitos: Sed illos commemoratos, per quos succedentium ordo generationum ad Noe Patriarcham deduceretur. Those Patriarchs, by Moses remembred before the flood, were not the eldest sons and first-borne of their Parents, onely they were inrolled in that list of descent, from whom in direct line, the Patriarch Noah came.*

The Patriarchs in Gen. from Adam to Noah.

Not all the first-borne, if any were.

Noahs three sons.

26. *Noah* had *three sons*, all born unto him before the Floud, *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*, all three with their wives entred with their father into the Arke, and so were preserved from drowning in the Floud: which

which fell out in the $\overline{DC}$. yeare of *Noahs* life. *Sem*, happily the eldeſt, but commonly taken to have been the youngeſt of thoſe *three*, had lived one hundred yeares when the Flood came, ſo that *Noah* was five hundred years old when as *Sem* was born; which makes it probable, he was the youngeſt of thoſe three Brethren. Whether *Noah* in his life time had other ſons and daughters beſide theſe three, *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*, it is not certaine, but in all probability he had more. I cannot ſubſcribe or conſent to *Oleaſter*, that *Noah* never had any more children beſides theſe three, who entred into the Arke, and were preſerved alive in, and from the waters, becauſe it is ſaid, *Gen.* 7. 1. *Thou and all thy family, goe into the Arke.* Which is no proofe of any thing, but what was then, when he went into the Ark. He had no other *family*, but the remembred $\overline{VIII}$. perſons in all. For ſervants there were none before the floud. Servitude and wars came in together with *Nimrod* that *mighty hunter*, and began with the line and poſterity of *Cham*, *A ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be.* But he might have had another, a greater family formerly: Other children, Sons and Daughters beſide thoſe three, but all dead, and gathered to their Fathers, before that time. For howſoever many did, yet all before the floud did not live $\overline{D}$. $\overline{DC}$. or $\overline{DCC}$. yeares. There were then ſome, as after, who died in their infancy, in their child-hood, at any age, or growth. His children ſome of them, might have died that yeare, as *Methuſalem* did, in which the Floud came, and yet have been $\overline{D}$. or upward, yeares old. And ſome of his children then deceaſed, might have had children alive, when the Floud came; but not of *Noahs* Family, as the three were. For the eldeſt, in all probability, might have parted houſhold and gone from their Father: As *Abraham* afterward ſent away *Iſmael*, and the ſons of *Cetura* out of his Family: and as *Eſau* parted houſhold with his father *Iſaac*. Thoſe childrens children of *Noah* might have been deceaſed, or ſome of them, why not, might periſh in the Floud: Very probable it is, upon S. *Auguſtines* doctrine concerning thoſe Patriarchs, and their iſſue, before the Floud, that *Noah* had other children, whatſoever became of them, both *Sons and Daughters*, beſide thoſe three. Theſe I take to be the youngeſt of all, who onely ſurvived to ſee the Floud, and to be preſerved in the waters. That any child of *Noah* did periſh in the waters, I do not ſuppoſe; but that formerly he had other children beſide thoſe three remembred, *Sem*, *Cham*, and *Iaphet*, I aſſuredly believe, who were all dead and buried, in their ſeverall ages formerly. Indeed it is no Article of my Creed, nor will I burn for it: onely I believe it credibly.

He had moe children.

Dead before.

Not in *Noahs* family.

27 Much leſſe ſhall it come within my Creed, which S. *Auguſtine* hath; for there is no probability in the Aſſertion. *Nullum illorum, in Diluvio mortuum eſſe, quos de ſemine Seth narrat Scriptura propagatos*; *That not any of them periſhed by the waters of the Floud, who are ſaid in Scripture to have deſcended from Seth:* Unleſſe he intendeth onely thoſe of *Seths* loynes, who by name are ſpecially remembred

in Scripture, *Enos*, *Iared*, and the reſt. This is granted true, but is a needleſſe aſſertion, it appearing by juſt calculation, that none but *Methuſalem* came neare unto that time, and that he died in the very yeare of the Floud. If he meant, as doubtleſſe he did meane, in generall termes, that no perſon any way deſcending from *Seth*, but only the Poſterity of *Cain*, periſhed corporally in the waters, I with-hold conſent, and doubt much thereof; rather, I doe not doubt thereof at all, but aſſuredly believe, and peremptorily ſay, *The contrary is true*. Many of *Seths* Poſterity died in the waters: For the Sons of God, that is, the Iſſue, and Deſcendents from the Line of *Seth*, had, many of them, diſparaged their Deſcent, and polluted themſelves with the daughters of men, that came of *Cain*. From them, ſo diſpoſing themſelves in marriage, and with their wives departing from the wayes, and true ſervice of God, Gyants were born, impious, wicked, tortious, unjuſt oppreſſors, and prophanely impious: for whoſe miſdemeanors and enormities, principally the Floud came to ſweep them away, and to cleanſe the earth from their impieties. And thus was the caſe with *Noah* and his Family, the Church of God in thoſe dayes at the Floud.

Ἀνέχομαι τῷ σάπιν καὶ ἀμεταβέτῳ *Maxim. Tyrius.*

28 Amongſt the ſons of *Noah* ſurviving to the Floud, I take *Iaphet* to have been the eldeſt, and *Sem* the youngeſt, unto whom was borne *Arphaxad*, two yeares after the Floud, in the ſecond yeare of *Sems* life; He was Progenitor of *Eber*, Anceſter to *Abraham* in this deſcending Line, *Arphaxad*, *Sale*, *Eber*, *Phaleg*, *Reu*, *Nachor*, *Thare*, *Abraham*; who in regard of that deſcent from *Heber*, is ſtyled *Abraham* the Hebrew, and his Poſterity Hebrewes of him. Theſe ſeem to have been all righteous, and upright in their generations, and when others fell away unto Idololatry, to have adhered conſtantly unto God, and perſevered in his Service, preſerving it ſincerely, a long time in their Families, and intire, at leaſt unto *Thare*, father of *Abraham*, when he began to run the ſame courſe with others, all the world beſide, and to fall unto Idololatry, for he ſerved other Gods beyond the Floud, with *Haran* his ſon, God began to plague him by the death of *Haran* his eldeſt ſon; and that Religion might not periſh from the earth, nor the Church be aboliſhed out of the world at an inſtant, but that a remnant at leaſt might be reſerved for God, and his ſervice, God ſaid unto *Abraham*, *Get forth of thy Country*, that *Vr*, of the Chaldes, *and come unto the Land which I will ſhew thee.*

Θάρρα δὲ μισήσαντα τὴν χαλδαίαν διὰ τὸν υἱὸν Ἄραν τεθνηκότα, μετοικίζονται, πάντες εἰς Χαρρᾶν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, ὅτε καὶ Θάρραν τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσιν, ἔτη βιώσαντα πέντε καὶ διακόσια. *Antiq. a. ζ.*

Ioſephus ſaith that *Thare*, father of *Abraham*, was weary of his Country, *Vr* of the Chaldes, becauſe his ſon *Haran* died there; and ſo came unto *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*. From whence *Abraham*, when *Thare* his father was dead, leaving *Nachor* his brother in that Country, by Gods addreſſe came into the Land of *Canaan*, with *Lot*, the ſon of his deceaſed brother *Haran*, to preſerve an inheritance for God in his Church.

The Church viſible from *Adam* to *Noah*.

29. So from *Adam* the firſt man made upon earth, to *Noah* the

the firſt of a ſecond world renewed after the Floud, there continued a perpetuall Church upon earth, in the Families of the Faithfull, a viſible company, in a continued ſucceſſion, without interruption all along, as *Auguſt.* diſcourſeth it at large, *Lib. 16. de Civ. Dei. cap. 9, 10.* In which Liſt of holy ones, filed up for remembrance to all Poſterity, *Sem* the ſon of *Noah*, that *Great high Prieſt of the moſt high God*, (For *Sem* I take to be *Melchiſedec*, ſo ſtyled in the Interview betwixt himſelfe and *Abraham*) firſt of all men upon earth, had God *entailed* unto himſelfe, in a more ſpeciall reſerved ſort, of peculiar perſonall appropriation. For untill the dayes of *Abraham* the Hebrew, and his ſeparation from his kindred, God Almighty, Father of all fleſh, Lord of the world and all things therein, was peculiarly ſtyled *the Lord God of Sem.* But when *Abraham*, obeying the voyce of God commanding, and calling out, was come into Canaan, that Land whereunto God did direct him, it was ſaid unto him in appropriated termes with Addition above *Sem*, for his Poſterity, *I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed after thee.* By which new way of entaylement, τὸν κοινὸν ἰδιοποιούμενος, God, common; and as common, appertaining unto all, was, ſaith *Chryſoſt.* made his by peculiar Intereſt, and Appropriation: ſince when, it is delivered, declared, and averred by God himſelf, for him and his ſeed, *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, and the God of Iacob. This is my name for ever: this is my memoriall, from generation to generation.* And ſo he continued known, and diſtinguiſhed in the world of old, untill the Incarnation, the *God of Iſrael*, above other people.

The Lord God of *Sem.*

The God of *Abraham* his ſeed.

30. The iſſue, and generation of *Abraham* was thus. He had three wives, *Agar*, *Sara*, and *Ceturah.* Iſſue by all; but the Scripture takes ſpeciall notice of two. He had *Iſmael* of *Agar* a Bond-woman, *Iſaac* by *Sara* a Free-woman. From *Iſmael*, for *Abrahams* ſake, God made a People to deſcend of note and reckoning in the world. Twelve ſons he had, Princes all; ſo many as were the Patriarchs, the ſons of *Iacob.* *Abraham* gave them childrens parts out of his ſubſtance, but the Inheritance with the Promiſe was entayled on *Iſaac*, whom *Sara* bare, and not upon *Iſmael*, ſon of *Agar* the Bond-woman, or any Poſtnate of *Ceturah.* Of *Iſaac* by *Rebekah*, twins were born, *Eſau* and *Iacob*; *Fratres utero*, Of one venter, though not *fratres animo*, of one minde or diſpoſition, not both in the ſame account with God. For it is ſaid, *He loved Iacob, and refuſed Eſau*; before the *Brethren had done good or bad*, he choſe for his Inheritance the houſe of *Iacob*, but left *Edom* alone unto himſelfe, in his deſert, deſolate habitation of *Mount-Seir.* That Promiſe which God made unto *Abraham*, that oath which he ſware unto *Iſaac*, he made to reſt upon the head of *Iacob* for ever, without any alteration or defeiſance, for, or to any other.

31. *Iacob* for feare of his brother *Eſau*, who threatned to ſlay him when *Iſaac* was dead, fled unto *Laban*, his Mothers brother at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*, where *he ſerved an hard ſervice for a wife*; *and for a wife he kept ſheep*; but God was with him, bleſſed and increaſed him

Iacobs poſterity

him exceedingly in ſubſtance, and in children. He had twelve ſons and one daughter, in *Meſopotamia*, by foure wives; two Bond, and as many Free. The twelve ſons of *Iacob* were all within the Covenant, all enfranchiſed into the Liberty of the Sons of God: nor themſelves nor their Poſterity were excluded from that promiſe of grace made with *Abraham*, as *Iſmael* and *Eſau* formerly were. Theſe twelve brethren in a time of dearth went downe into Egypt with their Father *Iacob*, and their families, ſeventy ſoules in number, or thereabout. *Ioſeph* was in Egypt before; Sold by his brethren, but ſent of God, to preſerve them alive in a time of dearth: where he had two ſons, *Manaſſes* and *Ephraim*, born unto him. In Egypt they increaſed, and exceedingly multiplied; wherefore the King of Egypt after *Ioſephs* death, out of Reaſon of State, againſt Reaſon of Nature, Curteſie and Religion, did tyrannize upon them with all extremity. In Egypt they lived, as the Church apart, in the Land of *Gozen* aſſigned unto them, not intermixt with the Egyptians; not having to doe with their temporall affaires, nor conſorting with them in diſpoſition: For Graſiers they were, and Feeders of cattell; a courſe prohibited to Egyptians. But at length they began to ſent after the Egyptians gods, which made God deliver them to *Pharaohs* tyranny. So long as *Ioſeph* lived, ſo long as *Levi*, who ſurvived all his brethren, they adhered to God, & to his ſervice alone, wherein they had been brought up, and inſtructed by Tradition from *Iacob*, *Iſaac*, *Abraham*; but as all humane paſſages decline from perfection, ſo did *Iſrael* in Egypt, decline, & abate in true Religion. This *Ezechiel* upbraideth them withall, *Chap.* 23. where he tells them of fornication committed by them in Egypt, in their youth. And it is a proofe pregnant, that they were tainted therewith, by making of a Calfe in *Horeb*, and worſhipping that work of their own hands: this was after the uſe and practiſe of Idol-ſervice, which they had ſeene in Egypt. For it is well knowne, the chiefe of all the Idols of Egypt, was *Iſis*, an Oxe or a Calfe. For this their propenſeneſſe and declining to Idololatry, amongſt ſome other ſecret, and reſerved cauſes unto God himſelfe, it is rightly ſuppoſed he gave them up to be ſcourged by *Pharaoh*, and his Task-maſters in Egypt.

In Egypt.

Μαλὶ ὲν πρόβατα ἦν ἐκείνοις. Αἰγυπτίοις γὰρ ἀσεμνὸν ὸν ὧν περὶ νόμας ἀναστρέφεσθαι. *Ioſeph. antiq.* 1 pag. 47.

Iſrael in Egypt plagued by *Pharaoh*,

for inclining to Idols.

32. *When he afflicted them*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt of *Iſrael*, *they ſought the Lord.* And he *ſent Redemption unto his people by the hands of Moſes his ſervant; and of Aaron whom he had choſen. They ſhewed tokens and wonders in the Land of Egypt, upon Pharaoh and all his ſervants*; becauſe they would not yeeld to let *Iſrael* goe out of their ſervice: But having plagued *Pharaoh* and all his ſervants, with intent to convert him and make him better, at length, becauſe he found him intractable and incorrigible, he drowned him and all his Army in the Sea, and brought out *Iſrael* with a high hand; 600000. men on foot they they were, beſide women and children; by children, intending all of twenty yeares and under, which came out of Egypt. Departing from

from the red Sea, they went on toward Canaan, but up and downe, wandring in the Wilderneſſe forty yeares, till the men of war were all conſumed, who above twenty years old came up from Egypt: onely two ſurvived of 600000. *Caleb* and *Ioſhua*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim* and of *Iuda*: which two Tribes above the reſt, became regnant afterward in the Land of Canaan. Becauſe of their many ſins, and manifold diſobedience, God ſware unto them in his wrath, that they ſhould not enter into his reſt. When all that Generation was dead and gone, after the expiration of forty yeares, under the command and conduct of *Ioſhua*, the waters of Jordan diſparting aſunder, as formerly the red Sea, divided by *Moſes*, at their comming up out of Egypt; they entred upon, and took poſſeſſion of the Land of Promiſe, that good and pleaſant Land, flowing with milk and honey, that is, abounding with all neceſſaries for mans life, and fitting to delight and give content. They vanquiſhed the Nations inhabiting the Land, and planted themſelves and their poſterity in their roomes. *Ioſhua* by lot divided the Country amongſt their Tribes, about foure hundred and ſeventy yeares after the Promiſe made unto *Abraham*, of giving him that land, and his ſeed: The wickedneſſe of the Amorite being then full, which limitation, God had fixed to the fulfilling of his Promiſe unto *Abraham*.

33. The entring of Iſrael under *Ioſhuahs* conduct into the land of Canaan to poſſeſſe it, was not alone an Hiſtoricall truth accompliſhed in, by, and upon them, but it further was an Anagogicall diſpenſation, a point of an higher nature of State, in the Councel of heaven; a fore-deſignement of better things to come: that is, of *Abrahams* ſpirituall ſeed, according unto adoption of grace, brought in, and poſſeſſed in fulneſſe of Time, of Reſt, and reſiding with Felicity, in the Land of Promiſe, the land of the living, the higheſt *heavens*; whither *Ioſhua*, the Captaine of the Armies of God, Jeſus of Nazareth, through ſhedding of his blood, in the day of his triumph over *death* and *hell*, brought in with him the Thiefe from the Croſſe, ſuch as roſe with him at his Reſurrection, the Fathers at reſt in the boſome of *Abraham*; into Paradiſe, the higheſt heaven, whither none before him, none without him, none beſide him, entred under the Law, ſo long as *Moſes* Ordinances ſtood in force, and death from *Adam* prevailed till Mount Calvarie. The Apoſtle in expreſſe words ſaith as much, *Heb.* 10. *The firſt Tabernacle ſo long as it ſtood, the way into the moſt holy was not opened.* Herein we may juſtly triumph, ſaith *Theophylact*, that that which was not imparted to *Abraham*, is communicated unto us; For heaven is now opened unto us, which was not opened unto him; the mighty Cherubim with his flaming ſword kept the way of the tree of life, ſuffering none to enter into Paradiſe; but he hath laid us out a new way.

Entring and poſſeſſing Canaan,

a figure of poſſeſſing heaven.

Κεκύχημα δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὅτι ὧν Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἐξιλάθη τούτων ἡμεῖς ἐξελογήμεθα, καὶ ἃ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ὁ ἀφανὴς. *Theophyl. in loc.* Et iterum, Ἡνίκα δὲς ὁδὸν τὴν ἀγίων αὐτοῖς ἡμῶν ὁδὸν ἀνεκαίνισε, τοῦτόν γὰρ ὁδὸν ἐτοίμασεν αὐτοῖς ταύτης ἀφεξόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ταύτην Cadiens ἔχει.

34. Iſrael ſeated in that promiſed Land, as they were ordered and diſpoſed

The ſtate of Iſrael in Canaan.

disposed of by *Ioshua*, according to their Tribes, became then a people like to other Nations of the earth, and were reckoned with the Kingdomes of the world, ordered by Lawes, ruled by Governours, disposed of into severall Corporations. *Ioshua* ruled them after *Moses*, about seventeen years: Upon his death, the Elders which survived him, younger in years, under twenty at their comming up from Egypt; *Eleazar* was chiefe among those Elders, who had lived with *Ioshua* and with *Moses*, had seen and undergone the wars of Canaan, known the great and mighty power of God, by works of wonder at the Red Sea, in the wildernesse for forty yeares; who being dead all after some ten or twelve yeares, and no King in Israel to command for God, but every man doing what was pleasing to himselfe, the people eftsoones, according to their old wont, fell away unto Idololatry, to serve other gods beside him, and God gave them up into their enemies hands; so that *Such as hated them were Lords over them*, and oppressed them very sore; yet *when they cryed to him in their trouble, he delivered them out of their distresse*. Many a time did he deliver them (as many a time they fell away from him) by raising up Judges, who fought for, and delivered them for the space of foure hundred yeares and better, unto the dayes of *Saul* and *Samuel*, the last Judge and first King that ruled in Israel. All which time, under much and many alterations, defections, rebellions, and profane impiety, they still continued Gods people and peculiar, a visible Church upon the face of the earth. *Saul* their King being rejected by God for his disobedience, and put by the Kingdome for his posterity, *David* of Juda succeeded in his place, in whose posterity the royall Scepter continued, though empaired and abated very many wayes, especially in revolt of the ten Tribes by *Ieroboams* procurement, under *Reboboam*, yet not abolished nor forlorne untill the Captivity of the Land, in *Zedechiahs* time, by *Nabuchodonosor* King of Babylon: Then it was the royall Scepter departed away, and returned no more unto the house of *David*, in state and condition as before.

35. What their succeeding Being was in the world, in what rank and account they were amongst other Nations, after their returne againe from Babylon, shall in particular be related, with God to friend, for their both Synagogicall and temporall state, in processe of our Storie. This is apparent by deduction out of the premisses, that from *Adam* to *Israel*, their being a people, and being under hatches in captivity, there was continued a knowne set company of such as served God: His service never failed, or utterly ceased in the world, but was founded and fastned, first in the Families of the Patriarchs, under nature, before and after the Flood, but before the Law: then in the called forth, chosen and selected ones of God, the Hebrews, Israelites, Jews, as were their severall names, who onely were in those dayes the people of God; the Heathen generally (a name comprising all other but themselves) having no knowledge of his waies. Now and then, here and there, it is true, some few, not many, not continued,

Ever a standing visible Church of old.

tinued, not of all ages and times, of the nigh bordering Nations to the land of Iſrael, came in to the Jews, were admitted by them, ſought after by them, and applyed themſelves by Circumciſion unto Gods part and ſervice, either inhabiting the Land of Canaan, or remaining amongſt their owne people, but ſerving the God of Iſrael, Lord and Creator of heaven and earth: many of them, as *Iob*, and the Sibyls, in hope and expectation of Redemption promiſed, then to come. The Jews themſelves, an envious and malignant Nation, who grudged at all mens good but their owne, and could not endure that the Promiſes of Grace ſhould be emparted to any but themſelves, could not, did not at all deny. For inſtances were many to the contrary, of *Iethro*, father in law to *Moſes*, and his poſterity, of *Rahab*, *Thamar*, *Ruth*, *Achor*, others, who at ſundry times, upon different occaſions, came over to ſerve and beleeve in God, and ſo to be intereſſed in his grace. But yet in peculiar appropriation, in different termes of ſeparation, Iſrael had prerogative to be his people, above all other Nations in the world. God did ſo deale with them, as with none beſide; He was for many ages Their God alone; They were his choſen and ſelected people. So much diſcourſeth S. *Auguſtine* in termes, *Nec ipſos Indæos exiſtimo audere contendere, Neminem pertinuiſſe ad Deum præter Iſraelitas; ex quo propago Iſraelis cepit eſſe, reprobato fratre ejus majore. Populus enim revera, qui propriè Dei populus dicebatur, nullus alius fuit. Homines autem quoſdam, non terrenâ, ſed cæleſti ſocietate, ad veros Iſraelitas, ſuperna cives patria pertinentes, etiam in aliis Gentibus fuiſſe negare non poſſunt: quia ſi negarent, facillimè convincuntur de ſancto & admirabili viro Iob, qui nec Indigena, nec Proſelytus; id eſt, advena populi Iſraelis fuit, ſed ex gente Idumæa genus ducens, ibi ortus, ibidem mortuus.* I ſuppoſe the Jews dare not avow or conteſt, That no particular private man ever appertained unto God beſide thoſe of Iſrael, ſince Iſrael was a people propagated upon earth, and *Eſau*, *Iacobs* elder brother, was rejected. True it is, that a People, properly and appropriately Gods people, there was none beſide; But deny they cannot, that ſome certaine private men, not of this earthly, but heavenly ſociety, belonging unto true Iſraelites, Citizens of that country which is above, were to be found amongſt other Nations. If they ſhould deny this, they might ſoone be refelled with inſtance of that holy and admirable man *Iob*, who being nor Iſraelite, nor Proſelyte, but by birth an Idumæan, there lived, and there died, &c. And thus before Chriſt it ſtood with Iſrael, and other Nations reſpectively.

De Civ. Dei, lib. 18. c. 47.

36. But yet in Iſrael, howſoever the twelve ſons of *Iacob* were all and every one of them, their children, poſterity and deſcendents within the covenant of grace, the pale of the Church, under Gods ſpeciall care and protection, yet was there a difference, ſome for their perſons, moſt for their Tribes and ſucceſſion. *Ruben* the firſt borne of the ſons of *Iacob*, and ſo by right annexed unto his birth, to be endowed with prerogatives and preeminencies above his Brethren,

thren, belonging to his birth and primogeniture, for one fault, lying with *Bilha* his fathers Concubine, loſt all, and was deveſted of thoſe appurtenances, which commonly enſued in thoſe Patriarchicall times the firſt-borne in their Families, *Prieſthood*, *Princedome*, *double portion*: and yet for himſelfe, in his particular, *Ioſeph* excepted, he was the beſt of the brethren, otherwiſe then for that fault *Levi* had the Prieſthood, not in his perſon, for he and *Simeon* were *brethren in evill*, *men of blond*, but conſigned to his poſterity. *Ioſeph* had the *double portion*, for *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes* ſons of *Ioſeph*, were Heads and Patriarchs of two Tribes, and had aſſigned two ſhares in the Land of Promiſe. *Iuda* was the Law-giver, and had the *Scepter* conferred on him, not his perſon, but his Tribe, though he were for his perſon diſpoſed well enough that way: πολμηρὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ θρασύτης ἀνὴρ, a bold, daring, putting forth man, as *Ioſephus* obſerveth of him.

The difference inter Tribes of Iſrael.

37. The Regality of *Iuda* was firſt inveſted in him by *David*, and reſted everlaſtingly in his houſe, though not after one and the ſame ſort; for Meſſias deſcended thence, who was to *reigne upon the houſe of Iacob for ever*. To *David* the promiſed ſeed was laſt betrighted: the Promiſe deſcended downe no lower, then *unto David and his ſeed for ever*. At firſt in generality it ran thus, *The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the Serpents head*: in proceſſe it was conſigned unto *Abraham*, *In thy ſeed ſhall all nations of the earth be bleſſed*. *Abraham* having children, more then one, it was ſaid, *In Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called*: and to *Iſaac* there being borne two ſons of one *venter*, *Eſau* and *Iacob*, *Eſau* was put by, and *Iacob* retained for the Promiſe. The *ſtarre of Iacob* reſted upon the head of the *Lion of Iuda*. The Lion of Juda couched downe at the *root of Ieſſe*: amongſt the branches ſpringing from that root, God ſaid of *David*, *Ariſe and anoint him, for this is he*. Farther then to him we cannot carry it along in the predictions of the Prophets: therefore Chriſt was expected to be *the Sonne of David*, and confeſſed the *Son of David*, by thoſe that received him, when he came. And in that pedegree drawne by an Herauld of heaven, we find him ſtyled, *The Son of David, the Son of Abraham*. In *Ierom's* obſervation, ſo conceived of, not without good cauſe, though he miſtake the matter for the cauſe, in ſaying that the Promiſe was onely made to theſe two; which is not ſo. For *Gen.* 26. 4. it was made to *Iſaac*, and *Gen.* 28. 14. to *Iacob*, and generally by *Moſes*, to all Iſrael. But true it is, the Promiſe was more often, and frequently made unto them two, more remarkeably and eminently then unto any: *Abraham* was the firſt man to whom it was made with limitation, and *David* was the laſt to whom it was made upon any termes. Now Firſt and Laſt, in all Exactions, include all Interims and Interventions. Upon this confeſſion, that Meſſias was to be the Sonne of *David*, a queſtion was put to the Scribes by our Saviour, *How doth David call him Lord, if he be his ſonne?* That a Son ſhould be his Fathers Lord, it ſeemeth incompatible, and they could not aſſoile it, becauſe they underſtood not the myſterie of Mans Redemption by Incarnation.

Hierome noted.

38. The

38. The Jews, as carnall, and carnally diſpoſed, conceived not at all the counſels, wayes, and works of God, which in nothing, almoſt, be as the wayes of man, and herein cleane of another faſhion. It was a myſterie from the beginning, it is a myſterie in our apprehenſion, it will never ceaſe to be a myſterie, unutterable, unconceiveable to men and Angels, whoſe deſire was, according to their power and poſſibility, but παραλῦσαι, to have a glimmering of it, as it were through the chinke of a window, or crany of a doore; wherein there be as many deep hidden myſteries, and unfordable, as there be ſeverall actions intercedent betwixt God and man. *To the intent*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *that unto principalities and powers in heavenly places might be knowne by the Church the manifold wiſdome of God, according to that eternall purpoſe which he reſolved concerning Chriſt Ieſus our Lord*, Epheſ. 3. 10, 11. *Did ever man ſee*, ſaith *Proclus* Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, *a bough, or arme of a tree, elder then the root from whence it iſſueth? Was it ever heard, that a child in the wombe framed and built up all things in nature? That an infant was father to his owne mother? That eternall life began to live, and the ancient of dayes was not an houre old?* If we will give way to curioſity, and demand, How can theſe things be? I anſwer firſt, I cannot tell how; I dare not adventure to define; I muſt not know; it is beyond my reach, who cannot conceive how my ſelfe was ſecretly made, and faſhioned beneath in the earth. It hath been often given as a rule of direction, Μὴ ζήτει τὰ θεῖα λόγον τῶν ἴσων, *In the things of God, not to enquire, How can this be?* ἀπόῤῥητα γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιλόγιστα, Gods ſecrets are his own, and therefore unutterable; therefore unconceiveable, and inapprehenſible. Onely he who was intereſt in it, ſubject of it, knew the meanes and meaſure of effecting it. This is all that can be ſaid in anſwer to that queſtion; and for ſatisfying other ſcrupulous curioſities, is that of *Cyril* of Hieruſalem, *All things concurre by couples upon our Lord and Saviour.* His perſon conſiſting and being made up out of two natures, differing in ſubſtance and in kind, inveſted diſtinctly with connaturall Idioms or properties, notwithſtanding the true, actuall, indiſſeverable union hypoſtaticall of God and Man, in one Chriſt. *He conferred much upon me, but he continued himſelfe ſtill. Being God, he was not, through aſſuming our ſtate, empaired; when he beſtowed what was His upon us, advancing us to participate in thoſe heavenly indowments.* For God becomming Man, runs upon no hazard of empairing his originall ſtate. Had the Jews of old, underſtood not then, as yet they doe not, the nature and aſſiſe of Hypoſtaticall union, of God and Man, co-uned in one Chriſt, which had they done, they might have withall underſtood, and anſwered that propoſed queſtion of one and the ſame perſon, both *Davids* Sonne, and *Davids* Lord: His Lord as

The myſterie of the Incarnation.

Γίγονε μυστήριον, καὶ ἀδιάπαυστα παύσεται τῶν μυστηρίων. *Baſil. Seleuc.* Τὸ συβρέειν καὶ ἐξαίσιον ἦ ἐξ αὐτῆς παρακοῆς θαῦμα, πᾶσι λίην γνώη κυσορώμιν πλησιάσασα τὸ σωτῆρι μιᾷ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πᾶσι ἦ ἀγγελίαν ἐκ ἀπέδοτο· καὶ τ παιδοτοκίαν ἐπειδὴ πᾶσι ἦ ὦρεαν ἐκ ἐξυγίησι ἦ ἀμορφίας, καὶ ἡ χάρις ἐγαφρύνθη ἦ χαλεπότητος· πᾶσι ἡ ἀμετρία ἐκ ἰσχύρισε, ὁ βόθρος ἐτετάνθη, &c. *Proclus Conſt. Orat.* 6.

Mihi contulit, & ſibi manſit: nec Deus è noſtris minuit ſua, ſed ſua nobis tunc tribuit. Nos &, dona ad cœleſtia vexit. *Prudent.* Periculum enim ſtatus ſui, Deo nullum eſt. *Tertul.*

πάντα διπλᾶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ.

as God; his Son, as Man, descendent and extracted from his loines; God and Man, as we professe to beleeve, making one Christ, *Not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God: Not by any confusion of substance* remaining distinct, but *by unity of person* combined: When for us men, and for our salvation, according to Promise, Prediction, Pre-designation, God to Man, in the fulnesse of time, came downe from heaven, and was incarnate by the holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*. God Almighty and most mercifull, whose Nature is Goodnesse, whose Will is Power, whose Work is Mercie and Compassion, at the very first beginning of things, instantly, so soon as the Devill out of malice and envie had despitefully empoysoned all Mankind, did appoint, and set out, and confer a remediall cure to restore againe Mankind, by the Devill undone; telling that old Serpent, It should come to passe, that the Seed of the woman should break the head of him, who was originall of that mischiefe; intimating and foretelling therein, that Christ, God and Man, should come into the world, and bring Redemption unto captives.

Deus omnipotens & clemens, cujus natura bonitas, voluntas potentia, cujus opus misericordia est, statim ut nos diabolica malignitas veneno suæ mortificavit invidiæ prædestinata, renovandis mortalibus suæ pietatis remedia, inter ipsa mundi primordia præsignavit, denuncians Serpenti futurum semen mulieris quod noxii capitis elationem suâ virtute contereret: Christum scilicet in carne venturũ Deum hominemq; signans. *Leo Serm. 2. de Natal. Dom.*

Incarnation the greatest mysterie.

39. Of all Gods works of wonder, it is far the greatest. He but spake the word, and they were made: He but commanded, and they were created. Thus the heaven and the earth were made, and all the host of them: But thus Man nor was nor could he be restored after his fall: It *cost him more to redeeme one soule*; thirtie five yeares conversing with our flesh. He bought us with a price, and such a price as never was paid for any purchase. *We are not redeemed with corruptible things, silver, gold*, or the like, *but* with the *bloud of Christ Iesus*, that immaculate Lambe of God, that bloud, which considering the worth of the Person, was ἀντίδοσιν καὶ ἀντάξιον, countervailable, and counterpriceable, every drop of it, to purchase in ten thousand worlds, not sparingly spent, but even fluced out from every part of his body. And though he *bought us*, yet was he further put to *fight for* us, against the powers of death and hell. A fight it was, the forest that ever the Sun beheld, though that glorious Eye of heaven durst not behold it, for darknesse was over the whole Land, when he combated for us upon the Crosse. He was put unto it, to a purpose, being forced in the *anguish* of his *agonized* soule, and extremity of his unknowne paines, to cry out aloud with *strong cryes and supplications* to the God of his life, *My God, my God, looke downe upon me, for why hast thou forsaken me?* Which passages considered, procure that distinction of termes upon the works of Creation and Redemption, that the one is but *opus digitorum*, or *manuum* at most, the work of his *fingers* or his *hands*, *Ps.* 8. 4. the

Μεγέθους ἀπόδειξιν τὸ ἰσωθῆναι ἐκείνῳ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει γενόμενον, ὃ γὰρ πᾶσιν, ἀφανὴς καὶ γῆς σύστασις, καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀέρος καὶ τῶν μεγίστων στοιχείων ἡ γένεσις, καὶ ὅτι κατακόσμιον νοεῖται, καὶ ὅτι κατακτᾶται, τῷ δυνάμει παίεσθαι τῷ θείᾳ λόγῳ, ἐστὶν ἃ οὐ τῷ ἐναντιώσεσιν ἀκουσίᾳ, καὶ ἃ οὐκ εἰς τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀδεὲς τῷ ἀνθρωπότητι & συγκατάβασις. *Basil. in Psal.* 44.

ἀγῶνα παθήματα.

the other is *opus brachii*, the work of his *arme*, of his *outſtretched* and mighty arme. *He hath ſhewed ſtrength with his arme*, ſaith She, who was the deputed Inſtrument of this ſalvation. How it was effected, by what meanes made compoſſible, heaven and earth cannot underſtand, nor deliver. Ῥῆγον μυστήριον, It was a myſtery from the beginning: The Angels underſtood it not, καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ ἔσται παντὶ τῷ μυστήριον, it will be a myſtery everlaſting; the Angels, as yet, can goe no farther then their παρακύψαι, 1 *Pet.* 1. 12. to receive a glimmering of it, by the crany of a window, as it were, or the chink of a doore; and how ſhall we dare to enquire, *How was it done?* ἄπειρον τοῦτο, ἄπειρον κἀκεῖνο, πίστις ἀμφοῖν λύσις; This queſtion is inſoluble, that inextricable, Faith alone is of power to abſolve both, being the evidence of things not ſeene, and conviction of what cannot be underſtood. *Basil Seleuciens.*

40. God, in diſpenſation of his courſes with man, keeps not alwaies one manner or meaſure of Oeconomy in imparting unto them his Revelations. *All things*, ſaith the Apoſtle concerning the Jewes, *were in types, in ſhadowes, and in figures* to them, though our *dimenſum* be of larger aſſiſe, yet, *we ſee in part, we know in part*; as in a riddle, or through a glaſſe; The time to come, is of full revelation, when we ſhall *know as we are knowne*. And yet even then, and there, we have our limitation: Comprehenſive knowledge, as the Schoole calls it, is no part of our Indowments; it is too excellent for us, and we cannot attaine unto it.

41. This great work of God hath gone on by degrees; and by piece-meale, been manifeſted ro the Church. At firſt, in moſt generall, and enlarged, but moſt indefinite and ſo uncertaine termes; *The ſeed of the woman ſhall breake the Serpents head:* This belonged and was intended unto all mankinde. In long proceſſe after, a Limitation was ſet; when *Abraham* was called out of *Vr*, it was reſtrainedly promiſed him, *In thy ſeed ſhall all nations of the earth be bleſſed. Abraham* had ſeed moe then one, two eſpecially, by two ſeverall women; *Iſmael* by *Agar* a Bond-woman, *Iſaac* by *Sara* a Free-woman; here Grace put a difference between ſeed and ſeed, *In Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called. Iſaac* had two ſons by one venter, both by a Free-woman, *Rebekah*; here was cauſe, or occaſion of more ſingular choice, which was made of the younger before the elder, *I have choſen Iacob, and refuſed Eſau. Iacob* had twelve ſons by ſundry women, ſome bond, and ſome free; amongſt them all, *Iuda's* lot fell in a faire ground; for *our Lord ſprang out of Iuda*. Amongſt the *thouſands of Iuda*, for it was a populous Tribe, the Family of *Ieſſe* from *Phares*, was ſet apart; and in the houſe of *Ieſſe*, *David* the youngeſt of ſeaven Brethren. So the *ſeed* of *Abraham* became the *joy* of *Iſaac*; *Iſaacs joy* in the *ſtarre* of *Iacob*, which ſhined on the *head* of the *Lion of Iuda*, becomming Couchant at the *Root of Ieſſe*, and reſting in the *Lap* of little *David*, of whom God ſaid, *Ariſe, and anoint him, for this is he.* This is the ground of S. *Matthewes* Goſpel, which is thus, *The booke of the generation of Ieſus Chriſt, the ſon of David, the ſon of Abraham*: which

will ſupply us with matter enough for Hiſtoricall paſſage upon this great and mighty Act of God, the Incarnation of the Son of God, beyond which ſpeculation we will not paſſe, leaving other things unto Schooles.

S. *Matthew* 1.1. expounded.

42. This paſſage of S. *Matthew* in the beginning of his Goſpel, containeth three things. The Title or Inſcription, thus, *The booke of the Generation.* Secondly, the ſubject of that Book, Title, or Inſcription, *Ieſus Chriſt.* Thirdly, the Limitation of that ſubject two wayes confined, upon *Abraham*, upon *David.* I call it a Title for two cauſes, The Place, the Importment of it; what it is, and where it ſtands. Titles, and Inſcriptions, be premiſed ever; ſo is this in the Face, and Frontiſpice of the enſuing Goſpel. It is ſet us as a Direction, *The book of the Generation of Ieſus Chriſt*; and well, as a Direction, or Information. So Titles and Inſcriptions are, or ſhould be; For, and To, referring thereto, the work, the thing, the ſubject, whoſe they are, ἀναφορικῶς, at a briefe model, or view, and συνεπλικῶς, which is the uſe and employment that they ſerve for. Every Title referres me, that is ἀναφορὰ, unto ſome farther point; and repreſents in brief, which is σύνοψις, a view, a groſſe, a generall notion of that, whereto it is a Title. So the Chronicles of England; Annals of the Church; the Goſpels of S. *Matthew*, S. *Mark*, be Titles and Inſcriptions premiſed into bookes. If I underſtand but the literall ſenſe and meaning of the words, I withall conceive what is promiſed and premiſed, in, and by thoſe titles. In the Croſſe of our Saviour, there was a Title written, *Ieſus Nazarenus Rex Iudæorum*, Jeſus of *Nazareth* King of the Jews; It was according to the courſe and cuſtome of thoſe times. For ſuch as were by capitall Sentence condemned to ſuffer death, had *Elogia*, the Cauſe written and affixed, for which they did ſuffer, repreſented in briefe, and referring the Reader to that cauſe. In effect, the meaning of the Title on our Saviours Croſſe was this, Jeſus of *Nazareth* ſuffers death, for making himſelfe King of the Jews.

Book of the Generation.

43. So in and by this Title, I am referred unto a Pedegree of Jeſus Chriſt, and a lineall deſcent, extracted from *Abraham* and from *David*, which tells me thus much, that the diſcourſe enſuing is a Genealogy drawne up, and diſpoſed in a Booke; A Booke, which doth not import a Volume, or Digeſt at large. It is not neceſſary ſo to conceive of it. The word uſed, will not enforce us to take a Book, as in common acceptance we doe, for a Volume compacted and bound up in Paper, Parchment, or ſo. It hath a different ſignification: not onely cauſally, reſpecting the Authors, or Compilers, God and Man, who both have their Bookes of moe ſorts then one, but for the matter, and materials, whereof they are made, and which they containe. For inſtance, we have *Matthew* 19.7. *Librum repudii*, a Booke or Bill of Divorce. *Ier.*32.12. *Librum emptionis*, A Booke of Purchaſe, of bargaine and ſale. *Ier.*32. *Librum poſſeſſionis*. A Booke that gives Poſſeſſion, Livery and Seiſin of a thing. *Librum viſionis*

viſionis, *Nahum* 1.11. *Librum Fœderis*, *Malac.* 2.20. A Booke of Viſion, a Book of Fellowſhip, or Aſſociation. *Librum bellorum Domini*, A Book, or Regiſter of the Lords warres; and the Hiſtory or Chronicles of the Kings of Iſrael and Juda. *A Book of dayes*, *Librum dierum*, A Diary; Commentaries of things done every day. And *Exod.* 32. we reade of Gods Book, out of which *Moſes* deſired to be put; which by the Son of *Syrach.* 24.32. is *Liber vitæ*, The Book of Life, *Pſal.* 68.27. the Book of the Living. *Liber ſcripturæ domus Iſrael*, The Book or Regiſter of the houſe of Iſrael, *Ezek.* 13.9. and we ſhall heare of one day, of books opened, which be *Libri operum & Conſcientiarum*, at thoſe great Aſſizes, and generall Gaole Delivery of all Fleſh. *Dan.* 7.10. and here, as likewiſe *Gen.* 5.1. *Liber Generationis* is remembred, a Book of Pedegree, or Roll of Deſcent. This is the Book of the Generation of *Adam*, onely this difference is, that is of Aſcendency unto *Adam*, this of Deſcendency unto Chriſt.

44. In this Genealogicall deſcent it is made a queſtion principall Unto whom, or what, is this ἀναφορὰ or relation? This title or inſcription whereto doth it belong? To the Volume entire, the whole Goſpel of S. *Matthew*, and Hiſtory at large enſuing, or onely to a part of it and no more; this roll of Auncеſtry and Deſcent, which followeth eſtſoones upon the Title premiſed? And it is by ſome reſolved, *quòd ſic*, It is a Title or Inſcription to the totall, or corps of the Goſpel by him written; wherein are many things, and manifold beſide this pedegree, whereof this pedegree is not *pars centeſima*, the hundredth part of what is in 28. following Chapters. For better ſatisfaction, we take into conſideration, that Books are ſometime named of the firſt word: the *Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moſes* be ſo knowne and diſtinguiſhed in their Originall. *Geneſis* is *Bereſheth*, of the firſt word; *Exodus*, *Velleſchemoth*; theſe are the names, becauſe the Book beginneth ſo, and ſo the reſt: For Books have been denominated, not onely of the principall, but of the firſt part, which fitteth our preſent purpoſe more home, where the firſt part of the Goſpel is a Pedegree. *Geneſis* hath that name in the Septuagint, who followed this analogie in their Tranſlation, becauſe the firſt thing therein handled, is the beginning of the world, and all things therein: *Exodus* ſignifieth a going forth, for the firſt part of that Book, relates the departure of Iſrael out of Egypt. But this is not κατ' ἐξοχὴν, univerſally ſo, nor can I yeeld, that this is a Title for the Totall, but a particular title, and particular inſcription onely, not to be ſtretched farther then unto that roll of Auncеſtry which enſueth. For though it be an uſe in the old Teſtament, as it is, to give Title to the whole, either from the firſt word or part, yet we have thereof no precedent in the New, wherein are at moſt but three or foure ſorts of Books, Goſpels, Epiſtles, Acts, Revelation, none of them ſo inſcribed or intitled. Secondly, we have another Title beſide, of and appertaining to the whole, which is, *Euangelium ſecundùm Matthæum*, The Goſpel according to S. *Matthew*. And laſtly, the generall ſignifica-

tion of *Liber*, is here confined and limited in particular, By, and To Generation, as elſewhere it is unto Divorce, Bargaine, Hiſtory, &c.

45. The meaning then, and ſenſe of this Scripture is, The Roll, Regiſter, Memoriall, or Pedegree of the lineall deſcent of Jeſus Chriſt from *David* and *Abraham*, here hence enſueth drawne out. In which Genealogicall ſtemme and deſcent of our Saviour, as in all like, are theſe two parts, The root and originall; The boughs, branches, ſhoots thence derived: That in the Patriarchicall Titles of *Abraham*, *David*, This in the ſubject, Jeſus Chriſt; two names familiar enough to our tongues and eares; We heare and talke much and often of them: Nor can we too often, or too much, *Mel in ore, Melos in aure, Iubilum in corde, eſt nomen Ieſu*: Both names of Greatneſſe, of Honour, of awfull regard, both expreſſing, as belonging unto his Incarnation. *Ieſus*, his Chriſten name, ſo to call it, being his proper name given him from heaven, is more honourable by appointment; For at the name of JESUS every knee muſt bow, of things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth: but CHRIST carries Royaltie upon the back, ſignifying Anointed, as it doth Prieſt, Prince, and Prophet, above all Anointeds. *Ieſus, nomen proprium, Chriſtus, nomen ſacramenti*, ſaith *Auguſtine*. So *David, Aaron, Elias*, were proper names given to thoſe parties at their Circumciſion, but Prieſt, King, Prophet, are names Appellative; myſtically or ſacramentally deſigning ſome dignity, office, or employment. So *Ieſus* here, was his Perſonall name, though ſignificant *in ſe*, ſignificantly impoſed, and ſignifying, what was, and ſo was to be done by him; To ſave and deliver, as he did, was that for which he was incarnate, and came into the world. It was foretold, that ſo he ſhould do; his name to that purpoſe was given him before he was born, to doe it by heavenly aſſignment in the mouth of the Angel; and after his birth, at his Circumciſion, by his Parents, unto whom in courſe of nature he was ſubject: but *Chriſt* was Appellative, inſinuating this, that *Ieſus* ſo fore-ſpoken, born, named, was *Chriſtus*, the Meſſias, or Anointed, and ſo ſpecially appointed and ſet apart unto ſome deſigned work of importance. Which proceeded from an ancient cuſtome in Iſrael, but by warrant and command from God himſelf, by which ſome things and men were taken, appointed out, ſeparated from common, ordinary, and profane, unto holy uſes, as the Utenſils of the Tabernacle, the Temple, the Altar were, as Tithes, and Offerings, and Vowes. So men alſo, three ſorts of them, unto a three-fold office, to be Prieſts, Kings, and Prophets, holy and ſacred unto God, who out of that reſpect are all of them, not excludingly, any one of them, ſtyled, The Lords Anointed: All three intended, and not one alone, in that ancient denunciation, *Touch not mine Anointed, Pſal.* 104. 15. where it followes, as a plaine *epexegeſis*, *And doe my Prophets no harme*.

The names of our Saviour.

Chriſt anointed.

46. To Anoint and Conſecrate, them, and thoſe, things, and men, unto ſuch holy uſes, as they were deſigned unto, God appointed an eſpeciall

eſpeciall Unguent, Confection, or Anoynting oyle to be made of ſpices, by the Art of the Apothecary, *Exod.* 30.23. Under paine of Capitall puniſhment, or eradication, it was commanded, not to bee uſed in prophane or common application. With this oyle were Gods Prieſts, in the firſt Tabernacle, or Jewiſh Politie, anoynted: *Aaron* and his Poſterity ſucceeding. With this of old were Kings anoynted in Iſrael; we are ſure for *David*, and for *Solomon*; for *Solomon* expreſſe it is, 3 *Reg.* 39. and for *David*, though it be not ſaid, where and when he was anoynted, 1 *Sam.* 16.3. that he was anoynted with ſuch oyle; yet ſaid it is *Pſal.* 88. 20. theſe were Precedentiall to their Succeſſors. Onely for Prophets it is queſtionable, whether ſuch reall Inauguration gave them inveſtiture of their Office. Probable it is. For *Vncti mei*, or the Lords anoynted, in *Pſal.* 104. are ſpecially, becauſe originally Prophets. But for *Eliſeus*, we have an Inſtance of his anoynting by ſpeciall command; yet if they had not all, Viſible anoynting, Inviſible they had, being internally anoynted with the gifts of Gods Spirit above their fellowes. All three were rightly the Lords Chriſts, or anoynted; being eſpecially, by the Lord himſelfe, ſet apart, and ſeparated to his ſervice, Ordinary, or elſe Extraordinary. Which Act of ſeparation, was by Act of Inunction.

With what oyle.

47. *Ieſus*, was a name of old time in Iſrael, 1 *Chron.* 24.11. and 2 *Chron.* 31. 15. *Ieſus ben Sirack*, famous in Scripture for that work of his named *Eccleſiaſticus*. But chiefly two are memorable above the reſt, that ever bare this name in that People. *Ioſua*, ſucceſſor unto *Moſes*, who is named *Ieſus*, *Acts* 7.45. ſo no matter what Grammarians talk thereabout, that warrant is authenticall for his Name *Ieſus*. The next is *Ieſus* ſon of *Ioſedec* high Prieſt, the firſt high Prieſt in the ſecond Temple. He brought back *Iuda* from Captivity, together with *Zerobabel*, ſon of *Salathiel* Prince of *Iuda*. Both anoynted; not both one way: *Ieſus* ſon of *Ioſedec*, with the viſible oyle of Conſecration; *Ieſus* ſon of *Nun*, with the inviſible; For God tooke of the ſpirit upon *Moſes*, and conferred it on *Ioſua*. Both ὀνόματι, anſwering their names, in their actions, both brought in Iſrael to the Land of their promiſed poſſeſſion, but different in Acts, the one *ducendo*, the other *reducendo*. In time, much diſtant; in Tribe, not the ſame, one of *Levi*, of *Ephraim* the other: In both, in all, Types of him, who bare the ſame name when he came, did the ſame acts at his comming, in a higher and more excellent kinde, *Populum electum introduxit in cœlum promiſſum Patribus ab antiquo, & prius lapſum reduxit in ſtatum gratiæ*: For he brought man back from Captivity of ſin, unto the ſtate of grace, aſſerted into the Liberty of the ſons of God, and he brought into heaven, that Land of Promiſe, a People elected, and of acquiſition. He brought none into, but them firſt brought back; He brought none back, but with an intent, as much as was in him, to bring them into. In both, more honourable, for more powerfull, then them both. *Ieſus Nave*, or *Ioſua*, did not finiſh the work

Ieſus, a communicated name.

of

of ejecting, introducting, conferring Poſſeſſion upon Iſrael. Many were left, and ſo remained, as Co-inhabitants with, or as Combiners againſt Iſrael; never caſt out by *Ioſua*, or his ſucceſſors: and the other *Ieſus* ſon of *Ioſedec*, left things as imperfect and inconſummate; hee finiſhed not the Temple, walled not the City: but *Ieſus*, ſon of *Mary*, performed what he came for, All the will of God, and not in part; upon his Croſſe, when he gave ũp the Ghoſt, he cried, as well he might, *All is done.*

48. As other *Ieſus*, ſo other Chriſts, many beſide him, ſome againſt him, ſome his, and for him, both before, and ſince hee was Chriſt; thoſe by uſurpation, falſe Chriſts, *Mat.* 24.5. theſe by participation his, and ſo true Chriſts. For *Act.* 2. we have it reported from *Ioel* 2. that *Spiritus effuſus*, Gods Spirit was poured out, which comes home to that foretold *Cant.* 1.3. *Oleum effuſum nomen ejus.* In times of old Gods Spirit was imparted, but in a poor ſcantling; It was not by man imparted unto man, as after that Infuſion, *Receive the holy Ghoſt*; of theſe times it was ſaid prerogatively by *Eſay* 54.13. *All ſhall bee then taught by God*, which once was the ſpecialty of Prophets, ſome few, two of a Country, one of a Tribe. The Prieſts were alſo few reſpectively, as in the Inrolment of the hoſt of Iſrael; though a multitude reſerved, yet all confined to one Tribe, that of *Levi*; to one Family in that one Tribe, the houſe of *Aaron:* But now we have all, an unction from that holy One, 1 *Iohn* 2.20. But now are we a Royall Prieſthood, 1 *Pet.* 2.9. all anoynted; ſo is our Name, expreſſing our condition; Chriſtians of Chriſt, our Prince, our Prieſt. *Generatio Chriſti, eſt origo populi Chriſtiani; & Natale capitis, Natale eſt corporis:* The Incarnation of Chriſt is the originall beginning of Chriſtians, the birth of the Head is the birth of the Body. For *Non ſolùm caput noſtrum unctum eſt, ſed & corpus*, as wee reade *Pſal.* 132. of that precious oyntment upon the head, that ran downe unto the beard, even unto *Aarons* beard, and ſo went downe to the skirts of his cloathing. For of his fulneſſe we have all received, and that abundantly. Full he was, and we are filled: ſo we read of *Stephen*, *Eliſabeth*, the Virgin *Mary*; but not as hee, ſo were they full, or ſo anoynted with holy Unction. All fulneſſe is as the veſſell holds. For *Quicquid recipitur, ad modum recipientis recipitur*; Whatſoever is received, is ſo received, as the Donee could receive it; not as the Donor could conferre it. Chriſt Incarnate, reſpecting that Hypoſtaticall Union of the Godhead with the Manhood, was a veſſel of ſpeciall Sanctification, of Infinite capacity beyond all others. There is a Reception of Sufficiency, common to all, in courſe, in kinde: there is a Reception of Prerogative or Eminency, the holy Virgin Mother had this meaſure: there is a Reception of Superabundant Tranſcendency, Chriſts peculiar Incommunicable, which *Pſa.* 45. is *ultra conſortes*, beyond his brethren, Men and Angels in the day of their moſt Indowments, Materially, Formally, Finally, Anoynted above all.

Leo.

49. Materially:

49. Materially: First, for *Christi Domini*, the Lords anointed in times of old, Princes, Priests, Prophets, had poured on them χρίσμα χειροποίητον, ointment made with hands, of compounded Simples, prescribed by the hand and art of the Apothecary. *Exod.* 30. 23. *Take unto thee principall spices: of pure myrrhe five hundred shekels, and of sweet Cinnamon half so much, two hundred and fifty shekels, of sweet Calamus two hundred and fifty shekels, of Casia five hundred shekels, of Oyle-olive one Hin: And thou shalt make it an oyle of holy oyntment, compounded after the art of the Apothecary.* With this were anointed all *holy things*: So was *Aaron* and his sons, to serve in the Priests office before the Lord. But his, that is, Christs oyle of Consecration, was ἀχειροποίητον, not made with hands, but with *Power, and the holy Ghost*, *Act.* 10. 38. So was it directed in that Annunciation, *The holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee: Therefore that holy Thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called The Son of God.* Formally, also beyond all consorts, anointed with the holy Ghost, as himselfe; because not in so large a measure, nor so excellent a manner. He had it originally, from God immediately; they by intermediate participation, as joyners to him, being in him, not otherwise: Intentionally beyond all, in both one and other: For *Quicquid* is Imparted, and Enjoyed, is considerable for Time, or for Employment. The best things that are, or can be imparted, are transitive, suddenly gone, momentary: and if for nothing else, yet in this regard, lose of their worth, value, reputation. It is the condition of worldly things, they are not eternall; we must one day leave them; a change will come; and then, where are they? what comfort of them, or respect unto them? His anointing is of another nature, the assignation of Eternity, in which is nor change, nor feare of change, the peculiar character of the world to come. Then for employment, that which men receive of Grace, infused, affused, howsoever they, or have it for themselves alone, their owne proper use, or for some few together with themselves: and either cannot conferre what they would at all, or doe conferre it in a scant measure, being confined by dispensation. *Moses* had this anointing, but could not give it, in case of exigency, to his assistants, the seventy Elders, or his successor, *Iosua* the sonne of *Nun*; God *took of it*, and *put it upon* both him and them. The spirit indeed of *Elias* was doubled on *Eliseus*: It was professed *An hard thing* by *Elias*; it was hypothetical, limited with condition, *If thou seest me, &c.* it shall be so. It was not of his donation, but he foretold it onely; but God conferred it immediately. This was their pittance, and scantled allowance in those dayes, *Habere, non dare*, To enjoy it themselves, for their own employment; not to confer it upon others for use.

Christs transcendent anointing.

Under the Law, Grace had, not given.

50. But under the Gospel, the Prophecie of *Ioel* being fulfilled, for *pouring out*, there was conferred an enlargement of Grace. Those that had it by Donation, collated it upon others by *diffusion* or *derivation*: For *through Imposition of the Apostles hands, the holy Ghost*

Under the Gospel, had and given.

was given: which *Simon* the Sorcerer would have bought for mony. It was according unto Promiſe in their miſſion ſo diſpatched, *As my Father ſent me, doe I ſend you.* But yet here was a *reſtriction* of it, to certaine ends, at ſome times: For *Spiritus ſpirat ubi vult*, It is not in man, at will and pleaſure, to diſpoſe of the things of God; The Apoſtles alone were Agents therein: For when *Philip* had converted the Samaritans, *Peter* and *John* were ſent to *impoſe hands*, and to *conferre the holy Ghoſt.* Nor could they ſpeak with Tongues, (another *Chariſma*) *as, where, when* they would, but *in loco ſancto, actione ſacra*, in the execution of their Miniſtery onely: and out of this reſtraint of ſupernaturall indowments, S. *Paul ſpake Languages more then all:* For he, borne at *Tarſus*, an Univerſity, and having learned the Greek and Latine Languages there profeſſed, had an habit of ſpeaking which they had not. And when they conferred the holy Ghoſt, it was by way of delegation, *In the name of Ieſus Chriſt*, not their own, and this was their warrant of working miracles. Jeſus Chriſt, in both, was all in all, which our Saviour nor uſed, nor needed to uſe; his ſpeech was imperative, his words a command, *Surge & ambula, Ariſe and walk, Lazarus come forth.* In concluſion, the perfection of his time went beyond that of old, ſo his power and ſufficiency exceeded all indowments of any time: The eminent excellencie of what he had, was from the ſingularity of what he was; and both gave the eminencie of what he did. Actions are, as Suppoſitions be.

Ieſus, a communicated name.

51. Before Jeſus was borne, a Saviour in the world, there were many Saviours, famous for their actions and atchievements in their generations, *Moſes, Ioſhua, Samſon, Samuel, David*, the Judges, by whoſe meanes and procurement, in hard aſſayes, and great diſtreſſe, God ſaved and delivered Iſrael in their times. Saviours they were, and ſo were they called: Saviours, deſigned ſuch by delegation. God ſaved Iſrael, it is ſaid, by their hands: They were the inſtruments of his ſaving power, inſtances of him before he came, to intimate thus much, that come he ſhould. Saviours in act, and in title, deliverers of Iſrael in their times, Saviours of Iſrael in their kind, before he was named *Ieſus* by the Angel: *Ieſus*, and *Ieſus* had been in Iſrael, both in name and in deed, Saviours. I rather beleeve S. *Luke*, *Act.* 7. then *Galatinus*, who holds, none were ſo called *Ieſus* formerly. Saviours, and *Ieſus* there had been, but not ſuch as *Ieſus* of Nazaret, Sonne of *Abraham*, Sonne of *David*, who ſaved from ſinne, from death, from the devill, and from God. Thus God being angry and offended with Man, was at oddes, at difference, at enmity with man, who had need of a Saviour to purpoſe, to be ſafe from him, and his avenging hand.

52. As *David* by anoynting became *King in Iſrael. Aaron* by the ſame meanes high Prieſt in Iſrael; and *Eliſeus*, Prophet in *Elias* room, ſo Chriſt the Repreſenter of them all, in whom Prophecie, Prieſt-hood, Kingdome are compleate, by Unction came to ſucceed in all. Τότε ἡ γένεσις, καὶ ἡ παράδοσις, τότε φατνὴ, καὶ Βηθλεὲμ. *This was his Incarnation*

nation, this the Virgin his Mother, this the Manger, and this was Bethleem. To a threefold office, in a threefold sort; Causally by God, Himselfe; Instrumentally by men: by God in the Virgins wombe, Powerfully, by God in his Baptisme, Visibly, and Audibly, when God from heaven immediately by his own mouth, did set him apart from all mankinde, by speciall approbation, in those words, *This is my beloved Son*; at which designation the holy Ghost came downe, and rested upon him; In which he was anoynted, *ultra consortes*, in that sort as not any anoynted so as he. Anoynted by himselfe three severall times with his *owne blood*, which hee shed in three different sorts, at his Circumcision, in his Agony, upon his Crosse, and other sufferings. Anoynted of others in diverse fashions, and kindes: In his life, at his death, after his Resurrection and Assumption: by *Mary Magdalen*, by other women, by *Nicodemus* and *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*, by the Church of the Redeemed by his blood, which anoynteth with Praise everlastingly. *Unctum est ab aliis caput nostrum, ungi nihilominus à nobis voluit, odore Laudum & Conversationis*; *Our Head hath been by others anoynted, and yet he would bee anoynted by us, with the sweet savour of Praise and holy Conversation*; saith *Bernard*. So *David* in Type was thrice anoynted: In his Fathers house, by *Samuel*, in expectation; secondly at *Hebron*, for partiall possession; lastly in *Ierusalem* over all *Israel*. And wee in him, receive a threefold Unction from him, of spirituall Regeneration in Baptisme; of spirituall Confirmation in the other Sacraments of the Church; the compleate and finall Unction of Glory, and Eternall Crowne of Righteousnesse, in Jerusalem above, the Metropolis of the *First-born* in heaven. And thus much of the subject in his names, declaring his *office* and his *nature*, as he was Incarnate, the son of *Abraham*, the son of *David*, which now are to be taken into consideration.

Christs anoynting.

Ours proportionable.

53. In every pedegree, or lineall deduction of descents, there is *Radix generis*, *The roote and stem originall*, which is but one primarily, and can be no more. From whence in subduction and subordination, a list, a roll at length may be deduced, directly, or collaterally, as it hapneth. In this pedegree of Jesus Christ, drawne by this Herald of heaven, S. *Matthew*, all for instance from *Adam* downeward, in the descending line, are *rootes* unto Jesus Christ; every former, to the successor, as well as *Abraham* and *David*, but yet above all, these two: for it is not intended by the Genealogist, though it be true, that *David* was the son of *Abraham*; but the meaning and intent here is, that Jesus Christ Incarnate was the son, that is, issued of *David*, and of *Abraham*. The Euangelist otherwise should have purposed to have drawne us out a line of *Davids* pedegree, of *Iechonias* and his brethren, who are named in the pedegree as Ancesters unto our Saviour; his intent was to deduce him from both *Abraham* and *David*: *descendendo*, from *Abraham* unto *David*; *ascendendo*, from *David* unto *Abraham*: both being *rootes* from whence hee sprang, whose name is therefore *Branch*, *Zech.6.9*. But beside *David* there were

were many ſtocks, ſtems, boughs, branches, goodly, greene, flouriſhing, though not all alike, in their dayes, planted in the garden and Paradiſe of God, that is, in the Viſible Church, and Society of holy Saints. Before *Abraham* there were many roots, and ſtocks, deep, and ſpreading, though not much ſhooting out, *Heber*, *Sem*, *Noah*, the reſt, who by *Seth* came out of *Adam*, *roote* originall of all mankinde; recorded by S. *Luke* in his pedegree of *deſcent*, whereof not any are named here by S. *Matthew* in his Roll.

54. *Abraham* and *David* were goodly Trees of God, and *full of ſap*, as *Pſal.* 104.16. As the *Cedars of Lebanon which God hath planted*: Many there were of the ſame planting, goodly growth, fruitfull ſpreading, but not remembred. So it may bee queſtioned, not cauſeleſly, Why went he no higher up, then to *Abraham?* why marked hee *David* out ſo ſingularly? In effect, why is Jeſus Chriſt named the *Son of Abraham*, the *Son of David? Hierome* anſwereth, but untruly, The Promiſe of Chriſt Jeſus was made onely to them two, *Ideo cæteris prætermiſſis horum filium nuncupavit, quia ad hos tantum eſt facta de Chriſto repromiſſio: Ad Abraham, inquit, in ſemine tuo benedicentur omnes Gentes, quod eſt Chriſtus; ad David, de fructu ventris tui ponam ſuper ſedem tuam.* Paſſing by all other he nameth him Son, becauſe the promiſe for Chriſt, was onely made to them two. To *Abraham* thus, *In thy ſeed ſhall all nations of the earth be bleſſed*; to *David* thus, *Of the fruit of thy body I will ſet upon thy Throne.* Such promiſe was made unto them both, I grant, but not to them alone. For *Gen.* 26.4. it was made to *Iſaac*, and *Gen.* 28.14. unto *Iacob*: upon which warrant the Pſalmiſt ſaid, *Pſal.* 105. *The promiſe which hee made to Abraham, the oath which he ſware to Iſaac, was confirmed to Iacob for a Law, and to Iſrael for an everlaſting Teſtament.* And firſt of all, before them all, unto *Adam* the firſt man of all; *The Seed of the woman ſhall break the ſerpents head.* But to them twaine more frequently then unto any, more plainly and eminently then unto all. Once to *Iſaac*, once to *Iacob*, often to *Abraham* and to *David*. To *Abraham* it was firſt made in limited termes; to *Adam* in generall, large, inconfined termes. *The Seed of the woman* is Indefinite; *Thy ſeed* is ſpecially confined. *David* was the laſt to whom it was renued, after him it was not ſaid to *Solomon* or any ſucceſſor, *In thy ſeed.* It was *Pactum*, therefore *Sempiternum David*, *Eſay* 55.3. *The ſure mercies of David*, not any more to bee renued or revived. And therefore the Jews after *Davids* time, expect him as the ſon of *David*; confeſſe, ſalute, emplore, and call him the ſon of *David*: when it was propounded, *What thinke you of Chriſt, whoſe ſon is he?* all could readily anſwer, *The ſon of David.* Not onely his *ſon* he was, but *himſelfe*. Jer. 35.7. *They ſhall ſerve the Lord, and David their King.* *Ezekiel* foure times nameth *David*, *Chap.* 24. *ver.* 23. & 24. and 37.24, 25. where *David* is Chriſt, the ſon of *David*, and not *David* the ſon of *Ieſſe*, as the ſigne is the thing ſignified. That *rock* was Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* 11. And hereto referring, is *David* ſaid, not ſo much for himſelfe, as this

The ſon of *David*, the ſon of *Abraham*.

this his Sonne to have been, *A man after Gods heart*, caſt in the mould that God would have him: For perſonally, in many things, *David* fell foule, and diſpleaſed God; but in *Chriſt Ieſus*, ὐσθένειν, every way, *This is he in whom my ſoule delighteth*; becauſe, his enemies being Judges, *He did all things well*, and *No guile was within his mouth.*

55. But yet moreover, in phraſe of Scripture, there be ſons of imitation, as well as generation: The ſons of *Abraham* according to promiſe, that is, like unto the faith of *Abraham*, Iſrael according to the ſpirit. In theſe reſpects alſo Chriſt Jeſus was their Son, more then any of their iſſue, as tranſcendently eminent in all thoſe things which eſpecially commended *Abraham* and *David*. *Abraham* was faithfull and obedient, *David* as valiant as ever drew ſword; yet in patient bearing and forbearing he went beyond all: But nor he, nor he to be named the ſame day with our Saviour, reſpecting the worth and dignity of his perſon; who, when he was *ſmitten, reviled not*, who prayed for thoſe that put him to a cruell, a lingring, a ſhamefull death: the pen of men and Angels cannot worthily depaint theſe ἀνδραγαθήματα, worthy works and performances of him in this kind, which I leave to Chriſtian meditation, and holy devotion to think upon.

56. Laſtly, this Herald of heaven, and penner of this pedegree, S. *Matthew*, a Jew deſcending of *Abraham*, intereſſed in the houſe of *David*, wrote his Goſpel unto the Jews. They originally, as he, came of *Abraham*, boaſted of *Abraham* as their Progenitor; They looked for a Kingdome to be eſtabliſhed in *David*, and out of theſe reſpects he might eſpecially inſiſt upon them *two*, the *two* principall Arches, σωλῆνα ἐρείσματα, of that people: Him from whom they had *ortum generis*, and him by whom they had *robur firmitatis*, the ſure mercies, he ſtyleth them, of *David* Hereupon in all Exigencies or Deprecations, ever in earneſt, hopefull, ſpeeding ſupplication, they conjured God (to uſe that phraſe) by *Abraham*, and by *David*; and God doth acknowledge that obligation, that in promiſe he had tyed himſelfe unto them, and for their ſakes would defend, deliver, heare them: So ſaid he, and performed it to purpoſe to *Ezechias*, *I will defend this City for my owne ſake, and for my ſervant Davids ſake.* Δυσωπῶν ὁ Θεὸς.

57. *Liber Generationis*, is the Book, or Roll of a man; but withall, the Book of God: Not onely that which God hath made, or that wherein God is made; but as all things admirable, large, eminent, are ſaid to be Gods, as if he had made them immediately to be ſuch. So we reade of the *vallyes of God*, rich and fertill; of the *mountaines and hils of God*, high and great; the *trees of God*, tall and goodly, as the Cedars of Lebanon, and Okes of Baſan: So the *Book of God* is a rare, excellent, admired Book, wherein be written and contained θαυμασιογράφια, wonders wrought; παράδοξα, exceeding opinion and conceit; ὑπέρλογα, ſurmounting ſpeech or apprehenſion; which be μεγαλεῖα, the great and wonderfull things of God, untraceable, indiſcoverable, involved Divers Books of God.

volved, or *rolled up*, *Ezek.*2.29. *ſealed*, *Eſay* 29.1. with *ſeven*, that is, with many *ſeales*, *Revel.*5.1. God hath many Books of this Aſſiſe; of Nature, Scripture, Providence, Predeſtination: in all, the materialls, compacture, parts, are admirable: for In wonderfull wiſdome he hath made all things. That Book of Nature is moſt common, moſt read on, learned, underſtood. In that, the front, every face or page with Capitall letters is written faire, Τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, that which is *knowable concerning God*, ſo that *he who runneth may read it*, if he will: and yet conſidering the works of but his fingers, the heaven, the earth, the moone, the ſtars, &c. we ſtand at gaze; *Pſal.*8.*O Lord our Governour, how admirable are thy works in all the world!* *David*, *Pſal.* 139. ſaith of his owne and every mans frame and compacture in the wombe, that he was ſtrangely made and faſhioned; as true it is: for which cauſe man is ſaid to be *magnum naturæ miraculum*, the great miracle of Nature: And that Book of Predeſtination cannot be opened nor unclaſped; is paſt reading or underſtanding for any man, or all men in this world, and peradventure in that to come.

58. But above and beyond all Books, commend me to this Book of the Generation of Jeſus Chriſt, which without all peradventure ſhall not be underſtood either in this world, or that to come. It cannot be diſcovered how it was done, that God became Man, and dwelt amongſt us, in the ſimilitude of ſinfull fleſh. It was ſeen, ſaith *Baſil*, in the Incarnation, which never was ſeen or known before, amongſt the creatures: the Son, Father unto the Mother that bare him: an Infant, in being before his Mother was borne: a young child elder then Everlaſtingneſſe. Our Engliſh Poet, I do not doubt, had reference to this paſſage of S. *Baſil*, for a Scholar he was, a Prieſt he was, well read and learned in his time, who of the Nativity writes thus:

Τότε κατεῖδεν ἡ κτίσις, ὃ μὴ πεφύκασι θεῖσθαι σέβειν· ἡ τεκοῦσα πατέρα ζητοῦσι· μήτηρ θεοῦ παρ-χωρεῖ παιδίον αἰώνων ἀρχαιότερον.

Behold! the Father is his Daughters Son,
The Bird that built the neſt was hatch'd therein,
The old of yeares an hower hath not out-run,
Eternall life, to live doth now begin:
The Word is dumb, the joy of Heaven doth weep,
Might feeble is, and Force doth faintly creep.

59. It was rightly ſaid of this unheard of Time, that καινὰ πάντα, 2 *Cor.*5.17. *Nova*, not alone *Novata*, brought back to their prime originall ſtate, recovering in *Chriſt*, what was loſt in *Adam*; but plainly *Nova*, made new. Here was καινὴ μίξις, of Imcompoſſibilities, God and Man in one Chriſt; which is the Materialls of this Book of Generation: for *partes integrantes*, compoſing this One, God and Man, be utterly but unto Omnipotencie, δύναται καὶ δυνάμενα, no common tye or *vinculum* of combination to unite them naturally: And therefore, 1 *Tim.* 3.16. Great is the myſterie of Godlineſſe, God manifeſted in the fleſh.

All things new

60. In

60. In courſe amongſt men, bookes are often voluminous, and huge for bulk, but ſmall and penurious enough for materialls. They are often bound, covered, filleted with gold, *Et titulus minio, cedro quoq; charta notatur*; and yet poor profit, if not much hurt is procured by them. Thoſe *books* be of wondrous Art and Compriſure, of the *Righteous*, the *Living*, of *Life*, the *houſe of Iſrael*; but theſe and all Gods books are but Appendices, or Tables unto this. For *in, through, by* Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of *David*, the Son of *Abraham*, are all that be elected, elect unto grace, and conſummated in glory; and ſo *Liber Generationis*, is *Liber Emptionis*, *Liber Redemptionis Captivorum*; The booke of the Generation, is the book of buying, the booke of Redemption of Captives: It is the book of *ſouls bought*, and the *price paid* for them; the Book or Catalogue of ſuch Caitifes, as being *faſt bound in miſery and iron*, are diſmanacled, unſhackled, raiſed up, and as the Angel did unto *S. Peter*, when he led him out of Priſon, commanded to follow our Deliverer: It is *Liber Nobilitatis*, A booke of noble deſcent, the higheſt and greateſt that ever was entituled Noble, the beſt bloud under heaven; *The ſeed of Abraham*; *Thigh of Iacob*; *Son of David*. Into which, by him, we are inſerted, and are *Fratres utero*, ſons of one mother, the Church; if *fratres animo*, we be of the ſame brotherly minde, τῆς φρονήσεως, as *Phil.* 2. 2. Sons and heires of God, with Chriſt; who therefore vouchſafeth to call us Brethren: by this Book of Generation, the ſubject thereof, Chriſt Incarnate, wee have *Ius ad hæreditatem Dei*, right unto the Inheritance of God, which gives us entrance by grace into the Church; and *Ius in David*, a portion in *David*; *Abrahams* boſome; if wee continue written in the *Booke of Life*, and procure not deſervedly, *A Booke of Divorce*.

Μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κακόν. *Callim.*

61. If then it be asked, as it may be, What is the Book of this Generation unto us; we are not of *Abraham*, after the fleſh, nor of *David* by any of his children? I anſwer, we are of both, in a nearer ſort, by a better intereſt, if we continue *written*, as we are; ſo we ſhall, if we *blot* not out our ſelves. That we may doe, and yet God be unchangeable, who cannot undoe, what is by himſelfe *decreed*; but ſo, in that ſort, as it is *decreed*. Conditionall promiſes doe not peremptorily binde, unleſſe the Conditions be obſerved. *Liber Generationis*, is *Liber ſecuritatis* here, for our hopes aſſured; and *Liber requietis*, for them fulfilled in the heavens. *Reparatur nobis ſalutis noſtræ annua revolutione ſacramentum, ab initio promiſſum, in fine redditum, ſine fine manſurum*; *The myſtery of our purchaſed ſalvation, is renued unto us by yearly revolution, promiſed at firſt, made good at laſt, to continue everlaſtingly*. And ſo farther I goe not to reade upon this Myſticall *Booke* of the *Generation of Ieſus Chriſt, the Son of Abraham, the Son of David*.

The Book of Generation, The Book of Security. *Leo.*

62. This unpriceable benefit conferred upon man, the Redemption of the world, by God made man, is not malitiouſly to bee reſtrained, ſtraitned or confined, as it hath been by ſome more wayes

then one, God ſent his Son made of a Woman, made in the world, not to condemne, or delude, but truly to ſave the world, which fell by *Adam*, and had any part or portion in him. Enlarged mercies muſt not be cooped up, or ſcantled. *Redimientes miſericordia*, Crowning mercies, in ſome ſenſe may be confined; but *Miſericordia redimentes*, Redeeming mercies, are of larger extent. Carnall Iſrael were of that minde, that themſelves alone had intereſt in the *ſure mercies of David*, that they were onely the *ſeed of Abraham*, becauſe *Iſmael* of *Agar*, and the ſons of *Ceturah*, were *ſent away with gifts*, and were not permitted to be *heires with Iſaac*, the *heire of Promiſe*; as if that *Adam* had not been before *Abraham*, and that Promiſe of *the ſeed of the woman*, elder then that of *thy ſeed* to him. They did not remember, or underſtood not wherefore, that *when Iſrael came up out of Egypt, and the houſe of Iacob from amongſt the ſtrange people*, though that *Iudah were his ſanctuary*, and *Iſrael his Dominion*, yet a great mixed multitude of all Nations came out with them, and became Incorporated, Gods people as well as they. They remembred not, that when forty yeares expired, and Iſrael paſſed over Jordan, to goe in, and take poſſeſſion of the promiſed Land, *Ioſua*, and *Iuda*, nor did, nor could roote out and deſtroy all the Inhabitants of that Land; the *Epimicti*, as they came up with them out of Egypt, ſo the *Geœ* continued amongſt them, to the finall Captivity of the Land. They did not remember that when *Solomon built the Temple*, the workmen employed were not all of Iſrael, perchance, not the moſt, but certainly not all. The Maſter workman was a man of Tyre; the materialls were comported from the Gentiles, the ſilks of Egypt, the braſſe of Sidon, the Cedars of Lebanon, the gold of Ophir, whether in the Eaſt, or rather the Weſt Indies, gold of Peruaim. In this very line and pedegree drawne by S. *Matthew* from *Abraham* and *David*, *Thamar*, *Rahab*, *Ruth*, and *Bathſheba*, were not of Iſrael, but meere ſtrangers, Proſelytes and Converts to Religion. And Chriſt himſelfe, as if he would put them off from *David*, diſclaime *Abraham*, calls them backe to the Promiſe made to all Mankinde, to *Adam*, when all were yet in his loynes, the *ſeed of the woman*. For he evermore calls himſelfe *The ſon of man*, never the ſeed of *Abraham*, nor the ſon of *David*: Intereſſing mankinde, at large in himſelfe; as grounding the ground, and cloſe of all our Interceſſions, *Through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord*; and referring every man, to come unto God, with *Memento Ieſu*, Remember thy Son Jeſus, who dyed for mee.

63. But Jews are Jews, that is, malicious unto others, greateſt deceivers of themſelves, becauſe abandoned and caſt off by God unto a Reprobate ſenſe, and profeſſed enemies unto the Son of Man. We live with Chriſtians, wee are named Chriſtians, wee are to conſider him ſent into the world, as to ſave Chriſtians. And amongſt us Chriſtians, *Solent queri quæſtiones*: two eſpecially, queſtions are made; firſt, concerning ſuch as were before Chriſt; ſecondly, ſuch

Queſtions about extent of Chriſts merit.

as

as both before and after be more reſervedly, and eminently his; Whether he died to redeem all or ſome; Whether thoſe all or ſome, were onely redeemed, and how ſo, ſince he came into the world. I ſhall onely inſiſt on the former, wherein I affirme the benefit of Chriſts Redemption not to be ſo confined, and ſhut up into a ſtrait, and a narrow roome, as if, by way of Benefit and Application, it appertaine to none but onely to ſuch as have beleeved in him, and profeſſed his Name, ſince he came into the world; it is a benefit every way to be drawne out at full length, and to be extended unto all mankinde, of all ages and ſexes, to them afarre off, as well as unto thoſe neare hand, who in hope and expectation of a Redeemer to come, went the way of all fleſh, in their ſeverall generations, and died before his Incarnation: For he was ever that Lambe of God, ſlaine from the beginning of the world, according to purpoſe, in the meaſure of Eternity. There nor ever was, nor ſhall be under heaven, any other Name, or Power, or Perſon, ſet apart to ſave Man by, but that moſt ſweet and ſacred name of JESUS, yeſterday, to day the ſame, and ſo for ever. His death, paſſion, bloudſhed in Gods ſight, that is, in the meaſure of Eternity, hath alway been availeable, profitable, ſaveable of all who have lived and dyed unto God, ſince righteous *Abel*. Yeſterday, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, deſigneth the time beforehand paſt: To day, is that time which ſubſiſts in preſent: For ever, is that unbounded and infinite courſe of time, which is, in our Language, *world without end*. They in former times, *yeſterday*, beleeved in him who was to come, as we, *to day*, beleeve in him being come. They were then by him ſaved, who was in expectation, as we have been by him redeemed in execution, ſaith *Auguſtine*. Thoſe times and theſe are not the ſame, nor manner nor meaſure ſuch then, as now. Since Man was firſt made, ſaith he again elſwhere, *Sometime in more ſecret and reſerved ſort, ſometime with greater evidence and appearance, as conveniently it ſtood with the ſtate of thoſe times, he was ſeene and revealed unto Man from heaven. Ever and anon the Prophets in their ſeverall times, foretold of him who was to come; and there alway were ſome that beleeved in him ſo to come. Declared he was to the holy men of old, ſo, and with that intent, that by faith in him who was to come, and ſuffer death, they then ſhould be ſaved, by faith in his paſſion, now paſt and accompliſhed upon us.* Which again in another place he repreſenteth thus: *As in the birth of man it comes ſometime to paſſe, that the head appeares before the reſt of the body, but yet is it not ſevered or diſmembred from the body, but being inſerted unto, united with, and living in the body, it is activated by life and vigour of the body: So thoſe holy, juſt, and righteous men, who lived and died before Chriſt was incarnate and came into the world, notwithſtanding ſuch prevention and precedency in time, were living members of that his myſticall body,* (the Church) *whereof Chriſt Ieſus* (incarnate) *is the Head.* Nor can we, or muſt we otherwiſe then ſo, account or eſteeme of them.

I

They had intereſt in him, who died before him.

Ενταῦθα, τὸ χθὲς, τὸ παρελθὸντα χρόνον λέγει· τὸ σήμερον, τὸ ἑστῶτα χρόνον τὸ αἰώνα, τὸ ἄπειρον ἔκτασιν οὐκ ἔχον.

Epiſt. 89.

Epiſt. 43. S. *Auguſtines* doctrine thereof.

64. This was not or private opinion of S. *Auguſtine*, or new and ſingular conceit of him and *Hierome*, in oppoſition to the hereſie of *Pelagius*, as ſomething elſe is charged to be in that caſe; it was the generally received, beleeved, and delivered Doctrine of the moſt Primitive Church from the Apoſtles times, That no Salvation was by any to be had, procured, or attained unto, without Chriſt his merits, knowne, apprehended, beleeved in ſome ſort: Nor Nature, nor Philoſophie, an emprovement of nature, ſaved the Gentiles, though both were good helps unto the cauſe of godlineſſe in themſelves, their deſtination being rightly uſed: That no Circumciſion, ſabbatizing exactly, ſacrifices expiatory, could waſh away ſin; Nor Law, nor Prophets, no power in them, reſulting from them, nothing done by them, could have brought any, or themſelves to heaven and happineſſe, without Chriſt, the alone Mediator and Reconciler of God and Man. *Chriſt died and ſhed his bloud for naught*, ſaith *Auguſtine*, *if any men, without Chriſt, by any meanes otherwiſe, or aſſiſtance whatſoever, attained true faith, true vertue, true righteouſneſſe, or wiſedome*: which is directly the grounded doctrine of S. *Paul*, *If that righteouſneſſe be by the Law, then is Chriſt dead in vaine.* And upon the ſame ſuppoſition, if that righteouſneſſe be by nature; if *by*, *of*, or *from* any force, any power, any faculty reſident in, or reſultant from nature; if mans will or diſpoſition, or laying hold upon, and embracing ordinary meanes offered, and well uſing, or employing of them, be ſufficient, and to purpoſe of ſerving God ſo, as to be rewarded with everlaſting life, then *fruſtra* and cauſeleſſe, was that much ado which wrought the Incarnation of the Son of God. It is not denied but that many under, and in time of the Law; that others before, and ſome without the Law, or Covenant of Circumciſion in the fleſh, had intereſt in, and enjoyed in time, thoſe *Repoſita* or *Laid up things of God*, which be yet in ἀπορρήτοις hidden even from us, who certainly know not what we ſhall be: but none of them, none of us, here or there, had any ſuch intereſt or fruition without Chriſt, knowne, apprehended, applied in ſome ſort, according to the ſcantling of their Indowments, which God afforded them in thoſe times. *Quòd nemini conceſſum, credendum eſt*, ſaith *Auguſtine*, *niſi cui divinitus revelatus eſt, unus Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Ieſus Chriſtus; qui futurus in carne ſic antiquis Sanctis prænuntiabatur, quemadmodum & nobis veniſſe, annuntiatus eſt: ut una eademq; fides per ipſum omnes in Dei Civitatem, in domum Dei, in Dei templum perduceret prædeſtinatos. We muſt believe, that never was this granted unto any, but to ſuch alone, who had Ieſus Chriſt that man revealed unto them, as the Mediator of God and man; who in the ſame manner was foretold unto the Saints of former times, that he ſhould come into the world, as to us he is declared in theſe times, to be come into the world. For ſo muſt and doth one and the ſame faith bring in whoſoever is thereto predeſtinated, into the City, the Houſe, the Temple of God.*

Conſonant to Antiquity before him.

65. Conſonant hereto is that paſſage of *Ignatius* in his Epiſtle to the

the *Magneſians*, next to the Sacred Scriptures and Apoſtolicall writings the moſt ancient Author in the Church, as being a Scholar unto, and a follower of S. *Iohn* the Euangeliſt, and Apoſtle. *All holy Patriarchs and Prophets of old, both lived and died in the faith of Chriſt. With us they participated the ſame hope, of and in Chriſt, then to come, not as yet come, but expected to be their Redeemer, to bring ſalvation unto both them and us.* And to confirme this Aſſertion he rightly and truly applieth that ſaying of our Saviour, *Iohn* 8. *Abraham rejoyced to ſee my day, and ſaw it. For before that Abraham was, I am.* And in proſecution he goeth on thus; *The divine holy Prophets of thoſe times, lived after that faith which is in Chriſt Ieſus. For him and his ſake indured they perſecution.* And upon theſe premiſſes, he inferreth further, and preſſeth home, that Reciprocall and Reſpective duty, which they did performe, and we doe owe unto him, for ſalvation and redemption in our ſeverall times; yet ſo, that we Chriſtians ſo named of Chriſt, now actually come, and having accompliſhed former expectation, ſtand more deeply ingaged, and are more ſtrongly obliged, then they, becauſe we haue received much more then they, a farre greater meaſure of Gods Redeeming mercies, then ever was imparted unto them. And upon theſe premiſſes, his laſt Concluſion is, *If they, who of old time were brought up in, and lived under the diſcipline of that elder Schoole, and verſed in ſuch Scripture as then was extant, did participate in one and the ſame hope with us, through expectation of Chriſt to come, is it poſſible we ſhould live or ſubſiſt without him, unto whom all the Prophets ſince the world begun, haue profeſſed themſelves ſervants, who foreſaw him in ſpirit afarre off, whom they expected as their Maſter and Teacher, and Director, whom as their Lord and Saviour they attended and waited for, having ever and anon this ſpeech in their mouthes, Doubtleſſe he will come, and bring ſalvation unto us.* And in another place he is to the ſame purpoſe; *The Prophets of old, and Apoſtles ſince, received from God by Ieſus Chriſt, one and the ſelfeſame ſpirit. And no marvell if ſo they did, for the Prophets were in Chriſt, they believed in Chriſt, they hoped for, and expected Chriſt to come. By him they had, and obtained ſalvation: and teſtimony is afforded them in holy Scripture of the Goſpels, that ſalvation is common unto them and us.* Which phraſe of ſpeech, κοινὴ ἐλπίς, *common hope*, he uſeth at leaſt ten times in his Epiſtles of the ſame ſubject, and objects, Chriſt, and the Redeemed by him. *Ignatius doctr.*

66. From this Catholique doctrine of *Ignatius*, the enſuing times of the Church, by the Mouthes and Pens of ſuch as in after Ages were famous therein, did not vary, by any mitigation or Oppoſition. *Irenæus* about the yeare of Grace, CLXXX. in his 4. Booke and 14. Chapter, relates a doctrine blaſphemous of the Gnoſtick Heretiques, who then, and before time troubled the Church to this purpoſe, That before Chriſt was Incarnate and manifeſted in the fleſh, God was not knowne unto any at all. In oppoſition whereto, he diſcourſeth at large, and amongſt other points, to our purpoſe delivereth the *Irenæus and others.*

the doctrine and beliefe of the Church thus, *Revelationem filii communiter per totum tempus positam; ab Initio enim assistens filius suo plasmati, revelationibus, Patrem quibus vult, & quando vult, & quemadmodum vult Pater; & propter hoc in omnibus, & per omnia, unus Deus Pater, &c.* That generally the Son of God was ever known and beleeved on by and amongst men, God having laid it as a ground, That ever since the second Person, the Son made man at first, he hath assistantly been present with the work of his hands, revealing God his Father unto whom he pleased, when he would, and as he was pleased; so that hereupon, in all, and through all, there is knowne and confessed, one Father, one Son, one holy Spirit; one Faith, one salvation of all that beleeve in him. *Et Abraham ergo à Verbo cognoscens Patrem, qui fecit cœlum & terram, hunc Deum confitebatur; & doctus repræsentatione, quòd inter homines, homo futurus esset Filius Dei, per cujus adventum, semen ejus erat futurum quasi stellæ cœli, concupivit eam diem videre, ut ipse complecteretur Christum, & per spiritum Prophetiæ eam videns exultavit.* That *Abraham knew the Father by information of the Word, and so proceeded to acknowledge and professe the true God, who made both heaven and earth: That by the Sons appearing unto him, and conversing with him, he understood, that one day he must become man; and that by operation of his being man, his owne seed was to increase and be multiplied as the stars of heaven. The day of this performance he desired to see, wherein he might lay hold upon, and imbrace Christ Iesus Incarnate; Prophetically beholding it, in spirit he rejoyced.* See *Tertullian* to the same point, *Cap.* 11. *Lib. de anima. Origen hom.* 8. upon *Genesis. Hilary Lib.* 5. *de Trinitate.*

Of Papists and Protestants.

67. Which being the generall and most common Profession of Antiquity, is as generally the received and published doctrine of the Church at this day. Many and manifold be dissented Controversies, in things of Beliefe, and Revelation, which distract into Factions, and enraged Combustions, not differences only of opinion, those that professe and believe one God, one Christ, one Baptisme. But these Dissentients otherwise, for the generality, hold as did the Ancients, that the grace of our Saviour had operation in those ancient Patriarchs and holy men, who lived and dyed before he came in the flesh, having interest in his assisting grace, no way furthered, without it, by the *Law which commanded, but assisted not*, as *Augustine* saith: and it is on both sides acknowledged with *Gregory*, alluding to our Saviours Royall passe unto Jerusalem, that *such as went before, and such as came after, joyntly sang in their courses, as with one voyce and consent, Hosannah unto the son of David.*

68. Notwithstanding this generall consent, about salvation had, and to be had, by Christ alone Incarnate, expected or exhibited, and not otherwise, ordinarily, which all Protestant, Catholique Churches professe, the Fathers of the Society, as they style themselves, of Jesus, as if they had in Jesus a greater interest then any other Christians; or might

In eo sanè nimiũ sapientes, quod se putant cœlo vel ipsi quandoq; imperaturos. *Papyr. Massa in vita Pauli IIII.*

might command in heaven as they doe on earth, as they are charged to make it their *opus intentum*, and *operatum*, to foment a faction and ſchiſme begun, that *ſuch as profeſſe Gods holy name, may* not *agree in the truth of his holy word, and live in unity and godly love*, becauſe the Rule of State is, *Divide, & Impera*, Divide, or ſet difference betwixt parties, and doe what thou wilt; malitiouſly, amongſt other practiſes, have that as *Palmarium*, to ſclaunder their oppoſites and belie them. *Herebert Roſweyd*, a Jeſuit of the Colledge of Antwerp, a man of good Learning, but bad diſpoſition, in a late trifling Philologicall Rapſodie, of ſomewhat laid together againſt Maſter *Caſaubons* Exercitations, avoucheth this, with ſhame enough, That it is the Doctrine of the blaſphemous rabble, (as in his Jeſuiticall modeſty he ſtyleth Proteſtants) that falſe, Idololatrified Pagan gods, that impious, and ſacrilegious Heatheniſh Prieſts, that prophane and mercileſſe, cruell Pagan Captaines, doe without faith, without Chriſt, any notice of him, enjoy and inherit heaven, have and poſſeſſe the Felicity of Gods choſen in the Land of the living. Which ſhameleſſe aſſertion that Jeſuit took up, though he name him not, at truſt, upon retaile, from that fierce, fiery Frenchman, whoſe conditions anſwer his name, *Feuardent*, in his 4. Book, and 6. Chapter, *Theomachiæ*, as he Titles it, *Calviniana:* the Jeſuit profeſſeth not by whom he hath profited. And no marvell. For the Fathers of the Society, voluminous Compilers, make bold enough with borrowed wares, from Proteſtants their Oppoſites, oftentimes; I ſet them out to ſale, I ſpeak no more of them then I can prove, and that, without any gloſſe or varniſh. So hath *Roſweydus* blotted his Tables, with falſe imputations of *Feuardent:* Falſe, for firſt, *Feuardent* himſelfe confeſſeth that *Beza* (and he I trow is a ſacramentary in *Roſweyds* Book) hath purpoſedly written againſt that opinion. So then, it is not the beliefe of all that ſide, nor doth every accompted ſacramentary ſo blaſpheme. But ſuch is the practiſe of ſome men inſpired by him, and learning of him, who is the accuſer of the Brethren, the Devill, to belie, and aſperſe the profeſſion at large, with ſome perſonall faults, if any can be picked up, of Profeſſors on that ſide; as if the Profeſſion were cauſe thereof: and this we know is a common knack of many Jeſuits above all, in points of controverted diſputes, the private faults, opinions, conceits of Factioniſts, Singulariſts, or ſo, bee Fathered upon the Church, or ſide whereof they are, as the generally received, allowed, and authoriſed Doctrine of that ſide. Thus much, and often is the Church of *England* wronged; a practiſe notorious in this Imputation.

Roſweyd miſreporteth Proteſtants.

Blaſphemam ſacramentariorum catervam, Lavaterum, Zwinglium, Hardenbergium, Toſtatum, Tanmerum, Rodolphum, Goclenium, cum aliis, qui falſos Ethnicorum Deos, qui ſacrilegos Pontifices, qui impios, crudeleſque Duces, ſine Fide, ſine Chriſto Cœlis intulere.

69. For till of late, very late time, ſince *Roſweyd* drew his Tables, and ſet them on his ſtall, there was not, I think, one of the ſacramentaries rabble, as he calleth them, to be named, (for thoſe who be named are belied) that held, or tendred to be holden, this opinion of

The opinion of *Zwinglius*.

of Pagans to be ſaved without Chriſt, except *Zwinglius*, the Father, Forger, and Foſterer of many Atheologicall Fancies. He, in an Epiſtle to *Francis* the French King, firſt of that name, holdeth directly, & down-right, as *Roſweyd* and *Feuardent* doe charge him. His opinion, as himſelfe there delivereth it, is this, *Firſt, That the ſouls of all godly, pious, and religious men, being diſmiſſed out of the body, doe inſtantly, inceſſantly flie up toward heaven, that they approach unto, and be united unto God, enjoying him, his preſence, in full fruition of Viſion beatificall, and together with Chriſt Ieſus, for ever and ever, are abundantly delighted in Eternity. That ſuch ſouls ſo tranſported thither, and ſo diſpoſed of there, finde fit and complying Companions for themſelves, namely the ſouls of all Holy, Vertuous, Wiſe, Conſtant men, who lived from and ſince the foundation of the world, and have gone the way of all fleſh before them.*

70. Thus farre he goeth, and had he gone no farther, but ſtayed there, limiting his ſpeech, in thoſe generall, indefinite, involved termes, he might have had a diſcharge from the Jeſuits Cavill: but he goes on, and by inſtancing marreth all, gives him, or any, juſt cauſe to taxe him and his Doctrine, as he doth. For he nameth in particular, a Rabble indeed, gods of Pagans, Idololaters, Prieſts, Captaines, and ranks them with holy men, Gods Saints. *The King of France*, he ſaith, *ſhall behold them in glory:* (and yet how can hee tell whether he ever came there?) *the two Adams, firſt and laſt; a living ſoul, a quickning ſpirit; the Redeemed, and Redeemer. He ſhall further acquaint himſelf with Abel, Noah, Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Iudas*, (and why not *Ioſeph?*) *Moſes, Ioſhua, Gedeon, Samuel, Elias, and many moe*, by him or remembred or omitted. After which recitall of Jews, and ancient Patriarchs, on he goeth blundering unto Pagans, and tells King *Francis*, he ſhall finde with God in heaven, *Hercules, Theſeus, Socrates, Ariſtides, Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, the Catons, the Scipions, all his Predeceſſors Kings of France; as well Pharamond, Clodio, Merove, Pagans*; as *Clodoveus* the firſt, and that after him became Chriſtians, or *Lewes* the IX. whom they have Sainted. Many of this rabble, by him brought into heaven, had ſcarce any Morall or Civill honeſty upon earth. *Rodolf Gualter*, ſon in Law to *Zwinglius*, one of the remembred to have fallen upon the ſame opinion with him, hath written an Apology for *Zwinglius*, not for his Doctrine, as approving and propugning it, but for the man taxed otherwiſe. His indeavour is to prove, but how he proves that in performance, I regard not, that *Zwinglius* went no farther then unto the ſtate ſet and fixed by *Auguſtine*, God would deale with every man according to his works; better with *Fabricius* then with *Catiline*, at the day of doome: not becauſe *Fabricius* was pleaſingly good, but becauſe *Catilina* was exceedingly bad. Which Aſſertion of S. *Auguſtine*, is moſt certainly true, averred by our Saviour, the Judge to be, himſelfe; *It ſhall be eaſier for Sodome and Gomorrah at the day of judgement, then for Chorazin, Capernaum, and Bethſaida.* Secondly, he apologiſeth that

Zwinglius

Zwinglius out of ſecond thoughts, and better adviſe, retracted that opinion, and held the contrary. But thirdly, to acquit the ſacramentaries Rabble of this falſe Jeſuiticall imputation, *Oecolampadius*, Colleague unto *Zwinglius*, and *Beza*, as *Feuardent* confeſſeth, purpoſedly confuted this opinion. The Jeſuit is then a meere Impoſtor, and impious Calumniator, for his *Blaſphema caterva ſacramentariorum*, imputing a private fancy of *Zwinglius* alone, to the publique Doctrine of all Proteſtant Churches and Confeſſions. Refuted by Proteſtants.

71. The Remonſtrants of the Netherlands, ſince *Roſweyd* wrote, and ſince their Cenſure in the Synode of Dort, have more fully then before, in this, as in ſome other points followed *Zwinglius* rather then *Calvin*, and the *Geneva* Schoole; ſome will ſay, let them look unto it, as drawing hard upon the Lees of *Pelagius*, and *Socinus* Hereſies. It is not by many denied, that they have deſervedly and juſtly fallen off from *Calvin* and *Beza*, and that rigid ſide, in and concerning thoſe moſt reſerved, much to be admired, becauſe little underſtood, Doctrines of Predeſtination unto life and death; but it is ſaid withall, and probably enough, that under pretext of that diſſent, which hath applauſe of many, and approbation, occultly, ſecretly, inſenſibly they infuſe into prejudicated and prepared mindes, in diſcerning, not attendant, not ſuſpicious, ſuch novell, or revived hereticall conceits, as licentious liberty of Prophecying, which they ſo call, ambition, oppoſition, diſſent or curioſity preſent unto them. It is their Doctrine delivered of late, that no one Teſtimony is or can be produced out of the old Teſtament, which repreſents that faith in Jeſus Chriſt to come; to ſuffer death for the Redemption of mankinde, was had or commanded or tendred in thoſe dayes of old. For not *Abraham*, nor *Moſes*, nor *David*, nor any underſtood the Meſſias to be any other then a ſecular Potentate or Temporall Prince. But yet they pronounce, that faith in thoſe times, whatſoever it was, in whatſoever meaſure it was afforded, may be termed of us, *Faith in Ieſus Chriſt to come*; becauſe, or for as much as, Grace and Salvation wrought out and procured to mankinde by Chriſt was enveloped, encloſed, wrapped up, hidden under, and implied by generall & indefinite promiſes of grace and favor from God: which faith in Gods generall indefinite promiſe alone, couchant under Figures, Types, Ceremonies, ſhadowes, they profeſſe and believe, at leaſt, as is pretended, to be accounted by God, and eſteemed ſo of him, and may rightly be ſaid to be faith in Chriſt; in like ſort as *Iſaac*, the promiſed ſeed to *Abraham*, is called Chriſt, if yet they could tell where, or by whom he is ſo called. The Remonſtrants opinion.

72. Thus much if I miſtake not, and I think I doe not, the Cenſurers of the Cenſure, *cap.* 7. explaining the opinion of *Arminius* their Patriarch, who profeſſeth, that after great ſearch, long ſtudy, much deliberation upon the point, he came up to reſolve at laſt, that *Abraham* beheld not, conceived not, referred not unto Chriſt, our Lord and Saviour, in any of thoſe promiſes, related to have beene made

unto

unto him: and therefore he doth, as needs he muſt, pitch upon, and ſit down by this Concluſion, that the faith of the old Patriarchs, and Synagogue, before, after, but under the Law, was not the ſame with the Faith of the Church. They believed what they ſaw with their eyes; certaine Sacrifices, Rites, Ceremonies enacted ſo and ſo; but wherefore, or why, they underſtood not ſo much as afarre off; that which they heard with their eares, certaine promiſes at large, and at randome, of ſomething, no matter what, where or when to be accompliſhed. They believed not in him, for they had no notice of him, who was to come, as we believe in him, who is come. Take, ſaith *Arminius*, into conſideration, the deſcription of the faith of *Abraham*, *Rom.* 4. in every point, and manifeſtly appeare it will, that no expreſſe mention is made of Chriſt Jeſus in that deſcription, onely in ſuch an intricate and involved ſort, which every man cannot readily unfold; which yet, if ſo, is enough, and brings about his argument to a Jeofaile; and we may demand, What would the man ſay?

73. But becauſe our Saviour, *Iohn* 8. 56. conteſting with the Jews, telleth them thus, *Abraham your Father rejoyced to ſee my day*; which could not have been ſo, if *Abraham* had underſtood nothing of him, or his day: he deludes and depraves the Text with a gloſſe of his owne, that the ſenſe and meaning of our Saviour is, *Abraham* rejoyced when *Iſaac* was borne; the day there intended was *Iſaacs birth day*, who was a Type of Chriſt, and ſo called Chriſt, belike, by ſacramentall implication. And ſo our Saviour equivocated with the Jews, alleadged impertinences to his purpoſe, ſpake not of himſelfe in that diſcourſe, but of *Iſaac*, or ſome *Individuum vagum*, a certaine *Quidam* in the Clouds. To which the Cenſure addes out of farther bounty, that it cannot be proved that *Abraham* underſtood the Promiſes of God made unto him, and believed by him, in other ſort then that hee was to bee *Heire and Lord of the world*; which if it nor hath nor doth come to paſſe, then God promiſed what hee intended not, and *Abrahams* faith was affianced on a lie. But hee meant peradventure, that promiſe *then made*, is not yet accompliſhed, it ſhall bee when Jeruſalem is rebuilded; when all nations ſhall be ſubject unto the Jews; after *Euphrates* dried up to give them paſſage from the Caſpian Ports, or mountaines of the North; after the finall defeature of the Grand Seigniour in the Vale of *Ioſaphat*. For why ſhould not theſe Jewiſh fancies faſten together?

74. They goe on in this wilde race of Innovation, from *Abraham* to *David*, and deliver it for their Doctrinall determination, that *David* nor meant nor underſtood, *Meſſias* ſhould be a ſpirituall or heavenly King, but an earthly Monarch; which is the retained Judaiſme at this day. Now if *Abraham* and *David* were ſo great ignorants, I will eaſily believe he was not known in *Iewry*, the Iſraelites had no notice of him at all: and why may I not, if I ran along with them,

them, come up to the opinion of the ancient Gnosticks, the first-born of the Devill, That no man was saved, all went to hell, unto the 15. yeare of *Tiberius Cæsar*, wherein it was from heaven revealed, *This is my beloved Son, heare him:* For *Socinus* and his Society be no other then a meere *Cœtetum* of ancient Heresies re-inforced from hell. And if *Rosweyd* had meant his *Elogium* of these *New-old Sacramentary Gnosticks*, as he could not, but by Revelation; I would have subscribed, it is but desert; such *Carcinomata* in their Congregations be rather for Cauteries, then Curing-salves to work upon, most an end Singularists and opiniative; and such love themselves, and their reputation more then *all the towne beside*.

75. But Protestant Schooles reade no such Lectures unto their Auditory, nor doe Protestant Pulpits sound forth such Doctrines now adayes; our Accusers, and Imputers, be rather guilty hereof, and culpable herein. *Casaubon* charged it truly upon *Andradius*, that many being taxable therein, and that way, *Omnium animosissimè*, he most adventurously set upon it, and most couragiously went through stitch with it: He was a Portuguise by birth, a man of Noble Parentage and descent, of eminent note and learning in the Councell of Trent, for profound knowledge and elocution. So was it said of him, deservedly: *Ad Concilium Tridentinum attulit, & profundissimi Theologi mentem, & linguam Oratoris disertissimi.* In his third Booke of Orthodoxall explications, as he entitleth it, against *Chemnitius* for the Councell of Trent, he premiseth the severall opinions of Divines, anent the good workes of not Regenerate men, which were held by some, to bee infected deeply, not alone aspersed with sin, howsoever seeming specious and goodly to view; and in true account, rather truly, and meerly sins formall then good workes. In which opinion, saith he, S. *Prosper* was, and with him he might have reported, *Prospers* Master, S. *Augustine*, who in his Bookes against *Donatus de Baptismo, Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 8. deduceth from the instance of *Cornelius* the Centurion, *Acts* 10. that Prayer and Almes-deeds are of no efficacy to salvation, unlesse done and combined in Christian Profession. He grants indeed, for that is cleare and apparent in Scripture, that before he was in Christ, his prayers were heard, and his Almes-deeds accepted of by God: that he procured, or merited, the sending unto him of an Angel, to informe him further what to doe; willing him to make his addresse unto S. *Peter*; and of him to be instructed concerning Christ Crucified, and so, to be incorporated into the Church. True it is, and held by him, that the Civill vertuous courses, and commendable actions of many famous renowned Pagans, such as *Fabricius*, *Aristides* and the like, were not *Mala in se*, sins, depravations, or evill Acts in themselves, but by Accidence onely otherwise. As the Pearle is bred in the Sea, in a Shell-fish, materially water, but of Heavenly, or Aereall dew, and in value and accompt, for the

The Papists opinion.

Andradius.

Sed quoniam quicquid boni in orationibus & eleemosynis habebat, prodesse illi non poterat nisi per vinculum societatis & pacis Christianæ incorporetur Ecclesiæ, jubetur mittere ad Petrum, & per illum Christum discit.

clearneſſe, ſmoothneſſe, or whatſoever condition it hath, rather reſembleth, and referreth unto heaven, then to the ſea: ſo ſome men, Naturaliſts in the ſea of this world, have bred, nouriſhed, fomented in them, by ſweet influxe of Gods generall grace and providence, thoſe commendable qualities, and correſpondent actions, which in themſelves ſimply are accepted of by God, doe not diſpleaſe him, are rewarded by him, in, with, their due meaſure and proportion: but, becauſe they are not preſented by, as not accompanied with, or done in true faith in Chriſt, which is the formality and life of every work truly and eſſentially good, they are not ſo accepted of, as to be rewarded with ſalvation and eternall life. St. *Auguſtine* in *Pſal.* 31. reſolveth ſo: *Debemus nulla opera præponere Fidei, id eſt, ut ante Fidem quiſquam dicatur bene operatus. Ea enim ipſa opera quæ dicuntur ante Fidem, quamvis hominibus laudabilia videantur, inania ſunt. Ita mihi videntur eſſe, ut magnæ vires, & curſus extra viam celerrimus.* And his concluſion is with adviſe, that no man eſteeme, talk of, or make account of any good deeds by him done, before he believe. For where faith is not, there good works are not. A good work is made ſuch by the good intent; ſuch intent is not directed but by faith. Care not much, nor regard what it is a man doth, but what he looketh and aymeth at when he doth it, by guidance of which he directeth and addreſſeth his armes to doe well. This he enlargeth, declareth, and enforceth further by inſtance and ſimilitude of a Pilot, ſitting at helme, and directing the courſe of a Ship at Sea. *Fac hominem, optimè gubernare navim, & perdidiſſe quò tendat. Quid valet, quia artemonem optimè tenet, optimè movet; dat prorum fluctibus, cavet ne latera infligantur, tantis eſt viribus ut detorqueat navim quò velit, atq; unde venit; & dicatur ei, Vſq; quò is, & dicat, Neſcio, aut non dicat, Neſcio: ſed dicat, Ad eum portum eo; nec ducat in portum, ſed in ſaxa feſtinet? Nonne iſte, quanto ſibi videtur, in navi agenda & gubernandâ agilior & efficacior, tanto periculoſiùs eam ſic gubernat, ut ad naufragium properando perducat? Talis eſt, & qui optimè currit, præter viam.* Suppoſe a Pilot, guiding and ſteering well a Ship at Sea, but is out of his Compaſſe, knowing not whither to direct his courſe. What booteth it, if he have all the skill in the world, to cut the waves with the prow, preſerve the ſides from running on rocks, if by the helme hee can direct his courſe whither hee pleaſeth; but if one aske him, Whither doe you drive, and he anſwer, I know not; or otherwiſe, to ſuch a Port, which he knowes not, if he paſſe the Port, and fall upon rocks? Doth not ſuch a man, the more able and dexterous he is to ſteere the Ship, the more dangerouſly drive it, upon ſplitting a ruine? Such is the caſe of him who runs well, but never comes in the right way. He might have added S. *Ambroſe* to the ſame purpoſe, who ſpeaking of *Polemo*, the Philoſophers ſtrange converſion from his lewd courſes, yet cenſureth him thus, *Si reſipuit à vino, fuit ebrius ſacrilegio*; If he left off drunkenneſſe with wine, drunk yet he was with impiety againſt God: and S. *Leo*, eſteemed ſuch Pagan

κυλὰς πρόχειται, μὴ ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ. *Proverb.*

good

good works, morally, and civilly, as *urenda flammis*, not *condenda horreis*; unto theſe I might adde many moe.

76. But other men, ſaith *Andradius*, and true he ſaith, are of opinion, that ſuch good workes of Pagans are to bee accounted vertues, though imperfect, and not rewardable with, procurable, or meritorious of, Eternall life, yet without ſtain, tincture, infection, or pollution of ſin; the which works are wrought in man by Divine Grace and Power, without particular concurrency, or ſpeciall aſſiſtance of any ſeverally imparted or afforded grace. And this, ſaith he, is the commonly received opinion of Divines in this age; but ſo, that lawfull it is to propoſe, and hold the former Doctrine, becauſe that hitherto it never was declared or concluded in the Church, of what rate or aſſiſe the good workes of Pagans bee; For the Councell of Trent, (ſaith he, and he might well ſay it, as knowing the minde of that Councell, as being a principall ſtickler therein) did cenſure them onely who held and maintained, that all works done before Juſtification were truly, really, fully ſins, and ſo thoroughly engrained in ſin, that, unleſſe by a new Birth and Regeneration, nature depraved utterly, again were reformed, no grace of God in ſpeciall, whatſoever, could by any prevention, ſo embelliſh the workes done by men, in ſuch a ſtate, but that ſtill, notwithſtanding all ſpecious ſhewes, and luſtrement, they retained the ſtate and condition of ſins: No further, ſaith he, went the Councell of Trent. Secondly, he delivers that according to the Doctrine of S. *Auguſtine*, Vertue in man is of a double aſſiſe, *Perfect and abſolute*, or *Imperfect and deficient*: That the cauſes of vertue, of whatſoever aſſiſe, bee of two iſſues: From the will of the Agent, or Author of the worke, who of, by, from himſelfe, can act, or produce nothing but what is imperfect, and depraved with ſin; Or elſe, from a ſpeciall favour, concurrence, and aſſiſtance of Gods grace, which may and doth in ſuch as be unregenerate, produce what is good, though imperfect by ſuch. Thirdly, that an action, may be two wayes taken into conſideration, either reſpecting the end and intention of the agent, or the formall ſtate and ſubſtance of the thing done; which is in kinde, a good, commendable action: and yet further, ſo farre forth good, as being directed to an end civilly good or honeſt, by meanes of Gods particular help and aſſiſtance; which yet even ſo, unneth can bee produced or effected, without acceſſe, and accruement thereto, of defect and depravation, proceeding from the darkneſſe and perverſneſſe, which reſides naturally in the ſoule of man.

77. Thus *Andradius* diſcourſeth in extent, previouſly to his own opinion which he delivereth thus. Firſt, Faith, active, living, true, lively, ſound knowledge, and apprehending of God, may be had and derived from out, and by naturall creatures, not alone, and only from ſole and ſolitary Scripture. That this is more then inſinuated, it is directly taught by the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 1.19. and by the Prophet *David*, *Pſal.* 9.1,2. Secondly, he delivereth, that the party attaining to

this degree of understanding, will ever doe the utmost that is in his power; that he shall not be deprived of, put by, from, or be dispossessed of the fruit of his labours, care, and industry. Because under the Law, in the time of old, the Apostle avoweth that nothing was required but to beleeve that *God is*. And this degree and measure of knowledge is, he saith, feiseable: for any man who will, may attain unto it, by and from the creature; and by the creature any man may, as by a Ladder, ascend up unto the top of salvation. Having so premised, he further inferreth, that in state of grace, under the Gospel, there be somethings knowable by man alone intrinsecally, and of themselves, which yet shall not, nor cannot be knowne of men subsisting in that state, so long as they live in, and under that state, because they be yet, reserved for discovery and revelation, in that time, and state, when we shall *see God face to face*. And semblably under the Law, there were things discernable, and knowable of themselves, which yet were not knowne then, nor understood so long as the Law, or Mosaicall Polity stood in force. After the same sort was it, in time and state of Nature, before and without the Law; where, and when that measure and manner of knowledge alone was required, whereunto it was possible for them to attaine, who lived and dyed in, and under that state. For to require of men, more then in possibility they could compasse or attaine unto; to condemne men to hell for want and defect of that kinde or measure of knowledge, which by no indeavour or meanes was left unto their power to reach unto; a cruell, black, bloudy, mercilesse enemy happily might be drawne unto, but it was a course farre estranged from the goodnesse and mercifulnesse of God. And lastly, his conclusion, after all disputes, and discourses, is, that we have no cause to doubt of their salvation, and happinesse in heaven, who lived and dyed good honest morall men, according to the Dictates of naturall reason; and that wee must grant it to be a truth, unlesse we side with the *Manichees*, that without Law, or Gospel, or assistance from either, by meere concurring help of the Law of Nature, many have been saved everlastingly. For which he instanceth in *Abel*, *Enoch*, *Iob*, who, in his opinion, heard nothing of Christ, or the grace promised, to be performed by him. And he holds it unquestionable, that many Pagans and Philosophers may be ranked with them, who never did bend the knee to *Baal*. Up and downe, that Sacramentary Heretique, *Zwinglius* Doctrine, in the imputation of *Rosweyd*, who *blasphemias hasce eructavit*. If the Jesuite knew not this, he was a very Baby; if he dissembled it, a dishonest man: blush he may, to lay that upon an opposite, which is so notorious in a friend. For so was *Andradius* to that Society, yet not fledged, nor able scarce to creep alone, whose defence he undertook against *Chemnitius*.

78. These are plaine Aphorismes, and Propositions of *Pelagius*, as likewise is that cast in by the way of opposition, concerning Manichisme, imputed to such as be not Pelagians, as *Hierome* and S. *Augustine*

guſtine have both related. But for knowledge to be had of Chriſt Jeſus, his opinion is, that in and by ſuch ordinary courſe and diſpenſation of God in nature, the Redemption of mankinde by the bloudſhed of Chriſt, is impliedly, and involvedly diſpoſed of, intimated, and couched in the courſe of nature: And that neceſſarily, he who underſtandeth the courſe and order of Gods Providence, doth withall underſtand that God hath omitted nothing to bring men unto everlaſting life; which is enough to diſcharge them of that Imputation, *They had no knowledge of Chriſt Crucified*; however they perceived not, nor were acquainted with that courſe in particular, which God in his Time and Diſpenſation, would uſe and put in practiſe, to work out, and go thorough with their ſalvation. So that *Andradius*, the *Flower of Doctors, at the Councell of Trent*, did maintaine *Paria cum Philoſophis literaſq; tractantibus humaniores*, which be *Roſweyds* words of *Zwinglius*, and the Proteſtants; or to ſpeak out, and in plain Engliſh, was a downe right *Pelagian*, if not worſe.

79. Of whatſoever Religion he was, *Eraſmus* was no ſacramentary; but if he were of any, howſoever *Bellarmine* ſtyles him a Demi Chriſtian, he certainly was a Romane Catholique, and ſo was *Lodovicus Vives* of the ſame time. *Eraſmus* in his Preface upon *Tullies Tuſculane* queſtions, *Vives* in his Commentaries upon S. *Auguſtine de Civitate Dei*, held the ſame *Pelagian* Hereſie, with *Andradius*: *Eraſmus* ſcoffingly, as his manner was, in a Lucianicall ſtyle; *Vives* dogmatically, and in ſober ſadneſſe. His words are diſhoneſtly left out in the late Edition at *Paris*, after the direction of *Indices Expurgatorii*: I write them in Latin as he wrote them; loath to ſcourge our Engliſh eares with tranſlating of them. *Eraſmus.*

Poterant enim, qui ex gentibus Naturam ſequebantur ducem, tam grati eſſe Deo, quàm qui Legem Moſaicam ſervaverant. Quod enim hi conſequuti ſunt per Legem, illi eſſent conſecuti ſine Lege; & qui tales fuere ſine Lege, eodem quo Iudei, pervenerunt, cùm eodem contenderent. Nec inter eos aliud diſcrimen erat quàm eſt, ceu quis viator mandatam chartæ ſuæ viæ rationem ac veluti formam gerat, alter memoriæ fidat ac judicio. Idem etiam noſtro tempore continget ei, qui cum nihil de Chriſto, in remotiſſimis Oceani partibus natus, audiverit, duo illa maxima ſervaverit mandata, in quibus Veritas ipſa Legem totam Prophetaſq; conſtitutos affirmavit, de Deo nimirum & proximo diligendis. Huic, ſua conſcientia, Lex eſt; & juxta Pſalmiſtam, memor eſt de nocte, Nominis Domini, & cuſtodit præcepta ejus. Hæc fiunt ei quia Iuſtificationes Domini ſequitur. Tanti eſt, videlicet, voluiſſe bonum eſſe, etiamſi non habeas à quo virtutem doceare. Et in hoc hominum genere, quid deeſt, prater aquam? cum Spiritum ſanctum, non ſecus quàm Apoſtoli meruerint & acceperint, teſtante Petro, repleri nonnullos Divino afflatu quos myſtica nondum attigit aqua. So *Vives* Pelagianiſing in the poynt. *Pelagius* taught, that the good things of nature were ſo inherently infuſed into every Mothers ſon, that *Bonum naturæ*, or *Vigor naturæ*, declared and made remonſtrance of it ſelfe, amongſt thoſe nations who knew and ſerved no God at all; ſo *Hie-* *Vives.*

rome chargeth upon *Pelagius*, and *Vives* hath the ſame in his late diſcovered Nations, meaning the *Weſt-Indians*. Amongſt many principles of *Pelagius* Doctrine, *Hierome* remembers theſe; *Many Philoſophers have I heard of, read of, ſeene with mine eyes, who were indowed with Chaſtity, Patience, Modeſty, Liberality, Abſtinency, Gentleneſſe, Curteſie, deſpiſers of greatneſſe and worldly pompe, honours, delights, lovers of Iuſtice as well as of knowledge; ſuch men, without God, and ſtrangers from God, whence had they thoſe Indowments which pleaſed God? that good in them, whence came it, but from gooddity of nature? And for as much as thoſe remembred good qualities were to be found, either all, in ſome one man, or ſingly in ſeverall men, nature alike reſulting in all, they are proufe and inſtance enough to, for, of themſelves, that poſſible it is ſimply, for all to be in all, which are found and be exiſtent ſingly in ſome. Now if men without underſtanding of God, doe give remonſtrance, what manner conditioned ones God hath made them, then note well what it is poſſible for Chriſtians to obſerve, performe, and attaine unto, whoſe nature is improved, life better directed in and by Chriſt.* So *Pelagians* in *Hierome*, who eſpecially urged and ſtood upon two points. Before the Law repreſented to, and by *Moſes*, in ſtate of nature ſolitary and alone, men that lived according to the rule and direction of reaſon, were ſaved everlaſtingly by meanes, furtherance, act, power of nature alone. For man, they taught, loſt nothing by the fall of *Adam:* His ſin was prejudiciall onely to himſelfe: Poſterity, be not farther damnified thereby, then to have him an ill precedent of ſuch as will follow him, but ſuch as would ſeriouſly indeavour, and ſet themſelves unto it, might obſerve and performe what God requires of them, both in ſtate of meere nature, and under the Law, Chriſts merit being not requiſite unto ſuch performance. They divided all ages and times three wayes, and ſemblably taught, that men at firſt were juſtified in and by nature: next, under the Law: thirdly, under grace. By nature, derivedly from *Adam*, all that while that the Law was not yet given. In which tract of time, the Creator was knowne and apprehended by conduct of naturall reaſon; men bare it then written in their hearts, not in any letter of the Law, in what ſort they were to frame their lives. But corruption of life and manners growing on, nature now vaniſhing, and much defaced not ſufficing, the Law came on, an acceſſe, and brought light or luſtre, ſuch as was before, againe, ſcaling off the ruſt and ſcurfe which was growne on. And hereto conſented *Eraſmus*, *Vives*, and *Andradius*.

Pelagians.

Auguſt. con. Cœleſtium de peccat. & Origen. 26.

80. This is made more probable, becauſe at and in the Councell of *Trent*, as *Sleydan* reports in his Commentaries of the yeare 1552. it was publiquely preached and delivered out of Pulpit, that *Pagans* might be ſaved, and actually were ſaved without Chriſt: which was, nor cenſured, nor yet reproved in that Councell; the Author, never convented for his Sermon. Had it not been approved, at leaſt tolerated, but not blaſphemous, which is the ignorant Jeſuits phraſe, it ſhould

The Divines of *Colen.*

In the Councell of Trent.

ſhould have been branded for preſent, and poſterity in that Councell. It is alſo reported by *Bale* in his 14. Century, *pag.*220. in the Appendix of his Memoriall to *Iohn Maior*, that the Divines of *Colen*, calendred *Ariſtotle* for a Saint; and wrote a Booke, *De ſalute Ariſtotelis*, to prove that *Ariſtotle* was ſaved; which is poſitive, and ſo more then *Eraſmus* ſaid about *Virgil* and *Horace*, that he wiſhed well unto, and hoped well of their ſoules: In effect, the ſame, which ſcoffingly he hath, *Sancte Socrates, ora pro me:* Holy S. *Socrates*, pray for me; intending that many rubricated, and double feaſted Saints, in the Romane Calender, invocated in ordinary devotions, were no better in life, if yet ſo good, as *Socrates* the Philoſopher amongſt the *Pagans*. *Balæus* addeth, that the ſame Divines of *Colen* wrote another Book of the life and death of *Ariſtotle*, in the cloſe of which Book their reſolution ſtood delivered, that *Ariſtotle*, in *Naturals*, was Chriſts fore-runner, as *Iohn Baptiſt* was for *Spirituals*, and the things of Grace. Nor doth *Sleydans* report abhorre from truth. For *Balæus* brings his proofe for what he ſayes, becauſe three Divines of *Spaine*, the moſt eminent of worth and reckoning in that Councell, whom few have equalled, none exceeded, have of purpoſe defended and explained that Doctrine without taxe, enqueſtion, or imputation: namely *Andradius* remembred, *Andreas Vega*, and *Dominicus à Soto*; to whom I adde a fourth man of the ſame Nation, preſent alſo at the ſame Councell, a Learned man, a Biſhop, of exemplary life, *Gaſpar de Caſal*, in a worke by him written durante that Councell, who it ſeemes, for his owne opinion, held the ſame with thoſe former, at leaſt paſſeth upon them and it, very gently. For having moved and diſputed the queſtion *Pro* and *Con*, his Concluſion fals thus; *What ſhall we determine hereabout? whether opinion, and doctrine is rather to be admitted by us and embraced? For both the one and other is proponed by Catholiques; both grounded upon ſeverall Reaſons, Foundations, Principles. Nothing, as yet, hath been determined either way, in deciſion by our holy Mother the Church. So it remaines yet controverted, it holds undecided. I have related the ſeverall opinions of different Authors, their proofes, arguments, declarations. I leave it free in each mans hand, to make choyce of, and to follow, which, and what opinion, hereabout, he pleaſeth. There is no danger growing from Reſolution either way.* And he gives us a liſt of many beſide the three formerly ſpecified, at the Councell of Trent, of many more who in the Church of Rome taught and beleeved the ſame Tenents; Saint *Thomas* hee nameth, *Bruno*, *Abulenſis*, *Carthuſian*, *Arboreus*, *Durand*, *Paludanus*, *Capreolus*, great Claſſicall Dictators in the Schooles.

Vega, Suo caſa.

81. Beſide them, *Sixtus Senenſis*, a man of infinite reading, and which is ſeldome ſeene in great and diffuſed Readers, of ſolid Judgement, to diſcerne of what he read, ſince the Councell of Trent, writeth in explication of a Text of *Chryſoſtome* thus; *It ſufficed the Gentiles, who without any notion had or acquired, of the man Ieſus Chriſt, Mediator* *Sixtus Senenſis.*

Mediator betwixt God and man, did inherit everlasting life, that they enjoyed such faith, believed such meanes, implied in that beliefe which they had of one God; in effect, that they believed, acknowledged, and professed God to be the Saviour of all men, after, and according to that order, which he had involved and shut up in that much to be admired course of Gods providence, which in speciall sort, by way of priviledge, he further revealed unto the Sibylls. And elsewhere his resolution is, *That the true and saving knowledge of God is not onely feiseable, and to be had from holy Scripture alone, and from Divine Oracles therein revealed, but from such sensible things, as be obvious unto all:* and his determination is, *He who advisedly will consider, of what large extent Divine Providence is, with what vigilant care he watcheth over, and provideth for humane affaires, will be sufficiently informed, that the Redemption of mankinde by Christ is impliedly and involvedly contained, in and under that Providence of God. Therefore, whosoever understandeth the Providentiall course of God, withall, conceive this and apprehend it, that God will omit nothing by which men may come to everlasting happinesse. Wherefore, such men cannot be said utterly to have been without all knowledge of Iesus Christ Crucified, though in particular they did not understand the course which God would take in working out and procuring of mans salvation.* A thorough *Pelagian* with *Andradius*; and *Franciscus à Victoria*, that *Coryphe* of all *Spanish* Divines, out of whose Schoole, and Discipline, came *Andradius*, *Vega*, *Soto*, *Chaves*, *Cano*, *Relect.* 5. *de Indis sect.* 8. layeth downe expressedly this determined Conclusion, after the intent and minde of S. *Thomas*, as he speaketh, That the Indian Infidels, East and West, before they had any notice of faith in Christ, were not culpable in the sin of Infidelity, nor were condemned for not knowing Christ, because it was not possible they should know him; but condemned they were, for other their horrid and execrable sins. Invincibly they were ignorant of Christ, and invincible ignorance makes not culpable. So he, against *Antisiodorensis*, *Parisiensis*, *Gerson*, and *Adrian*, who held the contrary.

82. Such dissention there being in the Church of Rome, amongst the principall and greatest Divines therein living, without taxation of either side, it being not a point resolved of by the Church, and so left free to moderate opinions either way; had it been as much favoured and fomented amongst Protestants, as upon his own side it is, the Jesuite in discretion should not have imputed it; but being, as it was, a solitary opinion of one man, when he wrote, he cannot be discharged from being a foule-mouthed Calumniator, for his *Blasphema caterva Sacramentariorum*; and if it be blasphemy or Heresie, let them looke unto it, where it wonneth so familiarly with so many men. Had *Rosweydus* been so well studied in Divinity, so versed in the Schooles, as he is in Philology, so ingenuous as his fellow that learned Jesuit *Acosta*, hee should have turned his finger homeward to his owne side, at least have been more civill with *Zwinglius* for their sakes. It is good distributive Justice, that *una pœna plectat,*

quos

quos una culpa nectit. *Acoſtaes* reſolution is thus by him delivered, with ſome diſtaſte of the Doctrine of theſe remembred Divines. *Lib. 5. c. 3. de ſalute Indorũ procuranda. Howſoever, true it is that they be Catholiques*, (he meanes it of *Andradius*, and the formerly recited) *yet is thus their Doctrine ſo manifeſtly hereticall, that nothing can be more repugnant and ſtand in higher oppoſition unto faith, that any man may be ſaved without faith.* And upon this Traverſe he goeth on thus, *I cannot ſufficiently and enough marvell, what moved ſuch learned Maſters and Scholaſticall Doctors of our time, men of gravity, judgement, and knowledge in Divinity, to hold and teach, that even in theſe dayes, ſince Chriſt came in the fleſh, and hath been manifeſted unto all the world, without any notion or underſtanding of him had, men may attaine unto everlaſting life. This their Doctrine ever hath ſeemed unto me, and doth yet ſo ſeeme abſurd, and diſſonant from truth, that I make no queſtion, the ancient Fathers, Auguſtine eſpecially, would not have indured it from an ordinary Chriſtian, much leſſe from any profeſſed Divine: Rather I think, they would never have abſtained from giving ſevere and juſt deſerved cenſure there-againſt. This I avow confidently, and agreeing with truth, that Divines ought not hold any opinion (it miſ-ſeemeth their profeſſion ſo to hold) which hath no footing in Scripture, nor countenance from the ancient Fathers; but is meerely produced from, and onely grounded upon meere carnall conceits, reſpecting that great and infinite number of them, who in this new found world,* (he wrote this at *Lima* in *Peru*, upon the South Sea) *for ſo many by-paſt ages, have utterly beene without any light of the Goſpel at all, who ſeem utterly excluded out of heaven, if neceſſarily the knowledge of Chriſt Crucified be required unto ſalvation.* Thus that learned Jeſuit. So all Proteſtants, except of very late the Remonſtrants, teach.

All ſeverely taxed by *Iaſepius Acoſt.*

83. And yet it is true and cannot be denied, that theſe later Writers be not the alonely intereſſed in oppoſition; ſome of the Ancients have fallen upon the ſelfe ſame ſtraines, for opinion, out of the ſame grounds, that *Acoſta* doth faſten it upon his Doctors. Cardinall *Baronius*, that renouned Annaliſt, in the very inſtep into his *Apparatus*, either was much miſtaken in *Juſtin Martyr*, a blemiſh in ſuch an Atlas of Story, in ſuch a place; or elſe falls in with the opinion of that miſreported *Caterva Sacramentariorum*. For thus he, *Iure itaq; cenſuit Juſtinus Martyr, Chriſtianos eſſe dicendos, quicunq; μετὰ λόγου, dixit ille, ſermone Græco, vixerunt. Well therefore and truly did Juſtin Martyr conclude, that all were to be accounted Chriſtians, who lived according to Dictates of Reaſon.* One of theſe two things he cannot avoid, in this his paſſage, the not underſtanding, and ſo miſtaking of his Author; or the approving of that opinion which *Juſtin* held, be it what it will be. But *Juſtin Martyr* there, is wholly and abſolutely of *Zwinglius* opinion, and inſtanceth by examples, not ſo many, I grant, but of the ſame kinde and rank with thoſe of *Zwinglius*. His profeſſion is, that all were Chriſtians, had intereſt with God, were accepted of him, eternally rewarded by him, who lived

Juſtin Martyr.

Baronius miſtakes him.

lived μετὰ λόγου as his words are, *with Reaſon, according to*, and *with the Word*; that is, as Chriſtians before Chriſt was Incarnate, or the *Word* became *Fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us*. He opineth that in *Iuſtin Martyr*, λόγος is the word, as in the firſt of *Iohn*, and μετὰ λόγου, is according to Chriſt, that *Word*, the Faith, the Diſcipline, the Doctrine of Chriſt, according to that hope which we now have, in, and with Chriſt. In this he was deceived, and miſtook *Iuſtins* meaning. Hee meant no more, but *juxta rationem*, or *ſecundùm rectam rationem civilem*: ſuch as lived honeſtly and civilly with men, as Morall Reaſon, and Diſcretion did direct them, and did not exorbitate, into laviſh and notorious miſdemeanours. Such men *Iuſtin Martyr* eſteemed in his opinion, Chriſtians; howſoever they knew not the onely true God, nor whom he ſent into the world, Jeſus Chriſt. It is manifeſt by his words, that this was his meaning: *We have underſtood, being ſo taught, that Chriſt was the firſt begotten of God; and we have formerly ſhewed, that he was that* λόγος, *whereof all mankinde participates; and they who lived after that* λόγος, *are in truth to be held of us for Chriſtians, howſoever they have been accounted Atheiſts, or without, or againſt God.* This is his Theſis, or generall Propoſition, which in particular application, or Hypotheſis, he doth inſtance thus: *Such were amongſt the Gracians, Socrates, Heraclitus, others, of like quality and deportment; ſuch amongſt Barbarians, were Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Miſael, Elias, and many moe.* In which paſſage and opinion of his, Jews and Gentiles, if they lived rationally, and according to the Dictates of right reaſon, are ſaid to goe hand in hand, or *paſſibus æquis*, into the Kingdome of God in heaven, with true beleeving Chriſtians in Jeſus Chriſt. *Socrates*, and others of his Coate and Calling, are ſaid to bee alike intereſſed with God, in his Kingdome of Glory, and Inheriting heaven. And though they knew him not, and therefore could not obey him, doe his will, keep his Commandements as they ought, (for how could they obey him of whom they never heard tell?) yet are they compared with the beſt, and moſt eminent of the Ancients, before, and under the Law; with *Abraham* that great Patriarch of the Church, Father of the Faithfull, Friend of God, with that great and Wonder-working Prophet *Elias*, who in a Whirle-winde was aſſumed up into heaven. This is the opinion of *Iuſtin* the *Martyr*, though no part of that faith for which he ſhed his bloud, and in this is he miſtaken by *Baronius* and others, that blunder after him without adviſe.

84. That which in them *Iuſtin* ſo much advanceth, and ſo admireth, is onely, that for vertue, honeſty, morall carriage in life, they were traduced, hated, wronged, and as he ſpeaks, *ſuffered perſecution of men in their times*, that they might ſeeme averſe from the common courſe of Heatheniſh Idololatry, that they enclined to beleeve and profeſſe *one God, over all, in all, above all*, or as he ſtyleth it, *Gods Monarchie*, and ſole Emperiall State, againſt intruſion and induction of

of the *called Gods*. To which degree of underſtanding above ordinary aſſiſe, and ſo of practiſe or opinion, againſt or beyond ordinary courſe, he ſuppoſeth they came, and did attaine, as partaking of that λόγος, *ratio*, or generall notion, which he conceited was diffuſed over all. In direct terms, they attained it by the force, vigour, worth, and deduction of naturall indowments well regarded by them, and imployed of them. And if the Philoſophers of former times either taught, or invented any point of commendable doctrine, they had it, found it out, taught it through participation of that λόγος, in part onely participating thereof, very poorly, and at diſtance, not totally, fully, or neere at hand, for then needs muſt they have participated of Chriſt; which they did not, but were far enough off from knowing him. Out of this poore apprehenſion of that ſcanted meaſure in participating λόγος, came thoſe many errors and miſtakings, whereinto they ſo often and enormiouſly fell, that they contraried not onely divine Truth, but their owne Aſſertions and Poſitions otherwiſe; who for all that, were queſtioned and perſecuted by men of a bruitiſh aſſiſe, utterly devoid of all participating with reaſon, or λόγος, their accuſation being the very ſame, which Pagans in his time charged Chriſtians withall, that they were impious, Atheiſts, without God, againſt God; brought in and tendred ſtrange, unknown Gods, ejecting the Religion of their Forefathers. Thus *Iuſtin* diſcourſeth to his opinion of λόγος, out of comparing Philoſophers with Chriſtians.

85. True it is, that *Socrates*, one of his inſtances, was called into queſtion, and had ſentence of death pronounced againſt him, and ſuffered accordingly, upon this indictment: *Socrates* hath offended the State; he holds not them Gods, whom the State upholdeth, but bringeth in amongſt us other new and ſtrange Gods: which was the charge of Chriſtians in thoſe firſt times of the Church, as by *Iuſtin*, *Athenagoras*, *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, and ſuch Apologiſts, appeareth. S. *Paul*, arraigned in *Areopago* at Athens, the Court of Capitall Cauſes of life and death, as our Kings Bench, is charged there, that he was ξένων δαιμόνων καταγγελεύς, a bringer in of novell and ſtrange gods. Nor did Chriſtians deny the indictment, but confeſſed willingly, that they did καινῶς τὸν Θεὸν σέβεσθαι, ſerve and worſhip God in a new and ſtrange faſhion, declining from the practiſe of their fore-fathers, both Jews and Gentiles. Secondly, it is true which *Iuſtin* hath, that the vertuous qualities, and commendable indowments of thoſe Philoſophers living after λόγος, were Chriſtian ornaments, and cogniſances of that houſe. For true Vertue is Chriſtianity; that Continence, Temperance, Juſtice, Honeſty, and the reſt, they had as partaking of that λόγος, which originally is from Chriſt; eminently and properly, though not by them underſtood, is Chriſt. Thoſe vertuous qualities were imperfect, attained not that height which Chriſtian vertues reach and aſcend unto: And being but common notions

Ἀδικεῖ μὲν Σωκράτης, ὃτι ἃ πόλις νομίζει θεὸς, ἕ νομίζων ἕτερα δ, καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσαγγέλλων.

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at large, cannot denominate or diſtinguiſh in particular. All Mankind in *Adam* was framed and faſhioned by the word of God, as was the world, and the things therein. Man-kind in *Adam* truly and perfectly did partake of him; for the effect cannot but participate of the cauſe: But that degree was ſingular, and diſcontinued: *Adam* loſt the meaſure, and manner, not utterly and extinguiſhedly, the thing. It is impoſſible, that every man who is rationall, ſhould not partake in ſome ſort of reaſon, unleſſe it were poſſible for man, as it is not, to become an unreaſonable creature altogether. Therefore that light, the true light, *Ioh.* 1. 8. *enlightneth every man that comes into the world*, with light, neceſſarily, the ſame light, originally, but differing conditionedly, in manner, meaſure, and proportion. No man in any ſort is with any light enlightned, but it is from that fountaine of all light, the Sun of Righteouſneſſe, ſhining everlaſtingly in the world: but the inlightned, at large, with any degree of light, are not preſently enlightned by that light, which is to *guide our feet into the way of peace*, unto thoſe heavenly manſions in Eternity. As the caſe is in light, ſo *in ratione*; all good in man: Naturall, Morall, Eternall, is ἀ λόγῳ, but in different ſort, in diverſe degrees; that which is Naturall, or Morall, attains not to that which is Eternall. *Iuſtin* was himſelfe a Philoſopher, before he became a Convert. No marvaile, if he ſomewhat affected his owne profeſſion, if he brought with him into the Schoole of Chriſt, ſome Remaines of what he had learned abroad. No man is abſolute, or perfect at firſt, eſpecially conſidering, as it appeares by the Preface, that he wrote this inſtantly being *Neophytus*, upon the occaſion of his converſion. In proceſſe of time, and growth of perfection, he became of another mind: *Quæcunque illi bona operati ſunt, quæ generaliter, hoc eſt, & ſemper & ubique bona ſunt, id eſt, quæ ſua natura bona ſunt, & quidem æterna, illa Deo benè placent, & accepta ſunt; & in Reſurrectione per Ieſum Chriſtum, unà cum aliis, qui ipſos præceſſerunt, juſtis, quales erant Noe, Enoch, Iob, & hiſce ſimiles, ſalvabuntur, non minùs quàm illi* (rather, *unà cum illis*) *qui Chriſtum hunc Dei filium agnoſcunt nunc & profitentur. The juſt and righteous of old times are ſaved by Chriſt, as well as thoſe that ſince his comming beleeve in him:* What good things ſoever they did, which are generally, that is, ever and in all places good, good in their own nature, & ſuch continuing everlaſtingly, ſuch do well pleaſe God, and are accepted of him; and at the Reſurrection which is by Jeſus Chriſt, they, together with others who went before them, juſt and holy men, ſuch as *Noah*, *Enoch*, *Iob*, and the like, ſhall be ſaved, together with ſuch who acknowledge and confeſſe Chriſt now come, to be the Son of God. Had Cardinall *Baronius* remembred this paſſage out of *Iuſtin*, he might very well have ſpoken it, *Rectè ergo cenſuit Iuſtinus Martyr.*

86. *Iuſtin* was not ſingular, other ancients beſide him fell upon the ſame conceits. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, faſt in time upon *Iuſtins* age, living before CL. yeares after Chriſt. He was a man, in ſecular

Clemens Alexandrinus.

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and humane learning comparable with the greateſt Philologers and Polymathiſts amongſt the Pagans, even with *Plutarch*, or *Athenæus*. He in ſundry places, eſpecially of his *Stromates*, is directly of the ſame opinion, that before our Saviour came and was incarnate, *Philoſophy was neceſſary unto Iuſtification*. And that not alone antecedently, by way of aſſiſtance, or help, in promoting or furthering ſaving knowledge, but properly, primarily, of it ſelfe. In which ſort it did juſtifie and ſave the Grecians, before Chriſt came and was incarnate; in like ſort, as the Law did juſtifie and ſave the Jews: And yet S. *Paul* ſaith of the Law, that it did not juſtifie. In *Strom.* 6. towards the end: *Philoſophy is not the work of what is evill, for as much as it makes men good and vertuous. Needs therefore muſt it be the gift of God, whoſe proper work is to doe good; and things which are given us by God, are given us as good, and are ſo to be received by us. Nor did ever the true uſe of Philoſophy, fitted any wicked courſe or intent of it ſelfe, but hath been conferred on the beſt men, that Greece ever brought forth. Hence it appeareth, whoſe gift it is: Namely the gift of Gods Providence, who conferreth upon every man, what is fit and convenient for him.* Hitherto not to be miſliked. He goeth on: *And ſo, moſt conformably was Philoſophy conferred upon the Grecians, as the Law was upon the Iews, untill the comming of our Saviour. Thenceforth, were generally and Catholiquely all called, and publication made, unto a righteous people of acquiſition, according to that doctrine which is of faith, which hath united and brought together, through one, who is Lord of both Iews and Grecians, and all mankinde beſide, all men into one common Body and Society. Here by Philoſophy*, he ſaith, *which I have ſo often mentioned, I underſtand, that Truth which is attainable by Philoſophy.* And what that is, he declares *pag.* 270. *As it was ſaid by our Saviour, Thy faith hath ſaved thee: So unto the righteous, or juſtified, by Philoſophy, not faith only in our Lord, but to depart from Idololatry was required.* And he further aſſigneth three ſeverall kindes of ſerving God, or obtaining ſalvation, by walking in his wayes; 1. As the Gentiles knew, and ſerved him; another 2. as the Jews did honour him; a 3. as he is ſpiritually ſerved in the Church. *God is the Author of both Covenants. He gave Philoſophy to the Grecians, by which himſelfe, the Father Almighty, is glorified and honoured of all. And ſo by Pagan or Grecian learning, as well as through the legall courſe and diſcipline of Moſes Law, ſuch as come to faith, and doe beleeve, are collected together into one body of a ſaved people. Theſe three ſeverall kindreds, Pagans, Iews, Chriſtians, were not ſo differenced in times ſeverall, as if they had been three diſtinct kindes in nature; but they were differently taught and inſtructed in three diverſe Teſtaments, yet all one and the ſame word, of one and the ſame Lord. For the caſe ſtood. As God determined to ſave the Iews, by ſending unto them Prophets to inſtruct them: ſo did he ſend unto the Gentiles or Grecians, Prophets of their owne, to inſtruct them in their owne language, in ſuch ſort and meaſure as they were capable of it, as they could receive and entertaine the good bleſſing of God upon them, and ſo to put a*

difference betwixt them and the common men. This he inſtanceth from the Prophecies of *Sibylla*, and *Hydaſpes*, to which S. *Paul*, as he ſaith, (in ſome Epiſtle not extant now, but loſt) did direct them for inſtruction; and his Concluſion is, *According to diſpenſation, the word is now preached unto us in due time. So according to the then diſpenſation of God, were the Law, and the Prophets addreſſed to the Iews, and Philoſophy to the Grecians, to prepare a people for the Lord, and before-hand to acquaint them with the Word of God.* And pag. 121. in Strom. 1. *Before the comming of our Lord, Philoſophy was neceſſarily required unto Iuſtification. Now it ſerveth as profitable unto godlineſſe, being a previous inſtruction unto thoſe, as by demonſtration of faith obtaine life.* It is true, he puts a kinde of difference betwixt Gods word, or the word of Faith, and Philoſophy, for the Act; as if Philoſophy wrought it onely by *way of conſequence*; but the Law and Scripture effected it antecedently. And yet anon, as correcting himſelf, having ſaid ſomewhat amiſſe, he inferres, *Peradventure Philoſophy was imparted to the Grecians, even antecedently, before that God otherwiſe called them unto him. For Philoſophy, as a Schoolemaſter, did inſtruct them, as the Law did the Hebrews, and bring them to Chriſt; wherein yet Chriſt is the Shoot-anker of ſalvation.* Which paſſages, beſide many that may be remembred, ſufficiently declare the opinion of *Clemens*, concerning ſalvation before Chriſt.

87. Hereto agreed *Epiphanius*; and who otherwiſe agreed not well with him, *Chryſoſtome*. I ſometime excuſed *Epiphanius* in my *Analecta*, and indeavoured to diſcharge him of that imputation, but *fruſtra*, as ſince upon better adviſe ad deliberation I finde. Againſt *Marcion*, *pag.* 698. theſe are his words: *Poſt obitum, Servator in parabolâ de Divite & Lazaro teſtatur, Abrahamum per Legis dogmata, Prophetaſq; ſalutem eſſe conſequutum, tametſi ante Legem latam illa factis expreſſerat; ſimiliter & eos qui Legem poſtea ſervaſſent, ac Prophetis obtemperaſſent, in ſinu ejus acquieſcere, at ad vitam cum ipſo pervenire. Quorum è numero Lazarus fuit, qui Legis beneficio & Prophetarum, in vitalem beatitudinis illius, qua Abraham fruitur, ſinum receptus eſt.* Our Saviour in the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus* beareth Record, that *Abraham* and the Prophets obtained ſalvation being dead, by and through the Law, howſoever they before the Law given did performe the preſcripts of the Law; ſo afterward they who kept the Law, and obeyed the Prophets, reſted in his boſome, and with him entred into eternall life, amongſt whom *Lazarus* was. *Chryſoſtome* is more preſſing, and amplifying in the point, *Hom. in Matth.* 7. *But it wil be objected, that hereby great wrong is offred unto thoſe men who died and were gone hence, before that Chriſt came in the fleſh. I anſwer, Not ſo. For then a man might attaine unto ſalvation without confeſſing Chriſt. God did not exact it at mans hand, to worſhip and acknowledge him, who as yet was not come into the world; all that was required of them as then was, not to adore Images, but to honour him, the onely true God, Creator of all things in heaven and earth.* *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaks not this, I

To. 2. pag. 298. Edit. Etonenſis.

Chryſoſtome.

grant,

grant, of Pagans, as *Iuſtin* and *Clemens* did, but of the Jews, living under the Law; and Polity of *Moſes*, before the comming of Meſſias. But becauſe with men ſo affected in opinion, the Law, and Philoſophy goe ſo together, it may be verified of the Gentiles, whoſe ſtate, and condition, upon the very ſame grounds, was paralleld with that of the Jews: the knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus, Mediatour betwixt God and man, being utterly unneceſſary, and not required of any, untill his comming in the fleſh. But to put all home, without any ſuch inference or qualification in the proceſſe of his diſcourſe, he goeth on in direct and expreſſe words, unto the Gentiles, as *Clemens* and *Iuſtin* before him did: For having inſtanced concerning Jews, in thoſe *Maccabees*, who died for obſerving the Law; in the three children caſt into the Fornace of Babylon, for not adoring the image of *Nabuchodonoſor*: concerning whom his Tenet is, That they nor had any more knowledge in act, nor needed any more, as not required of them, then to know one God, the onely God, and to depart from Idololatry: he addeth as concerning the Gentiles, *That all who lived and died before Chriſt, and therefore could have no knowledge of him, if they were not Idololaters, but worſhipped one God, if they lived honeſtly, ſhould come to enjoy the good things of God, and everlaſting happineſſe in heaven*: which he proveth out of theſe words of S. *Paul, But glory, and honour, and peace to every one that doth good, of Iews firſt, and then of Gentiles.* His Concluſion therefore upon the Premiſſes muſt be, Jews and Gentiles, before the Incarnation, were alike intereſſed in fruition of God, and partaking of eternall happineſſe with him in heaven, without any knowledge or notice of Jeſus Chriſt: onely, occaſionally upon the by, and not otherwiſe, the Jew hath precedency and prerogative of honour above the Gentile.

88. *Sixtus Senenſis* goeth about to excuſe or extenuate (and yet I wonder he ſhould, being himſelfe of the ſame beliefe, as is ſhewed) this inconvenient aſſertion of *Chryſoſtome*, by the thred-bare, and old worne diſtinction of *implicite*, and *explicite faith*: as if his meaning had been, before Chriſt was incarnate, ſuch as did attaine unto eternall life, were not neceſſarily to be indowed with a plaine, evident, and cleere knowledge of all the myſteries of Chriſtian faith. Thoſe Jews who were of the plainer ſort, of duller metall, the more ſimple and ordinary men amongſt them, had that which ſufficed them in that ſtate and calling, if they had but an obſcure and darke apprehenſion of mans Redemption, covertly ſhadowed under the types and veiles of ſacrifices and ceremonies in the Law. Which anſwer of his, comes not up to *Chryſoſtome*, who is not confined unto the ſimpler ſort, but ſpeaketh generally of all. Secondly, he ſuppoſeth abſurdities and implications about *explicite* and *implicite faith*. Implicite faith muſt be wholly for thoſe times, and Explicite for theſe, or elſe his diſtinction and application is to no purpoſe. For what ſufficed then, is improved now, and our improvement hath ſwallowed up, and admits not their deficiency at all, in any ſuch men,

Senenſis excuſe of Chryſoſtome.

from Implicite and Explicite faith.

as ſince Chriſt came incarnate, have obtained everlaſting ſalvation in heaven through him, had, and muſt have had, all and every mothers ſon of them, plaine, evident, diſtinct, cleered apprehenſion and underſtanding of all the points and myſteries of ſalvation; which is a thing not *haveable* in this world, but is a *reſervation* for the world to come. Secondly, if this be current doctrine in Catholique Schools, (as I know it is not) that much talked of, and employed diſtinction to many good purpoſes, of *implicite*, and *explicite* faith, οὐχεται κείνας, may be hanged on the hedge, for any uſe is of it: that relying upon it, by ſo many thouſands, ignorant enough of any *explicite* knowledge, is but a dreame. If then there was this remembred uſe of *implicite faith* amongſt the Jews, about underſtanding the myſteries of ſalvation, now there is none, the date is expired: For, ſaith *Chryſoſtome, Nunc autem non eſt ita*, Then is not Now, and Now is otherwiſe then Then. Now, and Then, if this be no good conſequence, as it is not, then is this no good anſwer unto *Chryſoſtome*, as it is not.

Inſufficient. For *Chryſoſtome* held, that before the Incarnation, men might be, and were ſaved, without any notion had of Chriſt at all: But all *implicite faith* ſuppoſeth and requireth *knowledge* in *generall*, That Chriſt is appointed the Reſtorer, Mediatour, Redeemer of Mankind, and to beleeve confuſedly what according to piety ſhall be taught concerning him, being ready and willing to imbrace it upon information. And ſo much are they forced to confeſſe, though *how* it is, and *what* it is, they cannot tell, who put all upon naturall indowments, generall providence, from ſpeciall Election and acceptance in Chriſt: *Arminius* and *Andradius* both fall upon it.

89. Concerning this much beaten upon up and downe diſtinction of Implicite and Explicite faith, it is otherwiſe of it ſelfe good, warrantable, and uſefull in the Church. For the objects of Chriſtian faith, or things to be beleeved, be not all of one nature, exigence, aſſiſe. There be *Primò credenda*, which in the courſe and diſcipline of the Church, are prepared for, and tendred unto all, muſt be known, learned, underſtood *explicitely*, of every man that expects, or hopes for ſalvation in the Church. Our Saviour ſaith, *Joh.* 17.3. *This is life eternall*, that is, the way unto eternall life, *to know thee the onely true God, and whom thou haſt ſent, Ieſus Chriſt.* *Quadam eſt menſura fidei*, ſaith the Maſter of Sentences, *ſine quâ nunquam poteſt eſſe ſalus*; *There is a certaine meaſure of faith, without which ſalvation cannot be had:* Such be the Articles of the Creed, ſuch onely, which therefore properly be *Fundamenta*. And there be *credenda ſecundariò*, Extracts, Iſſues, Conſectaries, and Conſequents, but not Originalls, nor Fundamentalls: therefore not in degree or condition of the former. Some things, both in grace and nature, are apprehended when they are beleeved; ſome things beleeved before apprehended; ſome things beleeved, though never apprehended, nor poſſible to be; for ſo ſaith S. *Paul*, *Faith is the evidence of things not ſeen, and the evidence of things hoped for*: Some things enjoyed, be not comprehended by any

Lib. 3. *Diſt.* 24.

One faith, but divers degrees.

innate,

innate, infused, acquired knowledge, or revelation of men or Angels, who cannot exceed the measure allotted to them and their natures. Now as the objects of our faith be many and manifold; so likewise Times, Conditions, Indowments of Beleevers, are proportioned to such objects, and either make, or advance the difference. *The Queen of the South shall rise in judgement, and condemne the Iews, who came from the utmost parts of the earth, to heare the wisedome of Solomon. It shall be easier for Sodome and Gomorrah, for Tyre and Sidon, at the day of Iudgement, then for Capernaum, Chorazin, or Bethsaida.* Many Pagans at the day of Doome, shall undergoe more easie and gentle punishment, then many Christians. For where knowledge aboundeth, practise accordingly wil be required. As God hath given, so he will exact: Not ten Talents of him who had but two, nor five of him who had but one. An increase he will require; but detriments acquired, shall be requited. *Inter* Jews and Gentiles, was of old great distance, when God was onely knowne in *Iury*, his name onely great in Israel; the Heathen had no knowledge of his Lawes. Christians for Indowments exceed Jews, and amongst Christians there be many main differences, all be not of the same indowments, therefore cannot be of the same atchievements. No question then, from this evidence of Recompence and Reward, Faith, Beliefe, Knowledge, Practise, be conditioned proportionably. None have all; all must have some, according to the measure of imparted grace. Whosoever beleeves, though implicitly, must beleeve in of, through Christ, and therefore needs have notice of Christ. Hee that will call God Father, must call him so, in and by Christ. If he call him not Father, he hath no childes part, no inheritance, as a Son.

90. But *Chrysostome* was of another minde. *Qui ante Christum obierunt, & illum ideò non cognoverunt, si unum Deum cognoverant, & recesserant ab Idolis, ab illis nihil aliud requirebatur. Nunc verò res habet longè aliter, & requiritur ad salutem cognitio Christi. They who died before Christ came, and therefore had no knowledge of Christ, if they knew and professed but one God, and accordingly went not after Idols, they had no more to be required of them. But now the case is altered otherwise, now it is required unto salvation to know Christ.* Thus *Chrysostome* directly cutting off that excuse brought by *Sixtus Senensis*. Nor doth *Chrysostome* instance onely for this point concerning the knowledge of Christ in old times, before he came Incarnate into the world; other parts of our faith now contained, and expressedly put in the Creed, to bee beleeved of all who will bee saved, are by him consigned to the same allotment, of not being then knowne, of not being then required to be knowne: *Possum & aliud hisce omnibus addere, videlicet quòd Lazarus ne de Resurrectione quidem quicquam potuerat Philosophari, sed hujus vitæ res credebat hujus vitæ terminis circumscribi; Hereto,* saith he, *I can yet farther adde this, that Lazarus understood nothing of the Resurrection from the dead, but imagined that all things*

Senensis refelled by *Chrysost.* himselfe.

things had a finall determination with the end of this life. Whereby it is apparent, that in his opinion, before Christ, no life everlasting, no state of woe, no immortality of the soul, was known, or required to be known, no not by the Jews. The reason which hee gives concerning *Lazarus*, is, *He was one of them who lived before the grace of the Gospel*. And yet we know, that *Lazarus* Sister *Martha*, professeth she beleeved, in termes, the Resurrection. Strange conceits in that worthy man. But men are men, and such oversights and overlashings doe often passe the pens of the greatest Clerks, who should not be traduced for such mistakings.

Chrysost private opinion.

91. Such was of old the private unadvised opinion of these remembred great ones, and happily of some other learned Writers of the ancient Church, but never the publique Faith, or Doctrine dogmaticall of the Church. Had it not been held by some, either in or else before his time, *Philastrius* of *Brixia*, of the same age and standing with S. *Augustine*, and S. *Ambrose*, would not have written as hee doth, in somewhat an harsh style; *Poetas vanos, & falsos Philosophos, qui æstimant salvari posse, rebelles Deo, errant illi pejùs & à veritate dissentiunt, cum semina Paganæ impietatis non alii, quàm Poetæ illi vani, & falsi Philosophi, Deorum Dearumque hominum sensibus seminaverint opiniones. They who hold and maintaine that vaine Poets, and falsly named Philosophers, enemies and rebells unto God, may be saved, erre grievously against Truth, it being certaine, that none but those vain Poets, and false Philosophers, did first sow the seeds of Idololatry, setting in men an opinion of Gods and Goddesses.* Idololaters they were, as indeed they were, and Founders of Idololatry in his opinion, as they were not, but Upholders and Fomenters rather, whom *Iustin* and *Clemens* doe suppose to have belonged unto the City of God, to have beene in state of favour with God, and to bee accounted Christians.

Philastrius.

92. *Baronius* then was himselfe deceived, and mis-leadeth his reader, in what his assertion: *In confesso est apud omnes Patres, quotquot unquam fuerant ab exordio mundi, non nisi à Christo, & per Christum salutem consecutos.* It is false that it was the constant, unanimous, unquestioned doctrine of all the Ancient Fathers, not one dissenting, That no man could possibly be, or ever was actually saved, since the world begun, but by faith in Christ to come. It is made direct and plaine by evidence produced, that some of the Ancient Fathers held the contrary. They did beleeve it, and publish it, not as a point of saving faith, nor as to bee tendred unto, and accepted for such of the whole Catholique Church; they opined, and taught therein erroneously, but not heretically; and therefore were never publiquely condemned or censured for it, no not so much as privately, but by *Philaster*, if yet he meant them, who stretcheth Heresie oftentimes upon the Tenters, more then he needed. For modesty, mildnesse, brotherly love, and kindnesse, compassionating the infirmities of other men, were then, as yet they should be, the cognisance of Christians,

Baronius error of the Fathers.

For diversity in some opinions,

ſtians, and badges of their Profeſſion. Then there were, as alway there will be, diverſities in judgement, differences in opinion amongſt men in the Church; yet peace, Chriſts peace, that peace which hee left ἐξιθεον δωρον, a Legacy unto the Church, was deare unto all, enſued by moſt: The Foundation of Religion ſtanding unimpaired, no private intereſts, reſpects, opinions could or did violate it; which in theſe our dayes of gall and wormwood have perverted all. It is mens delight to engarboyle the Church upon high termes of Hereſie, Recuſancie, Separation, moſt commonly for points of that nature and aſſiſe, which no way or advance or impeach ſalvation; of which rank and condition this is one. For the generality of divided Catholiques, Proteſtants and Romaniſts doe agree, that there nor is, nor was, nor can be ſalvation without Chriſt. *Baronius* ſaith rightly for his ſide, out of his owne opinion or judgement, The Fathers of old, who have lived, and been ſaved ſince the world began, have obtained ſalvation and life everlaſting in heaven, for Chriſt, by Chriſt, in Chriſt, by no other way or meanes ordinarily then by Chriſt. The Church of England is abſolutely of that mind: In the ſeventeenth Article of our Confeſſion which is entitled to Election and Predeſtination, we profeſſe and beleeve, That whoſoever is ſaved everlaſtingly, was, before the world was made, elected, made choice of, and predeſtinated in Chriſt; and that by the ſame Lord Jeſus Chriſt alone, by no other meane or way beſide him, ſuch as are ſo elected, doe attaine unto everlaſting life: And in the eighteenth Article of the ſame Confeſſion it is thus, *They alſo are to be held as curſed, who preſume to ſay, that every man ſhall be ſaved by the Law, or ſect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature: For the holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us onely the name of Ieſus Chriſt, whereby men muſt be ſaved.* We reſt upon the doctrine of S. *Auguſtine* delivered thus, *We beleeve and profeſſe that never any came unto eternall life, but onely ſuch unto whom it hath been revealed from heaven, that Ieſus Chriſt alone was the ſole Mediatour betwixt God and man, foretold, and fore-deſigned unto the Fathers of old, that he was to come into the world: As he hath accordingly been preached, and we have beleeved, that he is already come into the world, to the end that one and the ſame beleefe or faith in him, may by him bring in unto that City of God, all ſuch as were thereto predeſtinated and appointed of old.* And we heartily profeſſe it with the ſame learned and religious Writer, *God forbid we ſhould account of any man as truely vertuous, unleſſe he be alſo religiouſly righteous. God forbid we ſhould eſteeme any a righteous man, except him that liveth by faith. Now faith is not wrought but by hearing, and all hearing is by the Word of God.*

No deadly feud ſhould be.

93. So it is confeſſed upon either ſide, in generality, that the Calling of Grace, unto God in Chriſt, is nor one, nor of one ſort. God hath ever of old, ſtil doth, and ſo for evermore wil continue his intended and inſiſted courſe, to magnifie his mercies towards man, and to multiply

multiply meanes to bring him to heaven. Εσωσε θεὸς διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων, ſo ſaith *Epiphanius*, that God hath alway ſaved by ſundry meanes: But all, though never ſo many, and manifold wayes and meanes, have one object, one ſubject, one addreſſe, aiming every one of them, at one end and Author, Chriſt Jeſus incarnate, in whom alone operative and effectuall thoſe meanes are. As lines drawne out to the ſides of a Circumference diverſly, doe all meet in the Center of that Circumference; ſo thoſe many and multiplyed waies of ſaving man, doe all concur in one, and meet in him, who is the Way, the Truth, the Life of all. Otherwiſe, ſaith *Auguſtine*, *Chriſt Ieſus came in vaine, and died in vaine, if any man can by any other means, by any other courſe, then by Chriſt, attaine unto ſalvation, true faith, true vertue, true righteouſneſſe. Nor can it with good reſpect be hereupon queſtioned, What became of honeſt, vertuous, good men amongſt Pagans? What did it profit and availe them to have lived well and uprightly in the world, as we know many of them did? to have ſuffered much for vertue and goodneſſe ſake, to have ſtinted themſelves, or rather deprived themſelves altogether from enjoying this preſent world, the pleaſures, profits, and good things thereof? It hath been many wayes greatly advantagious unto them, and ſhall be moe wayes beneficiall. They have received, they doe and ſhall receive the due reward of their vertuous honeſt life here led; namely, poſitively in this world, through the good bleſſings of peace, in much proſperity and happineſſe many wayes, at leaſt in good report, name, and reputation amongſt men: as alſo negatively in the world to come, by mitigation of puniſhment, and alleviation of paine.* There is therefore diſproportionable diſpenſation of retribution, both here and hereafter, according to the quality of mens lives, anſwerable to the quality, meaſure, deſert of their converſation: and thereupon it is farther inferred by S. *Auguſtine*, *Vnto whom God did not purpoſe to give eternall life in that heavenly City, with his holy Angels, whereto there leadeth but one way of true piety and religion, unleſſe he did otherwiſe confer upon them exceeding great glory of an earthly kingdome, without doubt he did not well and reſpectively requite them for their good, honeſt life and converſation, nor recompence their many eminent and well known vertues, which procure that great, large, and mighty temporall ſtate: But becauſe he hath dealt with them in that ſort, as we know he hath, ſo apparently advancing them in the world, they have received their reward.* This he meant and ſpake of the old ancient Romans, the moſt civill, morall, and beſt conditioned people under heaven: who, beſide that poſitive reward of a great temporall Monarchie, ſhall at the generall day of retribution, be more gently dealt with, then thouſands of bad Chriſtians, who have not lived according to knowledge of God, but have profaned enormiouſly that ſacred name of Unction, and ſtate of Calling of Grace. *Their thoughts and purpoſes*, ſaith he againe of them, *ſhall ſo far excuſe them, juſtifie and defend them at the day of Doom, that more ſufferable puniſhment ſhall be inflicted upon them, becauſe, through help of nature, they have in ſome ſort and meaſure kept the Commandements*

mandements, and Law of God; yet failing, and ſo offending in this, that being as they were, without faith in Chriſt, they nor referred, nor intended the workes which they did, to that end whereto they ought and ſhould have referred them. Fabricius then ſhall ſuffer, but in more gentle ſort, then Catilin; not becauſe Fabricius was truly good, but becauſe Catilin was much worſe then he: not becauſe Fabricius had true vertue, but becauſe he went not ſo far away from true vertue as Catilin did. For as men have received from God, ſo will God exact and require of them. For after the proportion and quality of works, ſo will God proceed with every man in judgement then.

94. Thus hath S. *Auguſtine* delivered, the generally received, beleeved, and taught Doctrine of the Church unto his time, though not conſented unto by every particular man: But ſince that *Pelagius* and his Sectaries undertooke againſt the grace of God in Chriſt, the value, force, and extent thereof, it hath been more exactly canvaſſed, and more perſpicuouſly cleared, and ſo, more generally received, then formerly, That the knowledge of Chriſt to be ſent, and to come into the world, as a Mediatour, Redeemer, Saviour of Mankinde, was of abſolute neceſſity in ſome degree or other, more or leſſe, in all ages and times, ſince *Adam* recovered after his fall, and had that promiſe of grace made unto him; *The ſeed of the woman ſhall breake the ſerpents head:* of neceſſity, not alone of Precept, as they call it in Schooles, to be beleeved, becauſe God hath commanded it; but neceſſity of meanes, becauſe without it, ordinarily, God hath not determined to ſave man by. Howſoever he, in whoſe deepeſt judgements, ſecret mercy is ever hidden, may, if he ſo pleaſe, (but what is that to us, who muſt hold by Law, and not by diſpenſation?) diſpenſe with ordinary courſes of kinde, and ſave ſome, if he ſo pleaſed, otherwiſe, who had no ordinary meanes allotted and ſet them, to underſtand Chriſt by, and him crucified; but erre, invincibly, as they call it, in their underſtanding.

95. In which Poſition, Invincible ignorance, is to be applied, and confined to ſuch as be born idiots, and innocents, who cannot heare, nor underſtand, being deafe, and wanting the ſenſe of knowledge; not to Pagans and Infidels, who never heard of Chriſt, as commonly it is miſtaken in Schooles, and much inſiſted upon by *Andradius*, and others for the *Weſt-Indians*, who for ſo many by-paſt ages had no meanes to know God; and therefore, as they preſſe it, ſtand not accountable for not knowing him. For I inſtance, They, and all other, had notice and knowledge of him in *Adam*, in *Noah*, in his children; *Sem*, and *Iapheth* would not be wanting to teach their children the feare of the Lord. If in proceſſe of time, their children did not teach to their iſſue; if they loſt that knowledge, as loſe it they did, through neglect, contempt, or howſoever, God is not bound, *ſubinde* to repaire it, to recall them ever and anon, by miſſion of Angels, or otherwiſe, to put them in minde of that promiſe, and the promiſed Seed: Their blindneſſe, ignorance, excuſeth not. It is not truly

Invincible ignorance, how, where, when.

truly invincible ignorance; they might have kept, what they ſometimes had. If God had never revealed it to man; if they were through naturall defects uncapable of it, as idiots, deafe, innocents from the womb, then invincible ignorance might be pleaded for them. For, upon ſuppoſition of impoſſibility, if *Adam* had not ſinned, and they had beene ſo borne, yet could they not ordinarily have attained unto any ſuch knowledge and apprehenſion of God.

No ſalvation without Chriſt

96. I conclude with S. *Auguſtine*, *Let that faith remaine and continue with us, unblemiſhed and not defective, whereby we fully are perſwaded, and doe believe it, as true, that no man of grown yeares, none of tender age, and few dayes, can be free, and diſcharged from the taint, and contagion of eternall death, from that bond and obligation of ſin, which every man contracts, and enters into at his birth, but alone, by the one, and onely Mediator betwixt God and man, the man Ieſus Chriſt; By ſaving faith in him, being both God and man, even thoſe juſt and holy men have obtained ſalvation, whoſoever, before he came in the fleſh, beleeved, that in the fleſh he was to come. For their faith and ours is every way the ſame: They beleeved that ſhould come to paſſe, which we beleeve, and are aſſured, is already come to paſſe.* And we profeſſe willingly with him againſt *Iulian* the *Pelagian* Heretique. *Quis eorum, qui ſe haberi volunt Chriſtianos, niſi ſoli Pelagiani; aut in ipſis etiam fortè tu ſolus, juſtum eſſe dixerit infidelem? juſtum dixerit impium? juſtum dixerit Diabolo mancipatum, ſit licèt Fabricius, ſit ille Fabius, ſit licèt Scipio, ſit licèt Regulus? Nec enim in iſtis eſt juſtitia vera, qua juſtus ex fide vivet.* Who ever amongſt ſuch as would be called Chriſtians, but *Pelagians* alone; or thou onely peradventure, even amongſt *Pelagians*, will account an Infidel a juſt and righteous man? will eſteeme an impious man to be juſt? or one ſold a ſlave unto the Devill to be righteous, though he were *Fabricius*, though *Fabius*, or a *Regulus?* for in no ſuch is found that true Righteouſneſſe, by which the juſt by faith doth live. So we muſt not, as we dare, not confine that unpriceable benefit of Chriſts Incarnation, to ſuch onely who have beleeved in him, ſince hee came in the fleſh; but wee muſt and doe enlarge it to all ſince *Abel* unto the Thiefe upon the Croſſe.

Eva à Diabolo mutuavit peccatum, conſentiendo Adam Chirographum firmavit, & uſura crevit poſteritati.

Predeſtination points not fit for Story.

97. Secondly, this unpriceable benefit of Incarnation, in the Death and Paſſion of our Saviour, is otherwiſe reſtrained, and confined unto a few, in reſpect of that multitude, which is, by ſome, excluded from having, in Gods intent and purpoſe, any part or portion therein; not for any inſufficiency of the price, which intrinſecally conſidered, and in it ſelfe, they, with all Chriſtians, doe confeſſe to be of unvaluable worth, but for the uſe, operation, and effect thereof by application; But for the Purpoſe, Intent, and Counſell of God, who did not reſolve to apply, or give him unto all, to be a Reconciler, Mediatour, Redeemer of Mankinde in generall, and in lump; but to ſome few onely fore-appointed. Many and intricate,

cate, be Diſputes hereabout, with which no Hiſtory can rightly meddle, nor with ſafety inſiſt thereupon; wherefore I leave that ſubject unto Schooles, if yet ſuch high myſteries, and unfordable depths can bee at all ſoberly enquired and reſolved of in Schooles. This I hold as unqueſtionable, that all mankind have intereſt in him, more or leſſe: But ſalvation by him to be had, and attained, is a benefit only imparted in the Church, which was ever ſubſiſting publiquely, viſibly, in ſome place or other, and ſo ſhall continue *ſtatu quo*, that recourſe may be had unto it, which without knowledge of the *ubi*, could not be. Out of which regard, it is indeleble, and impregnable; the gates of hell, no power of darkneſſe ſhall prevaile to ruine it, root it out, utterly deface or hide it, from being known, and notorious in the world. It conſiſted in *Adam*, in *Abel*, in *Seth*, in the Patriarchs unto *Noah*; from him it was tranſlated, to *Sem*, *Arphaxad*, *Heber*; and in other families beſide the remembred, both before and after the Floud. *Adam* had other children, many ſons, and daughters, who doubtleſſe ſerved God ſincerely, according to his will, by the direction of their Fathers. But ſuch as in particular be remembred, be therefore remembred, becauſe deſcending in direct Line, Chriſt came from them; and ſuch as he came not originally from, are omitted themſelves, nor is there any mention of their Poſterity. Amongſt all the Progenitors, *Abraham* and *David*, are of Principall place and account; The ſon of *David*, the ſon of *Abraham*. In *Abraham* by eſpeciall entaile, and ſeparation from all the world beſide, it deſcended to *Iſaac* and *Iacob*, heires of the Promiſe; and ſo unto *Iſrael* of the twelve Tribes. Amongſt thoſe Deſcendants, ſometime more eminent, ſometime leſſe, with Interciſions, and Interruptions partiall, now and then, it continued ſeparate, and appropriate, untill the Fulneſſe of time, and the Collection of the Gentiles formerly diſperſed out of the Church, took place of the Jews; who being called, came in, through Divine diſpenſation according to purpoſe in Eternity, carnall *Iſrael* being deſervedly caſt out, and by God rejected, for their many, great, unthankfull diſobedience, and obdurate wilfulneſſe, in unbeleefe.

98. In ſubſtance this Church, ſo diverſe in time, ſo different in perſons, place, and condition, was ever one and the ſame, though at firſt ſhut up and ſtraitned in a narrow roome, the houſes and families of ſome Patriarchs, in proceſſe extended to the little largeneſſe of a Nation, but now made Catholique over all the earth. For time, place, perſons, very much improved, above what it once was, in times of old: For ſtyle, name, title, liberties, inlarged and advanced. Sometime confined to *Canaan* for place, to *Iſrael* for people; but *ſtantibus ut nunc*, being made Catholique or Univerſall, none can, as the *Donatiſts* ſometime did, entitle themſelves ſolely, and ſolitarily to the Church; no Nation excluded from intereſt, and participation; ſhut up within ſurroundry of no one Country: according to promiſe in prediction, the riches of the Gentiles have flowed in; Kings of Nations

Concluſion.

The Church ever one.

ons, Monarchs of the earth, have ſubmitted their ſcepters, and caſt their crownes at the feet of the Son of the Virgin. Multitudes of Nations, not alone of men diſperſed, disbanded, diſunited otherwiſe, make up this great and glorious Totall and Corporation, by union of parts, all profeſſing one and the ſame faith, all beleeving in one and the ſame Chriſt. From one end of the earth unto the other, is the Inheritance enlarged of the Son of Man: *Poſſeſsio Chriſti, terminus terræ.* In unity of one and the ſame beliefe, the old and new, Jewiſh ancient Synagogue and Chriſtian Church is one and the ſame; as Chriſt is two natures, but one perfect ſubſiſtence and undivided. And yet but one part, a moitie of ſo large a totall, is entitled to the name and dignity of the whole; That part which conſiſteth of Beleevers in Chriſt, which began in the Apoſtles, and from them hath continued impregnable, and indeleble, is properly called and knowne by the name of the Church.

99. As of all Societies it is the eldeſt, ſo of all Communities it is moſt honourable: Her foundations are upon the holy hils; Chriſt Jeſus incarnate, and his Apoſtles, twelve elect and precious foundations. *Habes conſtructionem civitatis, ſed iſta compages, ubi innititur? ubi incumbit, ut numquam cadat?* I have delivered the building of this City, but that Fabrick, whereon ſubſiſtingly doth it rely? by what meanes ſtandeth it, ſo that it cannot fall? So founded, thus honoured in the foundation, it hath been cemented and ſtrengthned with the bloud of Martyrs, thoſe victorious Confeſſors of the holy name of JESUS, that invincible band of valiant Adventurers, who under the bloody banner, the Croſſe of Chriſt, have fought it out couragiouſly unto the death, and triumphing ſeverally in their times upon the infernall forces of the Prince of Darkneſſe, have ſet up the ſtandard of their Redeemer, over the very gates and battlements of hell. Beſide, it hath been beautified with other holy Saints, Virgins, Confeſſors, Continents, and Aſcetæ in their ſeverall times, ſtars of luſtre and magnitude in the firmament of heaven. *Iſti ſunt Apoſtoli, Epiſcopi, Paſtores, docti, graves, ſancti, veritatis acerrimi defenſores, qui Catholicam fidem cum lacte ſuxerunt, in cibum ſumpſerunt; cujus lac & cibum parvis & magnis miniſtrarunt: talibus Eccleſia Catholica plantatoribus, rigatoribus, ædificatoribus, paſtoribus, nutritoribus crevit:* Such are Apoſtles, Biſhops, Paſtors, learned, great, holy men, earneſt and zealous propugners of the Truth, who together with their mothers milk ſucked the Catholique faith, and ſo received it as their ordinary food; which ſuch milk and meat they gave to ſmall and great. By meanes of ſuch Planters, Waterers, Builders, Paſtors, Feeders, the Catholique Church hath proſpered, and received increaſe. But moſt honourable is ſhe, and honoured in her King for his excellent government, for his divine, good, commendable lawes, able to make men perfect to every good work, in holineſſe, in righteouſneſſe of life and converſation. He hath wedded her eternally unto himſelfe, indowed her royally as his Princely Bride, not to be

The Church honoured many wayes.

bee expreſſed with tongues or pens of men or Angels.

100. As this Moity ſince Chriſt, is in particular called the Church; ſo the other former part conſiſting of them, who lived under the Law, before Chriſt came in the fleſh, is commonly knowne by the name of Synagogue, many wayes comming ſhort of the enlarged Regalities of the Church. *That honour*, ſaith *Tertullian*, *was reſerved for Chriſt, to reveale and make manifeſt thoſe things, which formerly had been laid up, and kept in ſecret; to rectifie that which ſometime had been amiſſe; to accompliſh and ſupply what in part was begun, but not finiſhed; and manifeſtly to repreſent that which in former times had been obſcurely delivered.* Now, *Vnder the name and notion of the Synagogue*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine* in *Pſal.* 81. *was Iſrael meant, as we have been informed, that the cuſtome was ſo to deſigne that ſtate and condition of men peculiarly, though we know well enough that the name of the Church hath alſo been imparted unto them. But as much as concernes that part, whereof we are, and wherein we live, the Apoſtles are no where remembred, to have applied the name of Synagogue thereto, but doe conſtantly evermore call it the Church. And that either for reall difference and diſtinctions ſake, becauſe there is ſome difference betwixt Congregation, from whence, or whereto Synagogue is entituled, and Convocation, from whence* Eccleſia, *Church, doth come. For cattell and bruit beaſts are ſaid to be congregated; wherefore we call, the flocks, heards, companies of them* Greges. *But thoſe creatures onely be convocated, or called together, which are indowed with Reaſon.* Thus S. *Auguſtine*.

Synagogue.

and Church indifferently uſed.

101. And true it is, the ſignification of the words are ſo and ſuch, but thoſe preciſe termes of diſtinction were never ſo ſtraitly and punctually obſerved by the Ancients. *Clemens* in his Conſtitutions uſeth the word Συναγωγὴ, Synagogue, for the Church. God is the Shepheard of his Lambs; καὶ ἡμεῖς συναγωγὴ ἐκ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν; and we are a Synagogue, or Collection gathered together from many Nations; that is a Church. And in the 31. Canon of the Apoſtles, Συναγαγεῖν is to collect a Church together into one Corps. So it is not much materiall for the ſubject intended, whether we uſe the word Church, or Congregation; ſo it be without contention or perverſneſſe to foment and maintaine a faction, for novelty, ſingularity, or ſuperſtition: and it is but idle which *Gregory Martin* excepteth againſt the word Congregation, in our Bible Tranſlation, and Engliſh Liturgy, though happily it had been better to have uſed Church, as in our laſt Tranſlations. For in true, and exact propriety of ſpeech, Church is more fitting then Congregation, and is the proper name of that Society, beleeving in, and ſaved by Jeſus Chriſt incarnate, our Redeemer. *Generatio Chriſti eſt origo populi Chriſtiani; & Natalis Capitis, Natalis eſt corporis*, ſaith *Leo*. For they whoſoever are called forth by God, have their ſeverall Orders, and well ordered Degrees. And all the ſons of the Church be diſtinguiſhed from others in time, yet the whole collected multitude of beleevers, borne unto God, in the Laver of Baptiſme at the Font, as they have been crucified with Chriſt

in his Paſſion, and beene raiſed up againe with him in his Reſurrection, and placed by him, upon the right hand of God his Father, by his Aſcenſion into heaven, ſo are they alſo borne together with him in his birth, as the ſame *Leo* diſcourſeth.

102. So that we cannot fall in with the Acts and Monuments of the Church from time to time, the intended ſubject of our undertaken Labours, but we muſt fetch and derive whatſoever is to be ſaid, from the head, originall, and firſt founder of the Church, Jeſus Chriſt Incarnate, the word made man, and having taken fleſh; by which his Incarnation hee became chiefe foundation and Corner ſtone in the ſpirituall building of the Church, ſo made and manifeſted in the laſt times, the fulneſſe of time, time appointed in eternall counſell before all time, for that manifeſtation in the fleſh. Which will put us upon conſideration of many things to bee forepriſed and foreknowne, as were occurrences before he came into the world, as concerning the ſtate of the Jewiſh Synagogue, in their Religious and Civill government: The Tribe and kindred he deſcended from in *Iacob*: His extraction from *Iudah* by the Houſe and Line of *David*. His ſtock, coſens, kindred, alliance in Iſrael: The ſtate and condition of his Parents: Nor only thoſe things which in particular touched Iſrael, but alſo, as referred unto thoſe, who being far removed away from God, in the Deſerts and Wilderneſſe of the world, were by him ſought out and found in their wilde wandrings, and ſhut up within the folds of *Iacob*: The coherence and concurrence of this time of grace, with other States in the world abroad, eſpecially with the Romane State and Story, then Lords and Commanders of the world, of the Jews and Judæa amongſt the reſt, under which Monarchy our Saviour was born, a renowned act of that Authority being then put in practiſe, the Aſſeſſement of all the world by *Auguſtus Cæſar*. But firſt, as in time, ſo in order of remonſtrance, concerning ſome Prophecies, and more eminent predictions of him, and thoſe his times, eſpecially that of *Iacob*, and of *Daniel*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Prophecies of Iacob and Daniel, concerning the Meſsias.

THE SUMMARIE.

PARAG.

1 *Chriſts incarnation againſt the Manichean hereſie.*

2 *The Prophecie of our Saviours birth, as the firſt, ſo the greateſt.*

3 Jacobs *laſt Will in preſence of his ſonnes.*

4 *That of* Judahs *poſterity the Meſsias ſhould come: what* Judah, Shiloh, Meſſiah *ſignifie.*

5 *The Jewiſh fictions concerning the Prophecie of Chriſt.*

6, 7, 8. *More fictions about the ſame Prophecie.*

9 *That the Prophecie was but conditionall.*

10 *The old Doctors to be excuſed, not the latter Rabbins.* Baronius *expoſition examined.*

11 *Severall expoſitions of the Prophecie.*

12 Jacobs *Prophecies on his death-bed, not perſonall, but nationall.*

13 *Inſtances.*

14 Judahs *eminencie above the other Tribes.*

15 Judah, *Patriarch to the other Tribes.*

16 *How the Hebrews came to be called Iſraelites, Jews.*

17 Jacob *in his Prophecie intends not the Patriarch, but the Tribe.*

18 *Difference of actions amongſt Pagans and Chriſtians.*

19 *Why the time of Chriſts Kingdome the laſt.*

20 *Jews deny it to be the laſt.*

21 *What* Scepter *means. The want of it a miſery.*

22 *The Scepters departing from* Iudah, *not finall. but in part.*

23 *After* Solomon *and* David *the Scepter retained, but not in the former ſtate.*

24 *The Jews kept themſelves ſtill a Nation.*

25 *The ceaſing of Sacrifice and Prophets.*

26 Jacobs *Prophecy not perſonall, but collective.*

27 *The ceaſing of the Iewiſh ſtate, a ſigne of the Meſſiahs comming.*

28 *So thinks* Euſebius.

29 *So S.* Jerome.

30 *So S.* Jerome *elſewhere.*

31 *To S.* Jerome *agrees Antiquitie: S.* Cyril *diſſents.*

32 *S.* Cyril *here alone.*

33 *His reaſons examined.*

34 *Where the Scepter began, when it departed.*

35 *How it continued till Chriſt came.*

36 *What is meant by Scepter,* Baronius *is uncertaine.*

37 *In the like uncertaintie for Departing.*

38 *The government Jewiſh, not Monarchicall till Chriſt came.*

39 *None Kings before.*

40 *A government they had, but not Regall.*

41 *The chiefe Prieſt principall Governour.*

42 Baronius *paſſeth them by.*

43 *After the Captivity,* Levi, *not* Judah, *had the government.*

44 *After* Judah *ſucceeded the Maccabees,* Aarons *houſe.*

45 *Why the contrary opinion imputed to* Baronius.
46 *The Cardinalls reasons for the Maccabees descending from* Judah, *rather then* Levi.
47 *That either they were so, or usurpers. What usurpation is.*
48 *The Maccabees right to the Scepter.*
49 Baronius *mistakes* Jacobs *Prophecie.*
50 *How often the Scepter went from* Iudah, *and when finally.*
51 Balaams *Prophecie.*
52 *What the Star of* Iacob *is.*
53 *How to difference it from other stars.*
54 *How* David, *and how* Christ *are Stars.*
55 *It was Christ principally.*
56 *Who are meant by* Moab.
57 Israel *is not this Star.*
58 *Why Christ is called a Star.*
59 *A Star in his graces.*
60 *In his works.*
61 *Messiah the Prince of Peace.*
62 *How his peace is disturbed. What Idolatry is.*
63 *By* Moab, *Heretiques and Schismatiques meant.*
64 Daniels *Seventy weeks.*
65 *The meaning of them.*
66 *The time of divine dispensation, when.*
67 *The effect and merit of Christs death.*
68 *The Iewish interpretation of* Most holy, *false.*
69 Most holy, *is proper to Christ alone.*
70 *The Prophecie accomplished within the prefixt time.*
71 *The Messias not slaine before the determined time.*
72 *Christs birth, baptisme, buriall, in what time.*
73 Cyrus *Emperour of* Asia, Cambyses *succeeds.*
74 *The succession of the Persian Monarchies.*
75 *The first Edict made by* Cyrus.
76 *This Edict the same with the Angel to* Daniel.
77 *Historians consent.*
78 Bethasser *the last of the line being slaine,* Darius *a Medean borne succeeds.*
79 Scaliger *addes another Decree of* Cyrus.
80 *The Edict of* Cyrus, *what it was.*
81 *The building of the Temple.*
82 Eusebius *blamed for assigning* Cyrus *the Decree for the Iews.*
83 *The dividing of* Daniels *weeks.*
84 *The Edict of re-building Ierusalem, when.*
85 *A second Edict fathered on* Darius.
86 Darius *revives* Cyrus *act, the Iews finish the Temple.*
87 *The building the Temple commanded by* Cyrus, *other houses on the By.*
88 *The third and fourth Edict by* Artaxerxes, *a pious Prince.*
89 *The fourth Edict, procured by* Nehemiah.
90 *Which of the* Artaxerxes *gave* Nehemiah *his Commission.*
91 *The period of* Daniels *weeks not found in the reigne of any Persian King.*
92 *In* Daniels *weeks, no speciall work of the Messias mentioned by the Angell.*
93 *Prophecies not to be limited to an houre.*
94 *What followed the death of Messias.*
95 *A custome amongst the Persians for the Son to reigne with his Father.*
96 *Who* Themistocles *was.*
97 *The accomplishment of* Daniels *weeks; the characters of the Messias.*

1. IT was an impious, and withall a prodigious, strange, blasphemous assertion of the Manichean Heretiques, who held that none of the Jewish Prophets of old, did at any time foretell any thing concerning Christ his Incarnation and taking flesh. *Propter testimonia quæ de Christo præfati sunt, ego quidem nulla inveni, quam-*

vis

vis attentiùs Scripturas, & curioſiſſimè legerim, ſaith *Fauſtus* the *Manichee* in S. *Auguſtine*. In which impious aſſertion, that wretch gives the lie, to direct poſitive Scripture, in many places to S. *Peter*, S. *Paul*, other ſacred Authors, to Gods holy Spirit, by whom they were moved and ſpake, unto Chriſt himſelfe whom they concerned. For he diſcourſing with two of his Diſciples, after his Reſurrection, by the way as they went toward *Emmaus*, voucheth Propheticall Predictions for the things accompliſhed, then and there, upon himſelfe, going up beyond *Samuel* CCCC. yeares and better, unto *Moſes* and *Aaron*. *He began at Moſes and all the Prophets, and interpreted unto them, in all the Scriptures, thoſe things which were ſpoken concerning himſelfe*, *Luke* 24.27. Nor doe the Prophets from *Samuel*, and ſo downward onely; or from *Samuel* and ſo upward unto *Moſes*, ſpeak thereof, as *Acts* 3.24. but by a farther extent, *Rom.* 1.2,3. it paſſeth on to all who ever lived: Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, made our Lord, the Son of *David* according to the fleſh, and *declared mightily to be the Son of God as concerning the Spirit of ſanctification by the Reſurrection from the dead, was promiſed before by all the Prophets*: And therefore it is *Act.* 4.48. *To him give all the Prophets witneſſe, that thorough his name, whoſoever beleeveth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life*. It runs, we heare, in illimited termes upon *All*; and he that ſaith *All*, excepteth none, includeth every one from *Moſes* upward to *Abraham*, *Noah*, *Enoch*, *Adam*. So *Zachary* in his *Iubily* put it home indeed, *As he ſpake by the mouth of all his holy Prophets, which have been ſince the world began*. And thus, *Quod prædicaverunt Apoſtoli, enunciaverant Prophetæ; neq; ſerò eſt impletum, quod ſemper eſt creditum*, ſaith *Leo*. What the Prophets foretold ſhould be, the Apoſtles declared to have been fulfilled, nor can it be ſaid to have been accompliſhed over late, which was beleeved ever from the beginning.

To 6. *Lib.* 12. *Con. Fauſt. ca.* 1.

Serm. 3. *de Nat.*

2. It is true, the Predictions of the Prophets were not altogether of one condition, or ſelfe aſſiſe, with the Preachings and declarations of the Goſpel. In none of them, was it plainly, directly, evolvedly ſaid and foretold, that *the Son of God ſhould become the ſon of man*; that he ſhould be *borne of a Virgin named Mary*; in the *dayes of Herod King of Iews*; in ſuch a yeare, ſuch a time, or the like. The times foregoing the Incarnation, were times of Types and Figures, of ſhadowes, veiles, obſcurities; and therefore the Prophets, or Preachers of thoſe times, were not to ſpeak out plainly, clearly, as afterwards in, and under the Goſpel. Secondly, Prophecies be, or ſeldome, or never evident, but generally involved, enigmaticall, myſticall, obſcure, not diſcerned, or diſcernable but by Revelation, untill they be fully accompliſhed, and fulfilled in their event. The ſubject of this Prophecie, the Incarnation of Chriſt, as it was the firſt thing, that ever was foretold in that originall Prediction of the *Seed of the woman*: ſo was it ſubjectively the greateſt that ever was foreſpoken; both for the *Party*, who was meant and deſigned; the *End*, whereto it tended; the *Effects* it procured; what was Prophecied of him; the

manner of ſuggeſtion, by the Immediate Act of God. In the manifeſtation of the Son of God, that *Day ſpring from on high*, that Sun of Righteouſneſſe, the courſe was correſpondent to that of the Sun of heaven, which giveth light unto the world. It is, as we call it, firſt *Day-break*, in which is more of the night then day. Next it *dawneth*, not fully cleare day. Next it is ſhed abroad into the ayre above, then be the tops of the mountaines graiſed on by the beames appearing, the body of the Sun, yet under the Horizon; but at length being riſen upon the earth, it mounts up by degrees till it come to be Verticall at high noone. Such was the Manifeſtation of the Son of God, variouſly diſpenſed in diſtinction of times, as God in wiſedome thought beſt, and fitteſt to diſpoſe thereof. *Longum eſſet hoc probare ut illis omnibus de Libris Teſtimonia proferam, quibus oſtendam Chriſtum eſſe prædictum; It would be long and tedious*, ſaith S. *Auguſt.* againſt that Manichee, *and to little purpoſe, we profeſſing Chriſt, to make ſuch particular proofe of his Incarnation by ſuch teſtimonies, as Scripture would afford us.* But as Cardinall *Baronius* hath inſiſted, to inſtance two or three will be to purpoſe, eſpecially ſuch as ſpeak out moſt plainly, intending both Jews and Gentiles, in the Rejection of one, and Collection of the other. Two principally for this purpoſe, are moſt eminent: the one, that of *Daniel*, commonly knowne and called by the name of *Daniels weeks*, which affirmatively deſignes out the juſt time; the other elder by many hundreds of yeares, that of *Iacob* in the *bleſſing of Iudah*, *Gen.* 49. To which may be added a third, that of *Balaam*, concerning *a ſtarre of Iacob*. *Baronius* inſiſts upon that of *Iacob* alone, whereof he diſcourſeth ſomewhat ſtrangely, diffuſing himſelfe for proſecution; but withall confounding, perplexing, intricating himſelfe, and his reader, the whole ſtate and condition of the Prophecie, againſt truth of Text and Story, many wayes. This Prophecie, as it lies in Scripture, was thus.

Manifeſtation of Chriſt as the Sun of heaven.

3 *Iacob*, great Patriarch of the Synagogue, ſole Founder and Father of the Jews, as they ſtand in oppoſition to the Gentiles; lying on his Deathbed in the Land of Egypt, and ready to be gathered to his people, ſends for *Ioſeph*, and his other children, to come unto him. In their preſence, he makes, as it were, his laſt Will and Teſtament; wherein he bequeathed to every one a Legacy, his childs portion, a part of the bleſſing of a Father, ſuch as God Almighty had endowed him withall; and as God by his Spirit did direct and guide him unto, enſpiring him in that action with a particular preſcience of all their future eſtates in after times. He thereupon aſſigneth to every one of his ſons, either for himſelfe in Perſon, or for his Poſterity in deſcent, that which was to be accompliſhed, and performed in ſucceeding times, upon the one or the other. *Then Iacob called his ſons and ſaid, Gather your ſelves together, that I may tell you what ſhall come unto you in the laſt times. Gather your ſelves together, and heare, O you ſons of Iacob, and hearken unto Iſrael your Father.* Then from *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Levi*, as they were in yeares, he comes downe to *Iudah*, out of whoſe Poſterity

The Prophecy of *Iacob*.

Poſterity Meſſias was to come, concerning whom amongſt other paſſages, he delivereth that which makes his perſon honourable, and his poſterity famous. *Iudah, thou art he whom thy brethren ſhall praiſe: Thine hand ſhall be in the neck of thine enemies: thy fathers children ſhall ſtoop before thee. Iudah is a Lyons whelp: from the ſpoile my ſon thou art come up on high: He laid him downe, and couched himſelfe as a Lion, and as a Lions whelp: who ſhall ſtir him up? The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah, nor the Law-giver from betwixt his feet, untill that Shiloh come: and unto him ſhall the gathering together of people be. He ſhall bind his foale unto the Vine, and his Aſſes colt unto the branch: he waſhed his clothes in wine, and his garments in the blood of the grape. His eyes ſhall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.*

Diverſity in expounding of it.

4. This paſſage is a Prophecy darkly delivered, but made more intricate and obſcure, by diſſentient opinions of Jews and Chriſtians in expounding of it. *Iudah*, the ſubject of the Prophecie, may be and is inſiſted upon three ſeverall wayes: Firſt, Perſonally, for *Iudah* the fourth ſon of *Iacob*, there preſent in perſon when the Prophecie was delivered by *Iacob*. Secondly, by *Iudah*, may be meant the Tribe which deſcended lineally of him, and was denominated of him as their Patriarch. Thirdly, for the people of Iſrael, that is, for a mixture of all the Tribes of Iſrael, which in the revolt and diviſion made by *Ieroboam*, conſtantly adhered to the Tribe of *Iudah*, and houſe of *David*; who in proceſſe of time, after the return home from the Captivity of Babylon, were of *Iudah*, this Patriarch, all denominated Jews. Theſe ſenſes ariſing, the queſtion is, what is here meant by *Iudah*: For the ſubject of the Prophecie is indefinite, and through the malicious intent and packing of the Jews, it is as doubtfull what is meant by *Shiloh*; or as we reade it, *He that is to come*. In Hebrew the word *Shiloh* is of ambiguous ſignification: *Flaminius Nobilius* hath collected many meanings: *Oleaſter* deriveth it from *Scialah*, and renders it *Quietè*, Peaceable, ſecure; which is as fitting as can be for our Saviour, who is *Pacificus*, *Pacificator*, *Pax noſtra*, our Peace, a Peace-maker, a Peacefull Prince, who hath made and ſetled Peace, anenter the greateſt diſſentients that ever were, Heaven and Earth, God and Man. *Scil*, ſay others, ſignifies a Son, and *Sciloh* is all one with a Son, *untill Schiloh*, the *Son come*; which agrees as fitly as the former: *For ſo God loved the world, that he gave his onely begotten Son, with intent, that whoſo beleeveth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life*: and *God ſent his Son into the world*. The LXX. Interpreters of moſt ancient, and in the Church of moſt ſacred authority, tranſlate the Text thus, *Till thoſe things come to paſſe*, or be accompliſhed, *which be reſerved and laid up for him*, τὰ ἀπόκειμενα, precious, excellent, reſerved things; or untill he come, ᾧ ἀπόκειται, *for whom it is repoſited, or laid up*: In effect, the Deſired: for ſuch be *Cimelia*, things of price and account; and proportionably the ſons of Election and Grace are ſaid to be the *Reſerved ones of God*, οἱ ἀπόκειμενοι, men treaſured, and laid up ſafe and ſure, under lock and key, Gods protection

Siloh.

protection, *Pſal.* 83.4. The ancient Hebrew or Chalde Paraphraſe uſeth the word *Meſsiah*: He that is ſent, *Donec veniat Meſſias*, Till Meſſias come, or till he come that is to be ſent. *Ioh.* 9. 7. *Schiloth* is rendred *ſent*; the name *Meſsiah* denoting his office in miſſion and commiſſion: *As the Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* So the old Tranſlator, *Donec veniat qui mittendus erat*: Our Engliſh to prevent all quarrels, retaines the originall word, *Till Shiloh* come; be *Shiloh* what it will be in ſignification.

5. So I ſay: For what is thereby meant, muſt be enquired after, though there be no doubt of it with good Chriſtians. The Manichees could not here underſtand Chriſt, becauſe they blaſphemouſly taught, He was never foretold by any Prophet. In opinion of the Jews, *Shiloh* was *Meſsias*, but not our Saviour, *Ieſus of Nazaret*. Aſſuredly it is apparent, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, of the ſubject of the Prophecie, *Nempe, omnes, non dico contradictionis calumnias, ſed etiam nebulas dubitationis expellit.* But he meant, with true Chriſtians: for the Jewiſh miſcreants, as *Galatinus* and *Toſtatus* obſerve, pervert the words and ſenſe many wayes: Some faſten it on *Saul*, ſome caſt it upon the reigne of *Rehoboam*, upon the revolt of *Iſrael* and *Ieroboam*; others ſetle it on *Nabuchodonoſor*. To any man, or thing, they care not *whom*, or *what*, ſo not to Jeſus of Nazaret, whom as they denied in the preſence of *Pilate*, ſo their hatred and malice is to him implacable. But God in Juſtice doth ſo foolifie their malice, that in their oppoſition againſt our Saviour, they run moſt commonly into prodigious fooleries. They who caſt it upon *Saul*, expound it thus: *The Tribe of Iudah ſhould have the Scepter*, that is, be chiefe amongſt the Tribes, *till Saul, ſon of Cis, of the Tribe of Benjamin, was anointed King in Silo, when and in whom the Scepter was then taken from Iudah, and inveſted upon Benjamin.* A falſe and impious conceit moe wayes then one.

Not meant of *Saul.*

6. Firſt, the Prophecie of *Iacob* ſhould not run *in ſtylo* of the *laſt times*, as in direct words it doth, but rather of the *middling times*, wherein *Iſrael* was a people, and of the firſt times of their having a Scepter. For *Saul* was the firſt who reigned in Iſrael, and by this expoſition the Scepter muſt be taken away from *Iudah*, before it ever came to *Iudah*: The Law-giver be *gone*, who never was there, *from betwixt his knees.* The Tribe of *Iudah* had no Scepter conferred more then other Tribes, (take *Scepter* in what ſignification they pleaſe) before that *Saul* was ſlaine in Mount *Gilboa*. *Moſes* was of *Levi*, *Ioſhua* of *Ephraim*, and amongſt the Judges very few, but none of the moſt renowned, were of *Iudah*; *Deborah* and *Barac* were of *Nepthali*, *Gedeon* of *Manaſſes*, *Ieptha* of *Ephraim*, *Samſon* of *Dan*, *Eli* and *Samuel* both of *Levi*. It is true, *Othoniel* the firſt Judge was of *Iudah*; which Tribe, in two actions after *Ioſhua's* death, of great employments, had precedencie aſſigned them eſpecially by God: For they went up firſt againſt the Canaanites, not expulſed by *Ioſhua* before his death: and then againſt the Benjamites, in revenge of villany

lany committed upon the Levites wife: both which were extraordinary and particular actions: by them *Iudah* had not, nor could have any ſuch ordinary annexed precedency as they dreame of. It is ſo, that in Removes, *ambulante exercitu*, as *Tacticks* phraſe it, the Standard and Tribe of *Iudah* marched in front; and ſo happily might enter into the *red Sea*: but *when Iordan was driven back*, not the Standard of *Iudah*, but the Arke with *Levi* advanced firſt. This prerogative therefore, with ſome other ſemblable and of the like kind, enjoyed and practiſed by the Tribe of *Iudah*, inſiſted on by *Hugo* of S. *Victor* in his Allegories upon *Geneſis*, are too light to be caſt upon the *maßie Scepter* of *Iudah*: And as for *Saul* of *Benjamin*, ſaid by the Jews to have been made *King in Silo*, a City in the lot of *Ephraim*, where the Ark remained to the dayes of *Samuel*, it is a fiction of fabling Jews. *Saul* was not anoynted King in *Silo*, but at *Miſpat* in the Tribe of Juda, 1 *Sam.* 11. nor was the Ark in *Siloh*, till the dayes of *Saul*. But *Iudahs* prerogative, in *Scepter*, and *Law-giver*, could not begin till the reigne of *David*, after the death of *Saul* in Mount *Gilboa*: and ſo after this Jewiſh expoſition, we ſhould not read the Text, *The Scepter ſhall not depart*, but *The Scepter ſhall not come to Iudah, till Silo be gone and removed away*. That is, till *Saul* of *Benjamin*, anoynted King in *Miſpat*, not in *Silo*, be dead and gone, and *David* of *Iudah* ſucceed in the Kingdome. This for the firſt fiction about that Propheey.

7. Another Jewiſh fiction is about the revolt of *Ieroboam* from *Iudah* and *David* in *Roboams* dayes. According to which forgery, the meaning of the Prophecy muſt be, *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah, till Ieroboam of Ephraim diſpoſſeſſe them of it, who ſhall be anoynted King in Silo*. In which expoſition this holds for the place, There in *Silo* he was anoynted King againſt the houſe of *David*, 2 *Reg.* 12. when through his procurement ten Tribes forſook the houſe of *David*, which had been regnant LXXX. yeares under *David* and *Solomon*, great and mighty Kings. But by this Revolt, the Royall Scepter did not *utterly* depart away; onely it was impaired, and no more. For *Iudah* and *Benjamin* two Tribes entire, and many families of other Tribes, adhered conſtantly unto the houſe of *David*, refuſing to follow *Ieroboam*, nor would they worſhip his golden gods. *David* had, according unto promiſe, *a light left unto him in Ieruſalem*: In his holineſſe God had ſworn, that *utterly he would not faile David*. Thus with *Scepter*, his houſe continued *regnant*, unto the Captivity of Babylon, and with *Law-giver* longer then ſo. In the Captivity, the *Royall Scepter departed*, utterly, wholly and for ever. After *Zedechias* were no more Kings of Juda, nor Regnant in Jeruſalem, of the houſe of *David*. The Jews were ſubjected to the Kings of Babylon, then to their Conquerours, Medes and Perſians. And though after 70. yeares, according to promiſe and prediction, they were releaſed from Captivity by *Cyrus* the *Perſian*, in the firſt yeare of his *Babylonian* not *Perſian* reign, and ſo became again a people, as before, numbred

Nor *Ieroboam*.

bred with the Nations of the earth; yet never had they King any more of Juda, nor any Regnant of the house of *David*: strangers bare rule, and were Lords over them, the *Persian*, *Lagidan*, *Seleucian*, *Romane* Princes; or their owne chiefe Rulers were of other Tribes, as the *Maccabees* of *Levi*, not of *Iudah*.

Nor *Nabuchodonosor*.

8. As for that fiction touching *Nabuchodonosor* King of *Babylon*, supposed to be the *Messias*, or *Silo* intended in this Prophecy, it is true, he *was sent*; but with a witnesse, as the saying is, to *destroy*. He cut off, and took away utterly the Scepter from Judah, when he sacked the City, demolished the Temple, dismantled the walls, slew the sons of *Zedechias* before his face, put out his owne eyes, and carried him away prisoner unto *Babylon*. When he came, being so sent to do thus, the Royall Scepter departed away from Judah, and was never againe returned or restored; which exposition as it is false, so is it malitiously forged upon absurdities. First, they take the word *Shebeth*, which signifies a Rod, or a Scepter, not to intend a Scepter or Royall rod, as *Iacob* meant it, but a *Rod of Correction*, of Tribulation, a Rod of Tyrannicall oppression. For such *Nabuchodonosors* Rod was, and otherwise it fits not him. He was, as he is named, the *Rod of Gods wrath*, employed to correct Judah; But to grant this. He must withall have been *Expectatio Gentium*, that man whom all Nations did expect, upon whom all did depend; but what Nation would expect and desire him, whose comming was not for preservation, but for ruine, and utter desolation? And supposing that *Virga* here were not *Virga regia*, a Rod of Power and Authority, that is a Scepter, but a Rod of Wrath, of Anger and Tribulation, the meaning of *Iacob* in his blessing must be this: Affliction shall not depart from Judah untill *Silo*, *Nabuchodonosor* come; which implies a Contradiction, It shall not depart untill it come. For the greatest Tribulation that befell Judah, from pronouncing of that blessing till *Nabuchodonosor*, was his comming against Judah, and Captivating them: which impious absurdity cannot fasten upon any but Miscreant Rabbins, and Apostata *Iulian*. For as it may seeme by *Cyril. Lib.* 8. that Renegado *Iulian* relateth the Prophecie thus; *Quòd non deficiet princeps de Iuda, neq; Dux de femoribus ejus: non de Messia vel Iesu dictum est, sed de Regno Davidis, quod constat cessasse in Zedechia, novissimo omnium posterorum Davidis Regis Iudaorum.*

Not a Conditionall Prophecy.

9. Others, no lesse Jewishly affected, put in this exception: Prophecies, as Promises, be *absolute*, or *conditioned*: this they will have a conditionall Prophecie, thus: If *Iudah* transgresse not the Law of God, the Scepter shall not depart till *Silo* come; but *Iudah* transgressed, and the Promise failed, as not to be verified but upon supposition of non-transgression. So Canaan was promised to *Abraham* and his seed for *ever*, supposing they would walk in Gods wayes for *ever*; but his seed forsaking God, God was not bound to them: He might, as he did, cast them out, put them off from being his people. So *Iudah* failing in performance of the Covenant required to make the

the Promiſe permanent untill Meſſias came, the *Scepter departed before he came:* Nor can it hence be collected, he is therefore come. A diſcourſe grounded upon a falſe ſurmiſe, that Prophecies and Promiſes be of like aſſiſe. In all Promiſes of Grace, there is neceſſarily a Condition expreſſed or implyed: that in effect, *Walk thou before me, and be upright.* If Man faile in the one, God may faile in the other, his Bond was but conditionall. It is not ſo with Prophecies, they all are *abſolute:* it is no Prophecie which proceeds with a condition, for that implyes no neceſſity of event, but meere contingencie. Prophecies be predictions of things to come to paſſe, decreed in Eternity ſo to be; *A Child ſhall be borne unto the houſe of David, A Virgin ſhall conceive and beare a Son, Ieruſalem ſhall be trodden downe of the Gentiles,* be abſolute Decrees, reſolved on without condition: and ſuch was the Prophecie of *Iacob, The Scepter ſhall not depart.* Certaine it was in divine preſcience, that *Iudah* would tranſgreſſe, and as ſurely determined in Predeſtination, that for ſuch tranſgreſſion the Scepter ſhould depart from *Iudah.* Let any Jewiſh Rabbin, or any Jewiſhly affected Chriſtians, as too many be, give me a reaſon why this Prophecie ſhould rather be limited and clogged with a condition, then that, *The Seed of the woman ſhall bruiſe the Serpents head,* or that, *In thy Seed ſhall all Nations of the earth be bleſſed.* Where things be foretold, they muſt come to paſſe: and therefore upon accompliſhment in event, it is often uſed, *This was done, that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet.* So Predictions are abſolute, or God in his Prophets ſhould not be true. *Irenæus* ſaid well, *Omnis prophetia ante eventum ænigma eſt,* Prophecies are Riddles, till event ſhews the meaning. Which yet is ſo meant; unleſſe interim the ſame ſpirit expound them which did dictate them: without ſuch Revelation, event muſt be expected to diſcover them. So was it here, that *Iacob* reſpected not the kingdome of *Saul,* of *Ieroboam, Roboam, Nabuchodonoſor:* For when they were all gone into their duſt, yet was not *the Scepter gone utterly away.* Therefore in their times, after their deaths, *Silo* was not come, nor the Prophecie to be applyed to any of them: For when *Silo* was come, the Scepter and Law-giver muſt both be gone. And ſure it was, whenſoever they departed, he was come.

10. Admit it true, as it is, that the old Doctors of the Jews, before the Incarnation, (who had no ſpleene or ſtitch againſt our Saviours perſon, whom they could not know, being not then *come,* much leſſe could they hate him, being not knowne and unborne) are excuſable for oppoſition: yet be not the Rabbins of later times in any ſort excuſable, more tenderly to be touched upon, or more gently to be handled by Chriſtians, for their opinions in perverting this Prophecie out of inveterate malice againſt Chriſt. The caſe is much diſparate *inter partes.* They then, as no way ſet upon, becauſe not intereſſed in oppoſition, without ſiniſter affection or partiality, freely delivered their opinions, and what they thought in the point, not foreſtalled

ſtalled nor prejudicated maliciouſly: But ſuch as lived ſince the Incarnation, took all occaſions to pervert all Scripture, that any way touched upon, or referred unto *Meſsias*: which *Iuſtin Martyr* proveth largely againſt *Trypho* the Jew. But for as much as in Chriſtian Schooles, and Pulpits, which now over-ſway the Schooles, there is much diverſity in expounding this Prophecie, not about the τὸ κατηγούμενον, or principall ſubject thereof. For therein all, otherwiſe diſſentients, do thoroughly agree, and unanimouſly expound it, to be intended of our Saviour, and of his Incarnation; that he is that *Silo* here mentioned. Yet is there much variety amongſt Expoſitors and Chronologers, for the preciſe time and manner of accompliſhment, and about ſundry other particulars very materiall, wherein greatly they differ one from the other. I muſt not therefore paſſe it ſleightly out of my hands, but for cleering of doubts, reſolving of queſtions, removing incumbrances, inſiſt upon the Prophecie ſomewhat largely, as *Baronius* hath done in his *Apparatus*, though to very little good purpoſe: For he hath ſtrangely entangled himſelf herein, and his Reader many wayes, with ſundry inconſequencies and inconveniencies, both manifeſtly apparent, and neceſſarily inferred upon his premiſſes, and that with great prejudice of truth, of ſtory, and piety, as in particular ſhall appeare in due place: For ſome other opinions muſt be conſidered firſt, which are many, and may be taken into conſideration for better underſtanding of truth, in the meaning of the Prophecie.

Diverſity amongſt Chriſtian Expoſitors.

11. Firſt, ſome men doe in ſuch ſort limit the Prophecie of *Iacob*, that they conceive no Regality or Power to command in chiefe, was at all intended unto the Tribe of *Iudah* in particular, thereby, but onely this, That howſoever the Regall, Ducall, Judiciall Regiment for the time, ſupreme in that State, was actually reſiding in, and inveſted upon other Tribes; yet the Tribe of *Iudah*, even then, and ſo, did in honour, dignity, and degree far excell and goe beyond all other Tribes, even thoſe that were φυλαὶ πρωτοκλίσιαι, chiefe in ſtate, and did command by the chief Magiſtrate, being one of themſelves. For inſtance, thus: Though *Saul* of *Benjamin* were King in Iſrael, yet the Tribe of *Iudah* was more honourable then all other Tribes, then that of *Benjamin*, whereof he was deſcendant, being King: which in ſome regard may be true, but is not to purpoſe: for *Iacob* ſpeaks of a Scepter, not of honour. Others, not regarding how, when, or to what kind of honour or principality that Tribe attained, or in what manner the Prophecie of *Iacob* can therewithall ſubſiſt, do fall upon this onely, that after the Captivity, howſoever the High Prieſts commanded, as they did, in chiefe, untill the reigne of *Herod* the Idumean, yet the Scepter did not depart from *Iudah*, becauſe thoſe High-prieſts ſo commanding, were of *Iudah* by the mothers ſide; which is a piece of *Baronius* opinion, concerning which more anon. Others inſiſt upon the ſame; but with this qualification, that at, and in the Captivity, the Scepter departing away from *Iudah*, yet,

Iudah's right of dignity, not actuall commanding in chiefe.

upon

upon the returne, it was againe reſtored to *Zorobabel* and his Poſterity; and that the *Maccabees*, who came at length to the chiefe place in State, being Prieſts, were extracted from *Iudah* by the Mothers ſide; and ſo, fulfilled the Prophecy of not departing away, till *Herod* came in place: which is another piece, to patch up the opinion of *Baronius*. Others talk of no Scepter here, but of a Tribe: For *Shemeth*, they ſay, the Originall word, which ſignifies a Rod, a Scepter, doth ſometime alſo ſignifie a Tribe; which *Oleaſter* proveth out of that Pſalme, *He choſe not the Tribe of Ephraim*; where the word is *Shemeth*, which may be as well the Rod of *Ephraim*, as Tribe of *Ephraim*; that is, not the Kingdome of *Ephraim*, or *Iſrael*, in *Ieroboam*, but that of *Iudah*, ſo the meaning is, The Tribe of Judah ſhall ſubſiſt and continue, untill that Meſſias come. Others againe by Scepter, and Law-giver, underſtand the Jewiſh *Sanhedrin*, or great Councell ſtanding, in *Gazith*, which conſiſted of Elders, of the Tribe of *Iudah*, was of greateſt Authority, and Command in State, which ſo continued till the reigne of *Herod*. *Cajetan* is ſingular, yet confident in his opinion, by *Pererius* reduced to two points: Firſt, that the *Departing of the Scepter*, may be meant two wayes, either Temporally, reſpecting Act, and Execution, and ſo it was departed before Meſſias came; or elſe Finally, and for ever, without any hope of recovery, and ſo it did never depart, nor is yet gone away from *Iudah*. In which his ſingularity, the Scepter, and Meſſias, be the ſame with him, which is the ſecond point to which his opinion was reduced. In the hardeſt aſſayes, the greateſt waine, and weakning of the Tribe of *Iudah*, when they ſeemed to be moſt under hatches, yet they had this hope and aſſurance remaining unto them indefeiſable, that Meſſias was to be born of them; and if they would acknowledge it, *now*, they are aſſured that Meſſias is come, and borne of them; and ſo the Scepter is not yet departed away from them. *Pererius* himſelf holdeth this opinion, that the Scepter in this Prophecy, and ſo the whole Prophecy it ſelfe, is principally to be underſtood, not of the Tribe of *Iudah* in particular, but in generall of the Jewiſh Nation; and that ſome one or other of that Nation had evermore the chiefe Rule, and Command over the Nation, untill Meſſias came, when *Herod* reigned King, being an Alien, an Idumæan borne. Theſe are ſeverall expoſitions of this Prophecy of *Iacob*, concerning *Iudah*; not ſo much different as diverſe, in part, not totally diſagreeing one from the other. Concerning moſt of them, if not all, occaſion will be offered to ſpeake, in examining that which *Baronius* commendeth above the reſt, and doth follow in his *Apparatus*, which is this.

Iudah for the Tribe.

Cajetan.

Pererius.

12. That in, and by this Propheticall bleſſing of the Patriarch *Iacob*, upon *Iudah*, the Kingdome of Iſrael was promiſed, and aſſigned unto the Tribe of *Iudah*; which that Tribe once attaining unto in *David*, held by continuance for many ages, in a perpetuall, and not interrupted ſucceſſion of Princes, untill the Captivity of Babylon

Baronius opinion.

under *Zedechias*. In which Captivity, was intercepted and broken off, for a time, the course of Principality, and Royall State; but yet, the same Tribe of *Iudah* did againe recover it after the Captivity, and having so recovered it, did afterward continue in possession of the same, from Father to Son, in a continued descendency, and *long series* of succeeding Princes, without interruption, or intercision at all, unto the second yeare of the 183. *Olympiade*, wherein *Domitius Calvinus*, and *Asinius Pollio* were Romane Consuls. At what time, *Herod*, an Idumæan by birth, a Proselyte first, then a Pagan by profession, and in religion, by gift and collation of M. *Antonius* and the Romanes, was made King of the Jews. At which time it seemeth, and not before, that the Regall Principality of *Iudah*, did utterly and irrecoverably cease from *Iudah*, and was transferred over unto strangers. This is the compendious summe of that Doctrine and opinion, which the Cardinall Annalist holdeth and delivereth, about the verification of the Prophecy of *Iacob* concerning *Iudah*. For which he voucheth, as concurrents with himselfe, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *Hierome*. The one truly, and to purpose. For *Cyril* was thoroughly of his minde and opinion, and onely *Cyril*, for ought that I can finde, amongst the ancient Fathers, was of that opinion; but *Hierome* was farre of another minde, as in processe it will appeare. For many particulars of doubtfull, and yet necessary assise, be incident unto this Prophecy, which must be cleared as much as we may.

Diversity amongst the blessings of *Iacob*.

13. And first, we take into consideration, that which is generally confessed, and certainly true, that this, and all the Propheticall blessings by *Iacob* upon his death bed, delivered unto, and concerning his sons, are not all of one nature, state or condition, either subjectively for the matter, or objectively for the Persons and their Posterity. Somethings are Personall, reflecting upon, and touching only at the persons of the Patriarchs themselves, then present, and not extendable beyond their persons. Other things there remembred, be not Personall, but Originall; intended and meant of their Posterity; either particularly in the Tribe, from whence they were extracted, or universally, in the Nation, whereof that Tribe was a part. For instance, it is said of *Ioseph*, *He was separated from his brethren*; which must be taken personally, and not otherwise, as meant concerning the Patriarch himselfe, who was sold by his brethren, brought into Egypt, there made a servant, and at length advanced to be Lord of Egypt; his Father supposing that he had been dead. So of *Simeon* and *Levi*, personally it is said, *They were brethren in evill*; that, *In their fury they slew a man, and in their selfe will they digged downe a wall*. Personall actions, these were, practised by them two upon the *Sichemites*, whom they slew, in revenge of the rape, by *Sichem* committed upon their sister *Dinah*. It is also said of *Reuben*, *He was light as water*; that, *He went up and defiled his Fathers bed*. Which was personally true of him; as also it was, that he was *Iacobs first-borne*. But that which comes after, was verified in and upon his posterity,

He

He ſhall not be chiefe: In effect, that not himſelfe, nor his poſterity, ſhould enjoy the prerogative of the firſt-borne, or eldeſt ſon of his father. For he was not ſo affectionately beloved of his father, as *Ioſeph* and *Benjamin*, nor ſo reſpected of his brethren, as *Iudah* and *Ioſeph*, in his perſon. And for his poſterity, he was caſt behind, and undervalued in his Tribe; for whereas three eſpeciall prerogatives amongſt thoſe ancient Patriarchs, did, as of right, commonly appertaine unto the *firſt-borne*, *Princedome*, *Prieſthood*, and *double portion*, the Tribe of *Ruben* was diſpoſſeſt of them all, and they were ſeverally conferred upon other Tribes. *Ioſeph* had the double portion; *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, the ſons of *Ioſeph*, as two ſeverall diſtinct Tribes, had Inheritance in the Diviſion of the Land of Promiſe: the Prieſthood was ſetled upon *Aaron*, of *Levi*: and *Iudah* had the principality. Nor at any time did any, that I remember, of this Tribe, either rule as *Iudge*, or *reigne* as King, in Iſrael: For *Iacob* had ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not be excellent*. And of this ſort, not Perſonall, but Originall, be all thoſe Predictions, or Propheticall bleſſings, which doe concerne *Zabulon*, *Nepthali*, *Iſachar*, *Dan*, *Gad*, and *Aſer*: nor any thing ſpoken there by *Iacob*, doth touch or concerne them in their perſons, but onely in their poſterity.

14. To this head, as I conceive it, are the bleſſings of *Iudah* to be referred, and ſo thereof to be underſtood. And ſo alſo, that ſome particulars amongſt his Poſterity, deſcendents of his Tribe, are deſignedly intended in ſome eminent action remembred concerning him. In *Iudah* and by *Iudah* are underſtood, not alone the people of his Tribe, as thoſe of *Aſer*, *Dan*, *Iſachar*, the reſt, of which he was Head and Patriarch: but more then ſo, namely the whole collective Body of that Nation, *Iſrael*, iſſuing from *Iacob*, which in proceſſe of time, from *Iudah*, were called Jews. Not any part of the Prophecy did pitch upon his perſon, not ſo much as that, *Thy Brethren ſhall praiſe thee*: For *Ioſeph* therein, at leaſt, had a ſhare with him, a greater part and portion then he had: but both that and the other bleſſings pronounced upon him, applyed to him, and conceived of by him, are more intentionally meant of our bleſſed Saviour, deſcendent of him, as the Fathers at large inſiſt upon. But ſet him aſide, whoſe prerogatives are without compariſon, diverſly expreſſed, becauſe ſo many in themſelves, compare *Iudah* with *Ioſeph*, for perſonal reſpects, far the moſt honourable and excellent of all the ſons of *Iacob*, and *Iudah* for his poſterity went far beyond *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, the children of *Ioſeph*: which I will ſomewhat inſtance and declare, becauſe it fitteth well to purpoſe, for the better underſtanding of this Prophecie.

Iudah, not perſonally.

15. It is a note of excellency, and eminent account, to be preferred to an eſpeciall place of honour, in great ſervices and employments. Thus was it with *Iudah*, that is, with the Tribe of *Iudah*, anſwerable to *Iacobs* bleſſing, Thy brethren ſhall prefer thee, thine enemies ſhall feare thee, for thy hand ſhall be in their necks. Thus *Iudah*, in

his Tribe, was preferred to thoſe employments by *Hugo* of S. *Victor* formerly remembred. Which prerogative was much farther advanced, when *David* of *Iudah* was taken to be King, and Captaine over Iſrael, Gods people. Then, and not before, was the Scepter, literally taken, inveſted upon the Tribe of *Iudah*, which continued eighty yeares, with great glory in that Tribe: not empayred, no way narrowed or diminiſhed for Regall rights; but the victorions reigne of *David*, the glorious and peacefull reigne of *Solomon* being ended, after eighty yeares, ten Tribes of twelve revolted from the houſe of *David*, for the Idololatry and other ſins of *Solomon*. But yet the Kingdome did not utterly ceaſe, it was not quite taken away from *Iudah*, as formerly from *Benjamin* in *Saul*; there continued unto *David* a light, a *Series* and ſucceſſion of Kings in Jeruſalem, of his body from that Tribe, untill the Captivity of the Land. But as for thoſe ſeditious revolting Iſraelites, the Scepter ſtayed not long in the houſe and family of *Ieroboam*, but was rent away from the Tribe of *Ephraim*, the Kingdome diſmembred, and parted into ſundry families of different Tribes, untill the fatall period of that Kingdome, and utter deſolation of that State, Iſrael ceaſing to be a people, and tranſported into everlaſting exile, by *Salmanaſar* the Aſſyrian King: but many yeares after, they reigned in Jeruſalem over *Iudah*, had remarkable deliverances from the Aſſyrians, and who were all *deſcendents* from *David*, and of *Iudah*, Kings in continued, and not intercepted ſucceſſion. And therefore in that Roll of royal deſcent ended, *Mat. 1. David* onely is ſtyled *David the King*, as the originall root of a royall houſe, Father and Progenitor to thoſe named ſucceeding Kings. And howſoever the maine multitude of rebellious and Idololatrous Iſraelites fell away from the houſe of *David*, to *Ieroboam*, who made Iſrael to ſin; yet not onely the two Tribes of *Iudah* and *Benjamin*, that revolted not at all, but divers Families of all ſorts, of every Tribe in Iſrael, forſooke *Ieroboam*, his faction, his Calves at Bethel, his Idol-ſervice, and adhered faithfully unto the houſe of *David*, to the true ſervice and Religion of the God of their Fathers, were inhabitants amongſt the Jews, accompted with Jews, as were *Hanna* of *Aſer*, *Barnabas* of *Levi*, *Iudith* of *Simeon*, and ſuch like.

16. By this name of Jews, they were all called indifferently, of whatſoever Tribe and kindred they were deſcended in *Iacob*; by this name they were knowne amongſt the Nations of the world, and ſo ſtyled Jews of *Iudah* generally; who being a medled company of all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, did remaine in the Land and Inheritance of their Fathers, at that deſolation, by *Salmanaſar*, under the ſubjection and protection of the houſe of *David*: which was another prerogative of this Tribe of *Iudah*, above all the other Tribes, reſpecting which, *Iacob* might well ſay of *Iudah*, *His brethren* ſhould *commend*, or *honor him*. So that the whole Nation, as united with, and finally incorporated into that Tribe, had intereſt in *Iudah*, as their Patriarch and firſt founder for being Jews.

17. At

17. At firſt they were named Hebrews, of *Abraham* the Hebrew, deſcended of *Heber*, lineally; of whom they infinitely boaſted that they were his ſeed; and by this name their neighbour Nations, it ſeemeth, acknowledged them at firſt, as appeares by ſome paſſages in the Books of *Samuel*, where the Philiſtines ever ſtyle them *Hebrews*, and the Prophet himſelfe, where he ſpeaks by Proſopopey concerning them, *Play the men you Philiſtines, and be not ſervants unto the Hebrews, as they have ſerved you.* But after *Abraham* that had other children beſide *Iſaac*, and after *Iſaac*, of whom came *Eſau*, as well as *Iacob*, they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Iſraelites; of *Iſrael* or *Iacob*, their Progenitor, from whom more immediately they were extracted, the twelve ſons of *Iacob* being all within the Covenant: and after the Diviſion made by *Ieroboam*, the name of *Iſrael*, and *Iſraelites*, remained unto that rebellious faction; the other portion peculiarly were Jews, till after the returne of the people from Babylon: then the Country began to be called Judæa, and the people inhabitants, Jews more ſeverally; as *Ioſephus* in expreſſe words hath related it of the Tribe of Judah, which originally inhabited that Country. Thus much, no doubt, *Iacob*, as a Prophet upon his death-bed foreſaw. And therefore in *Iudah*, the Patriarch of that Tribe, in and by that Tribe, the Mother Tribe of Iſrael, which included all the other Tribes, and therefore pertained unto, and had intereſt in all, he directeth his ſpeech, though involvedly, according to the ſtyle and carriage of Prophecies, unto them all, containing matter belonging unto all, to be verified in the laſt times.

Ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ἔνομα Ἰουδαῖοι ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέβησαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος, ἀπὸ τῆ Ἰούδα φυλῆς, τῆ πρώτης ἐλθούσης εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους, ἀυτῆς, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀυτῆς μεταλαβόντ. *Ioſeph. Antiq. XI.*

18. So that in concluſion, *Iacob*, by *Iudah*, meaneth not the perſon of that Patriarch, but the Tribe of Judah, the people deſcendent from him; and yet, not ſo intendedly, that particular Tribe, as the whole Nation, a mixture of all Tribes, called Jews, in the *Laſt times*. For it is expreſly ſaid to be, and ſo muſt be taken to be, a Prophecy of the *Laſt times*; which are the times of the Meſſias in Scripture language. Therefore no way meant or intended of *Iudah* himſelfe, who was dead and buried many ages before: Nor onely of a regnant, or prevailing Tribe in Iſrael, ſuch as the Tribe of Judah was; not the houſe of *David*, Imperiall out of, and in that Tribe. Nor is the Departing here mentioned, to be confined, to, at, in, after the Captivity; howſoever then, for a time, the Scepter was totally gone, and never recovered *Statu quo*. Nor yet fully and compleatly to be verified at the inſtant of *Meſſias* birth, howſoever then an Alien, *Herod* of *Eſau* reigned in Judah. But exactly, properly, and compleatly fulfilled, when he had *ſuffered*, was *riſen*, *aſcended* into heaven: and in his name, by his diſpenſation, Salvation was preached farre and nigh; this is in the laſt times, the times of Meſſias reigne and Kingdome.

18. Times, even in obſervation of Pagans, have ever been diſtinguiſhed into *three ſorts*: Ἄδηλον, unknowne, becauſe without memori-

alls altogether; Μυθικὸν, Fabulous, and ſo uncertaine; Ἱστορικὸν, Rememorative of actions done, and more certainly committed to writing. The firſt extends from the beginning of the world unto the Flood; the ſecond from the Flood to the firſt Olympiade; the laſt from thence to all Poſterity afterward. Thus Pagans obſerve concerning times. In Chriſtian account, there is the like diſtinction, though otherwiſe ordered, and upon other grounds. The firſt that of Nature; the ſecond that of the Law; the third and laſt, the time of Grace, ſince the Incarnation of our Saviour. This time of Grace, is, and was, called the *Laſt times*, in regard of Gods diſpenſation with man. There is no promiſe, prediction, or expectation of any further alteration in Gods courſe, to be held with him touching piety, Gods ſervice, his eternall ſtate, unto the finall, compleat alteration of all, when this world ſhall ceaſe, and time ſhall be no more, and ſo hath it ever been named the laſt times. In *Eſay* 2. thus we reade: *And it ſhal be in the laſt dayes, ſaith the Lord, that the mountain of the houſe of the Lord ſhall be prepared upon the top of the mountaines, and ſhall be exalted above the hills, and all Nations ſhall flow unto it.* Which Prophecy, together with *Micah* 4.1. being word for word the ſame, concerneth the beginning, progreſſe, and advancement of the Kingdome of Chriſt, the Meſſias, in, and over his Church, eminent and glorious in ſtate and condition, as being to be Catholique over all the world, which never yet Monarchy attained unto. The time appointed for this deſignement, and ſuch ſubſiſting of the Church, is by the Prophets ſtyled the laſt times. *Hierome* writing upon the fore-ſpecified place of *Micah*, refelleth the opinion of the Jews, and Chiliaſt Chriſtians, who underſtand by the *Laſt times*, thoſe *Thouſand yeares*, in which, as they dreame, the Meſſias ſhall come and reigne, viſibly, and temporally in Jeruſalem, which muſt be built again in the Land of Promiſe. *Ex conſequentibus arguuntur, non de fine ſeculorum hoc dici, ſed de primo adventu Chriſti, in quo colligentur reliquiæ claudicantes, & Gentes ante ſalventur.* The conſequence confutes this their opinion, and makes it plaine, that the Prophet meant it not of the end of the world, but of the firſt comming of Chriſt, wherein the Remaines ſhall be recollected, and the Gentiles firſt admitted to ſalvation. And he upon the place of *Eſay*, doth compare and parallel that Text with this of *Iacob*, *Gen.* 49. vouching it, that in both places, *Laſt times* be the ſame; namely, the time of Grace, the time of the Kingdome of Meſſias. To which purpoſe alſo, *Auguſtine* at large diſcourſeth in his LXXX. Epiſtle, to *Heſychius*. So alſo in *Ioel* 2.28. compared with *Acts* 2.17. a prediction accompliſhed, inſtantly in, and upon the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, about ſending the Holy Ghoſt downe upon the Church, which is ſaid, muſt be *fulfilled in the laſt times*. And ſo accordingly, the Apoſtles doe every where in their writings apply the phraſe unto their owne times, wherein the Goſpel was preached unto the Gentiles: Times, to continue unto the end of the world, as in 1 *Tim* 4.1. 2 *Tim*. 3.1. *Iam* 5.3. 1 *Pet*. 1.5, 20.

1 *Iohn*

1 *Ioh.* 2. 18. *Inde* 18. according to which Analogie and proportion, S. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 10. calls the time of grace, ſince the comming of Chriſt, *The ends of the world.*

19. For it is not onely the laſt in courſe, and in order of the three fore-ſpecified times of divine diſpenſation with Man, under Nature, Law, and Goſpell: but it was alſo the laſt time and period of the Jewiſh ſtate, from which people the Prophets were originally extracted. In reſpect of which people primarily, and principally, Prophets and Predictions were. Unto which people firſt, and eſpecially, all the Promiſes of Grace were made; and Chriſt was deſigned a Prince and Redeemer. In which laſt time, at the beginning thereof, they ſhould ceaſe to be any more a people, or to be reckoned amongſt the Nations of the earth, as before, being ſcattered and diſperſed here and there, hated and deteſted of all. Concerning which time, *Moſes* in his laſt words, at his death, ſpake long before, *Deut.* 32. 29. *Oh that thou wert wiſe, and wouldſt underſtand for then wouldſt thou conſider thy laſt times.* And *Deut.* 31. 29. *Evill ſhall come upon you in the laſt times, when you ſhall have done exceeding wickedly in the ſight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger by the works of your hands.* Then, from amongſt them, ſhould prophecie utterly, and everlaſtingly ceaſe. No new Laws or Covenants were after to be expected: No other Goſpel was to be preached: Salvation accompliſhed, brought home and offered, was to be had from him, to be enjoyed by him, and by no other name in heaven or earth; who according to expectation from Promiſes, Predictions, Pre-deſignations of old, from the very firſt beginning of things, was already in thoſe laſt times, come into the world. *Nos extremos dies intelligimus, extrema ſtatus Iudaici tempora: We, by Laſt times*, or dayes, ſaith *Euſebius, underſtand the laſt times of the Iewiſh ſtate*; which is the generall conſent of Chriſtians. *De Prep. Lib. 1.*

20. Jews deny it, and doe not grant, that the reigne or Kingdome of *Meſsias* is the laſt times: and *Ribera* the Jeſuit in *Micah* 4. concurreth with them in the ſame impiety. Some of the Ancients, as *Theodoret*, who deny not the times of *Meſsias* to be the laſt times, doe yet farther enlarge them, by anticipating of the time of Grace after the Incarnation of our Saviour, and his aſcenſion into heaven: extending the meaning of the holy Ghoſt, by the Prophets, unto thoſe times which did ſucceed the Captivity of Babylon, to the Incarnation. So that the *Terminus à quo*, or beginning of that period, the laſt times, is fixed and runs on from the firſt of *Cyrus*, wherein, by Edict, he gave leave to the Jews in Captivity, to returne home into their Countrey. Directly againſt the courſe of Scripture, and generall Tradition of the Church, wherein, *Laſt times*, and *Later dayes*, be preciſely thoſe times which extend from our Saviour, to the end of the world; the whole *Intervallum* betwixt his two Advents, of Grace and Glory. Afterward, ſaith the Prophet, *Hoſea* 3 4. ſhall the Children of Iſrael cõnvert, and ſeek the Lord their God, and *David* their

their King, and ſhall feare the Lord and his goodneſſe in the latter dayes: and to the ſame purpoſe we have it, *Ier.*23.20. *Ier.*30.24. *Dan.*2.18. & 10.14. and ſo univerſally every where. Anſwerably unto his acception, that which in this Propheticall Bleſſing of *Iacob* is foretold, being by him faſtned upon the laſt times, muſt, and did concerne *Iudah*, that is, the Jews, their ſtate and beeing, after *Meſſias* was come, in whom the Gentiles were to truſt, and by the preaching of the Goſpel, were to be gathered unto him from all parts of the world.

21. The next enquiry is, what is meant by *Scepter*, which muſt *depart* and be *taken away*. The word in the Originall, which is turned *Scepter*, doth ſignifie two things, ſaith *Oleaſter*, *Virgam nimirum & familiam*, a Rod and a Family: For children in a Family are ſo iſſued forth from, and extracted out of their Parents, as a rod, a twig, a bough, a branch, doth iſſue out of the root by the ſtemme. In this place, the firſt and naturall ſignification muſt ſtand. The Rod ſhall not depart away, which is not meant of an Oſier rod, or any other tree, but of a Rod Royall, a Regall Scepter, the Enſigne and Badge of Authority and Command, which was made of wood, and overlayed with gold, moſt commonly, as it is deſcribed by Authors, Greeke and Latine. Such the Princes of the world uſed to beare. Such was that which *Ahaſhuerus* King of Perſia held forth unto his Queene *Heſter*, when he graciouſly afforded her acceſſe into his royall preſence, *Heſt.*5.2. By *Scepter* (the Enſigne and Cogniſance of Regality) is intended Rule, Power, and Authority, either Regall, Monarchicall, and ſupreme; or elſe that which is thereto ſubordinate, and thence derived, but reſided in inferiour Magiſtrates: generally any power, command, or authority exerciſed by the Prince in State over his people, mediately or immediately, by himſelfe or others. It extends unto a Society or Common-wealth, ordered according unto Law, diſpenſed by Magiſtrates, abſolute or dependant: by Lawes made, either imperiouſly impoſed, as were all of old, *Reſcripta Principum*, and not *Plebiſcita*, nor *Senatus conſulta*, but commanded by ſuch, as comming in, and holding by the ſword, made their owne command and will to ſtand for Law, without more adoe. Such were of old the Edicts and Proclamations of the Kings of Aſſyria, Perſia, Babylon, and generally over all the Eaſt: Nor was it otherwiſe in Iſrael, where the Commons were not called to conſult or give conſent. And this continueth a derived courſe amongſt them unto this day, the people being naturally ſervile, borne to ſubjection and obey. Such are thoſe remembred by the Oratour, *Animadverte, & dicto pare, præter rogitatum ne loquare. Item, ſi ſecundo lumine hic te offendero, moriere.* Or they are Laws enacted, by and with conſent of people, free borne, freely bred, freely conſented unto by them, who as intereſſed in the ſtate, whereof they are members, and

Ut ſceptrum hoc, &c. ———
Nunquá fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras,
Cum ſemel in ſylvis ima de ſtirpe reciſum
Matre caret, poſuitque comas, & brachia ferro.
Olim arbos: aſt artificis manus ære decoro
Incluſit, Patribuſque dedit geſtare Latinis.
Virgil. Æneid. 12.

and concurring, though dependently, to make up a Corps or Society, are voluntarily ſubjected unto thoſe Lawes, to which perſonally, or repreſentatively by themſelves, or by their lawfull Proctors and Deputies they have given conſent. A man may be a Law-maker in State, who hath no power, abſolutely commanding, reſiding in himſelfe, to impoſe a Law by authority upon any; and people may become ſubject unto ſuch Laws by him made, though they owe him no *leigeance*, nor *obedience*. Such were all the ancient Lawes and Law-makers amongſt the Grecians, where *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, *Draco*, *Charondas*, *Zaleucus*, and others, gave Lawes to Free-States; the which bound onely by tie of acceptance, and voluntary ſubjection thereto, not by ſigniority, or imperiall right. Such in the Free-State of Rome were thoſe Lawes, where *Cornelius*, *Memmius*, *Manilius*, the like, *Rogavit*, and *Populus ſcivit*: Men of wiſedome, experience, and underſtanding; of deeper reach, inſight, and judgement, then commonly others were; men that could foreſee, invent, contrive, diſpoſe, diſpenſe, orders and obſervances for publique good. The Law-diſpenſer, or determiner, is in a ſort, the Law-maker. And therefore in Monarchies, where a Prince is abſolute, though Lawes be not by him impoſed upon ſubjects, but be conſented unto, he is of common courſe the laſt and beſt Interpreter of the Law: and it is held an entrenchment upon Prerogative Royall, for any Judge, who is but a Deputy, a Surrogate, and a ſervant to the Prince in State, to conteſt by his Negative, with the Princes Affirmative, about meaning of a Statute, in making whereof he had no voyce nor conſent, and ſo could not be privy to the intent of a Statute, as with us the Prince and Parliament are; which our learned Judges confeſſe to be an inſeparable Annexion to the Crowne. Certaine it is, in the Law-maker, and the Law-diſpenſer, doing their duties, conſiſts the life and livelihood of any State. When they are gone, or ceaſe, by interruption in courſe, or interciſion in kinde, there is a *Departing of the Scepter*, an impeachment of Authority, though but for a ſeaſon. But being aboliſhed in part, in whole, for once, for a time, or for ever, then is *Ichabod borne*, and the *Glory departed*: there is a kinde of deſolation brought in, no King, no Law, no Right, no Juſtice, no *Peace in Iſrael*; and ſo we have it conſented to, in the Book of the *Iudges*. Many be the Tragicall narrations, related in that Book, of thoſe miſchiefes and maladies, which in that time of *Ataxie*, becauſe of *Anarchie*, afflicted that miſerable ſtate: the originall cauſe is ſpecified, that in *thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſrael*, therefore no Juſtice, no Law, no Honeſty left, the Scepter was departed, the Law-giver was gone; and, as otherwiſe it could not be, *Every man did what ſeemed good in his owne ſight*. So long as there ſtands a Government on foot, and there be Officers that attend Adminiſtration of Lawes; ſo long as the Scepter hath power to command, there is not a deſolation in State; but Juſtice failing, Authority ceaſing, Lawes deſpiſed and trampled under foot, it cannot

be

be, but there will enſue a finall ruine and deſolation.

22. To depart then, is not to withdraw, to hinder, take away, avert, or deprive for a time. It is not meant, that the Tribe of *Iudah*, the houſe of *David*, the People and Nation of the *Iews*; all which, may be underſtood to be, and in part are, either more or leſſe, the *Tribe of Iudah*, upon whom the bleſſing is originally *pitched*; ſhould utterly be bereft, and totally be deſpoyled of all regall command, and abſolute power reſiding in the perſon of any of their Princes, or of inferior and ſubordinate Governours, for ſome time, or in ſome ſort, but that lop and top, hip and thigh, bough and branch, roor and ſtemme, all and ſingular ſhould be eradicated, cut downe, cut off, caſt away, and aboliſhed for ever, with a finall, fearfull, and a ſweeping deſolation. For every *totall* Interciſion is not *finall*, nor yet is all and every Interruption, or Interciſion *totall*, as ſome atheologically conceive it to be in the ſtate of grace. When God ſaid unto *David*, *Pſal.89. My mercy will I not take from him, nor ſuffer my truth to faile*: his meaning was not, that his Mercy, Goodneſſe, and Protection, ſhould ever in ſuch inſeparable ſort accompany him, that he never would, at all, nor in any manner and degree, leave him, or depart away from him, or hide his face from him, for any ſmall moment of time. That cannot be; for *David* himſelfe will avow the contrary, who elſewhere profeſſeth plainly, *Thou didſt hide thy face from me, and then I was troubled.* And in many other places of the Pſalmes, he ſpeaks feelingly and effectually to the contrary. But Gods meaning therein was thus, *My mercy will I not utterly take from him*; that he would not take or withdraw from him his loving Kindneſſe, Mercy, and Protection, totally, irrecoverably, finally, and for ever; not *ſuffer his truth*, therein, *to faile*. And herein God kept promiſe with him fully and to purpoſe. And therefore, after a recitall of many ſufferings and afflictions undergone, he profeſſeth, *Thou didſt returne and refreſh me, and broughteſt up my life from the gates of death againe*. It is Gods perpetuall courſe, obſerved with all his children, yea with his owne onely beloved Son, which is noted concerning Iſrael by the Prophet *Eſay*, 54.7. *For a ſmall moment have I forſaken thee, but with great mercy will I gather thee. A little while in my wrath I hid my face from thee, but with everlaſting mercy and kindneſſe againe will I embrace thee, ſaith the Lord thy Redeemer.*

23. It is true Hiſtorically, and cannot be denied by any that underſtandeth any thing in the ſtate of that People anciently, but that, either totally for a time, or elſe in ſome part notoriouſly at ſundry times, and in different manner, long before *Shilo* came, or our Saviour was borne, or the people were gathered unto him, that the Scepter did depart away from *Iudah*, the people lived in ſubjection unto Strangers, the Temple was burnt, the City laid waſt, the Prieſts, and amongſt them *Saraias* the High Prieſt, were ſlaine with the ſword, the ſacrifice and dayly ſervice ceaſed, the people were carried away into Captivity from their owne Land. But this was in Finall deſolation.

lation. For after LXX. yeares, the Captivity ceaſed; they became a State ſtanding, and diſtinct in the world, as before, though in caſe, countenance, and reputation not as before, eſpecially not, as ſometimes in *Davids* and *Solomons* dayes. For they lived as ſubjects after the Captivity; firſt unto the Kings of *Perſia*: after the ruine of that Empire, to *Alexander*, and the *Macedonian* Princes of the *Lagidan*, and *Seleucidan* lines; till the *Maccabees* freed them for a time: and laſt of all unto the Romanes. But yet during theſe troubleſome times, they were governed by their owne Lawes, and Country cuſtomes; they had their Ethnarchs, Toparchs, high-Prieſts, Rulers, Princes, and ſometime Kings of their owne, Jews and Iſraelites, though not of *David* nor of *Iudah*. They were reckoned and accounted amongſt the Nations of the world, had Trade, Traffique, Commerce, Leagues, and Confederations, with ſundry States, even with the Romanes: were oftentimes of fame and renowne amongſt their neighbours, and ſometimes feared of, and dreadfull unto confining Princes, eſpecially under the Maccabean Family, and more eſpecially under *Iohn*, or *Hyrcanus* the firſt.

24. And though *Herod*, a ſtranger from the *Thigh of Iacob*, an Idumæan by birth, came at length to rule over them, as a dependent, and Patentee of the Romanes, then become Lords of the world; yet even then had they a *Sanhedrin*, or ſtanding great Councell at Jeruſalem, conſiſting and made up of both Robes, honourable perſons amongſt their brethren, Prieſts and Laicks both: whoſe office was, to heare, to handle, to diſcuſſe, conclude, determine without Appeale, cauſes capitall and criminall, of high nature. They had then alſo continuing amongſt them a Prieſthood of their own, deſcendent of *Aaron*, every one, diſpoſed for executing of their offices, in the ranks and courſes that *David* did order them in. No ſtranger, or forraigner borne, no Iſraelite of any other Tribe, but onely ſuch as were of *Aaron*, and could prove their deſcents for ſuch, came neare to offer at the Altar, of incenſe, or of white burnt ſacrifices. High Prieſts they had alſo, though in latter times, thruſt in, put out, chopped, changed, contrary to Law, and originall inſtitution, by the Prince or Governour in State; yet all of that lineage, the ſons of *Aaron*. They had ſtanding a Temple for Divine Service: Firſt built by *Zorobabel* and the Jews, after the Captivity, (not comparable to that which *Solomon* built) which being demoliſhed by *Herod*, he rebuilt with that State and magnificence, that it is thought to have equalled, if not exceeded, that which *Solomon* built. Ceremonies, Service, Sacrifices they had, all Legall Rights and Liturgies, as full and faire as ever; Scribes, Profeſſors, and Doctors of the Law; Sects, Schiſmes, Diviſions about, and againſt the Law; Synagogues and Schooles to heare, reade, teach, and expound the Law, upon their ſet, feſtivall, Sabbath dayes, unto the people. Prophets there were ſometime, many good and righteous men amongſt the people, ſuch as waited for and expected Redemption in Iſrael; many of them

memorable,

memorable, and as yet upon honourable record in holy Writ.

25. But theſe, and whatſoever moe ſuch Prerogatives as theſe they had, are all now gone, abſolutely, and ſo have been a long time, nor ſhall be reſtored any more for ever. The people are no people, nor yet now numbred with the Nations of the earth, but Runnegates and Vagabonds in the world, without King, Prieſt, Prophet, Countrey; diſperſed here and there, up and downe: which is a moſt certain and infallible ſign, a convincing evident demonſtration to them, (were not their eyes blinded, and hearts ſtrangely hardned) that *Meſſias*, or *Silo*, is already come: and that this fatall Prophecy and Prediction of *Iacob* is accompliſhed unto the Jewiſh State and Polity, is actually fulfilled every way. *Iuſtin Martyr* therefore rightly and to purpoſe concludeth a diſcourſe upon this point with *Trypho* the Jew in theſe termes. As ſhameleſſe and impudent as you Jews be, (in depraving and perverting Scriptures againſt our Saviour) yet as you cannot demonſtrate, ſo you dare not ſay, that formerly, at any time, till Chriſt was come and ſuffered death upon the Croſſe, either Prophecie ceaſed, or a forme of Government was not to be found amongſt you, from the time that firſt you became a people, untill then. For howſoever you may ſay and pretend it, that *Herod*, in whoſe dayes Chriſt was borne, was by birth an Aſcalonite, and ſo a ſtranger; yet you muſt, and doe confeſſe and acknowledge it withall, that Prieſthood continued with you ſtill, that Sacrifice was offered according to the Law of *Moſes* ſtill, that there was a continuance and ſucceſſion of Prophets unto *Iohn Baptiſt*. But after that our Jeſus, the Chriſt, your Meſſiah was come, and by you put to death, there hath not ariſen Prophet amongſt you any more. There is not any heard of, nor to be found at this day. You are no more governed by Kings, and Princes of your owne. Your land is laid waſt, and made a deſolation, and is now become as a lodge in a wildernes. Thus he. And the ſame ancient Writer *Iuſtin Martyr*, in his Apologie for Chriſtians, and Chriſtian Religion, addreſſed unto the Romane Emperours, then in State, directeth his ſpeech unto them thus: You may be pleaſed to enquire & enform your ſelves, how long time the Jews had Kings and Governours of their own, and you wil find upon ſearch and enquiry, that untill the Manifeſtation of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the expounder of all hidden, dark & myſtical Prophecies, according to the former predictions by Divine Propheticall Spirit, which ſaith by *Moſes*, The Scepter ſhall not depart from *Iudah*, nor the Law-giver from betwixt his knees, untill that *Silo* come, who is the expectation of the Gentiles, and unto him ſhall the people be collected. Now *Iudah* was the Anceſter of the Jews, from him that people took their name; And ſince the manifeſtation of *Ieſus* unto the world, you Romans have become Lords over them, & have brought all that Countrey abſolutely under your obedience and ſubjection.

Pag. 66. Edit. Rob. Steph.

26. By which paſſages, and ſome others which might be recited from him, it is cleere, that he applyeth this Prophecie of *Iacob*, not perſonally

perſonally unto the Patriarch *Iudah*, not interpretatively unto the Tribe of *Iudah*, as one of the twelve diſtinct Families of *Iacob*, in oppoſite diſtinction from the other Tribes; but collectively to the State, Government, and Polity, of the whole Nation, and people of Iſrael, in ſucceeding after times, the laſt dayes, when the Prophecy was to be fulfilled, called Jews of that Tribe, and the Patriarch *Iudah*. Secondly it is evident, he putteth home the fulfilling of this Prediction, unto the utter ruine, and finall deſolation of that State and People, which was, in event after Meſſias was come, and manifeſted, and had called them to participation of his grace and glory; but was *rejected* by them, *contemned* amongſt them, *crucified* of them, and they againe caſt off by him for ever, in the utter deſolation of their Nation and State, being made the common *by-word* of the world; Rogues and Vagabonds upon earth. Not inſtantly accompliſhed, ſo ſoone as hee was borne; as not preciſely intended or directed punctually to the time of his birth, his Baptiſme, or his *death*; but after the conſummation of his diſpenſation with man, in fulfilling of all the work of our Redemption. It is, *Vntill he be come*; in the Time paſt, as *Iuſtin* in that diſcourſe well obſerveth: Firſt he muſt *be come*, and have repreſented himſelfe unto them, and they muſt have done unto him as they pleaſed, and afterward the *Scepter* is to *depart away*. For Prophecies are not of ſo ſtrait allotment, as to be confined unto a moment: Nor events of Prophecies, to be taken upon one, or ſome particulars, but in finall determination of all together.

27. As *Iuſtin*, ſo *Cyril* of Jeruſalem ſaith, He gave them a ſigne by which they might know that Chriſt was come; Τὸ παύσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων; *That the Iewiſh State and Government had already ceaſed. And if they can ſhew that this Prophecy is not ſo fulfilled upon them, I will eaſily grant that Chriſt is not come*, ſaith he. So in his opinion, it belongeth not to the Tribe of *Iudah*, but the people of the Jews; and to them not before the *birth* of Chriſt, or at his Incarnation; but after his death and Paſſion, when he was already come. And ſo alſo *Athanaſius* hath applied it. *If at preſent the Iews have amongſt them any King, any Prophet, any viſion, they have cauſe to ſay and hold that Chriſt is not come: But if no King is regnant, or Prophet can be found amongſt them any more, if the City be raſed, the Temple cleane demoliſhed; it is ſtrange obſtinate impiety, ſo perverſly to deny that the Meſsias is come, when apparently they behold all theſe things fulfilled upon themſelves and their ſtate already*, which were foretold.

The ceaſing of the Jewiſh State, a ſigne of the Meſſiahs comming. *Catech. XII.*

28. So likewiſe *Euſebius*. *He muſt firſt of all be come, who was the expectation of the Gentiles, and then are all theſe things to be accompliſhed upon the Iews.* For as he obſerveth in expreſſe termes to our purpoſe: *By Iudah in this Prophecy is not meant the Tribe, but for as much as in after ages the whole nation was to be named Iews, of that Royall Tribe of Iudah, Iacob, as a Prophet who foreſaw long before what ſhould come to paſſe afterward, by Iudah underſtandeth the whole Nation*

So thinks *Euſebius. De Demon. Euangel. l. 3. c. 2. p. 62.*

and People of the Iews, whom at this day, we know, call, and diſtinguiſh by the name of Iews; thus *Euſebius*.

So S. *Ierome.*

29. Nor doth *Hierome* diſſent from this current of Antiquity, and common expoſition of the Fathers. *Baronius* ſaith he doth: *Pererius* ſaith no. *Baronius* voucheth *Hierome* for his opinion, in two places of his works; firſt, in his Commentaries upon the 21. of *Ezechiel*; but *Pererius* ſaith truly, *Certè beatus Hieronymus, ſuper caput 21. Ezechielis, non ſemel aſſeveranter ait, regnum Iudæ & Davidis, omnino finitum eſſe in Zedechia, qui fuit ultimus Regum ante captivitatem; nec ulterius in eo populo perduraſſe.* Hierome *aſſertively profeſſeth upon the 21. of Ezechiel, and that not once but often, that the Kingdome of Iudah and David utterly determined in Zedechias, who was the laſt of their Kings before the Captivity, nor did it continue any longer amongſt that people.* And ſurely then, if he ſay ſo, as he doth indeed, he cannot be a Patron of *Baronius* opinion, for his expoſition of this Prophecy, in applying it to the the Tribe of *Iudah* and houſe of *David* alone; the truth is, *Ezechiel, cap. 21. 26.* hath theſe words: *I will take away the Diadem, and pull off the Crowne, untill he come to whom judgement belongeth, and to whom I have given it.* This Prophecy S. *Hierome* compareth with that of *Iacob*, as being utterly the ſame in deſignement and event: And in courſe of application, as *Pererius* noteth, *aſſeveranter*, ſaith that *the Kingdome of David determined in Zedechias*; nor was there ever any King againe in Judah; which was long before, *five hundred yeares at leaſt*, that erre, Meſſias came: *Poſt urbis Ieruſalem, obſidionem & ſubverſionem, poſt populi captivitatem ad Ducem Iſrael, ſermo dirigitur, quem nemini dubium eſt ſignificari Zedechiam, in quo, Regum Iſrael, de ſtirpe David imperium finitum eſt. After Ieruſalem had been beſieged, taken and ſubverted, and the people led away into Captivity, the Prophet directs his ſpeech to the Captaine of Iſrael, then without all queſtion Zedechias, in whom determined the Kingdome of the houſe of David over Iſrael.* And againe, *Propter te*, that is Chriſt, *Sacerdotium & regnum populi Iudæorum finitum eſt.* And anon, *Vnde qui poſteà ad adventum Chriſti, Reges fuerunt, & ſacerdotes, quorum unus Pontifex Hyrcanus* (He was deceived in this, his memory failing him, for it was *Ariſtobulus*, ſon unto *Hyrcanus*) *Diadema ſuo capiti impoſuit. Fruſtra ſibi hoc & illud voluit vendicare; cum regnum ei poſt Zedechiam non deberetur; ſed illi, cui repoſitum erat, & qui fuit Gentium expectatio. Hereupon it follows, that ſuch as ſucceeded Kings and Prieſts, and of them being Hyrcanus, who put a Diadem upon his head, did to no purpoſe aſſume this dignity, as having no right to be King after Zedechias; but the Scepter belonged to him, for whom it was reſerved, being the expectation of the Gentiles.* So that *Hierome* in this firſt place makes nothing for *Baronius*, rather is directly contrary to him and *Cyril*, who affixe the Prophecy to the Tribe of *Iudah*, and the houſe of *David*, whoſe Regality, ſaith he, failed in *Zedechias*.

So S. *Ierome* elſewhere.

30. In that other Text alledged out of his Commentaries upon *Zephonias*, he is much more punctuall and direct againſt *Baronius*.

The

The words of the Prophet are theſe: *And it ſhall be in the day of the Lords ſacrifice, I will viſit the Princes, and the Kings Children. Vntill then*, ſaith *Hierome* upon that Text, *Kings continued in Iudah of the ſtock of David, according to that prediction of Iacob, The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah. Poſt hoſtiam autem Chriſti, ablatum eſt regnum à Iudæis; After Chriſt had been offered up in ſacrifice, the State and Kingdome of the Iews then ceaſed for ever.* Punctually he fixeth it, *after Chriſts Sacrifice:* that Sacrifice, to wit, which he offered of himſelfe, upon the Altar of the Croſſe: not after his birth at Bethlehem in the Inne, or his manifeſting to the Shepheards, or the *Magi:* Not when *Herod* began to reigne, (being a ſtranger borne) upon the Jews; but after the work conſummate of our Redemption. So that the learned Cardinall hath wronged, or elſe miſtaken *Hierome*, in applying him againſt his expreſſe teſtimouy, directed another way, into his owne opinion concerning the Prophecie of *Iacob*. The time by him aſſigned, is *poſt hoſtiam*, after Chriſt was offered: *Herod* being dead thirty years before, at leaſt, in *Baronius* own account and Chronologie.

To S. *Ierome* agrees Antiquity: S. *Cyril* diſſents.

31. To *Ierome* agree the generall voge of Antiquity, onely *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in his eighth Book againſt *Iulian* the Renegado, hath faſtned upon that fancie of *Baronius*, that the Scepter in *Herod* departed from *Iudah*, (that is, from that Tribe in particular, and royall houſe of *David*) when *Herod* was ordained King in Judea, the ſecond yeare of the CXXXIIII. *Olympiade*, *Aſinius Pollio*, and *Domitius Calvinus* the ſecond time being then Conſuls at Rome, XXXVII. yeares, at leaſt, before the birth of our Saviour. *Cyrils* words are theſe, *Quomodo ceſſaſſe dicunt Regnum Davidis in Zedechiâ, cum Zorobabel poſt tempora captivitatis in regni ſolio conſederit, fueritq; è tribu Iuda & David, tranſmiſſumq; ſit per poſteros illius Sceptrum, uſq; ad Herodis regnum, qui ex matre quidem Iudæa fuerat, ſed patre alienigenâ procreatus? How can the Kingdome of David be ſaid to ceaſe and be aboliſhed in Zedekiah, ſeeing that Zorobabel after the Captivity of Babylon, did ſit upon the Regall Throne, who was both of the Tribe of Iudah and houſe of David, and tranſmitted the Scepter unto his poſterity and children after him, untill that Herod became King, whoſe mother was indeed a Ieweſſe, but his father was a Forrainer?* But, ſaith *Pererius*, a learned Jeſuit, in his Commentaries upon the Text of *Geneſis*, in which the Prophecie of *Iacob* is remembred, *By the leave of ſo learned a man as S. Cyril, I will be bold to ſay, that this aſſertion of his is utterly falſe.* And that he the ſaid *Pererius* proveth there effectually, by ſolid reaſons: and having remembred ſix or ſeven ſeverall Interpretations of that Prophecie, holdeth none ſo improbable as that of *Cyril*, which yet the Cardinall Annaliſt hath embraced alone, and faſtned upon as onely true.

S. *Cyril* here alone.

32. For my part I will not medle at all with *Cyril*; αἰδέμμα Τρῶας, I reverence his Antiquity, and great deſerts in Gods Church, againſt *Neſtorius*, and other Heretiques of thoſe times: This onely I ſay, that in this point he was not like himſelfe, and gave *Iulian* great ad-

vantage againſt him and his cauſe, if he had eſpied it out: and that therein he was ſingular and alone, not any other ancient Father concurring with him, for ought that I can know, or doe underſtand. Nor can it be held, avouched, or made good by any: for before that *Herod*, or *Herods* Grandfather was borne, *The Scepter*, in this ſort, *was departed from Iudah*, and from *David*, or elſe it was not departed and gone long time after that he was dead and buried. The ſame reaſon which made *Baronius* imagine that this Prophecie was fulfilled in and at *Herod* and his reigne, will inforce the continuance of the Scepter, and not full accompliſhment of the Prophecie, till long after King *Herods* reigne and death, as anon more evidently ſhall be cleared.

His reaſons examined.

33. Theſe particulars are yet more punctually to be examined, to juſtifie the common opinion of Antiquity, againſt *Cyril* alone, of old, and *Baronius* of late; the rather, becauſe *Baronius* layeth down this Prophecie of the Patriarch *Iacob* as a ground, ſuch as it is indeed, for all his *Apparatus*. In which he inſiſteth not upon every eminent, ſingle, or peculiar act or atchievement of that Tribe, occaſionally hapning or extraordinarily accrewing, (as if *Iacob* had intended in that his Propheticall bleſſing to fetch in all ſuch) but judiciouſly caſteth off all ſuch quillets, as *Lyra*, *Hugo Victorianus*, the Maſter of Schoole Hiſtory, and others doe ſtand upon, and medleth no farther with the beginning of *Iudah's* glory and renown, then this, *That after that Tribe had once attained the Scepter, that is, the Kingdome over Iſaael in David, they held it ſo perpetually, without interciſion, untill that Herod, a ſtranger, an Edomite by birth, attained it, as Homager of the Romans.* And becauſe it is confeſſed, and a plaine *conſtat* in Story, that the Maccabees for ſome ſcore of yeeres were chiefe in State, and ſome of them Kings in title, and in effect, which cannot but infringe the courſe of this Prophecie after his Interpretation, it is by him reſolved, as it muſt, that alſo the Maccabees were of *Iudah* in ſome ſort, though he cannot ſay how; of that line, that linage, and that Tribe, which cannot hold ſtanch poſſibly, as in termes it is propoſed by him.

Where the Scepter began, when it departed.

34. True it is, that at *David the King*, began the ſubject of this Prophecie, the Scepter of *Iudah*, to take place: taking *Iudah* either *reſtrainedly*, for the Tribe, it began in him; or *diffuſedly*, for the Nation and people of the Jews, it was originally in, and from him. Betwixt *David* the King, and *Herod* of Idumæa the ſtranger, there was alteration many wayes: For in *Roboams* dayes, Grandchild to *David*, ten Tribes departed away from *Iudah*, and rent themſelves off from the houſe of *David*, to follow *Ieroboam* and his Calves; Traitors in action, Schiſmatiques in diſſention, and which is commonly conſequent unto ſchiſme, Heretique Idololaters in proceſſion. Theſe continuing ſo diſmembred, under ſundry Princes, of different Tribes, uſurping one upon the other for two hundred and ſixty years almoſt, were at length by *Salmanaſar* the Aſſyrian defeated, captivated, deſolated

ſolated for ever, and caſt forth out of the land of their inheritance, without recovery or reduction unto this day. But the two Tribes conſiners, *Iudah* and *Benjamin*, continued juſt and faithfull unto the houſe of *David*, and revolted not. Many likewiſe voluntaries of all the other Tribes, aſſociating themſelves unto their Brethren, continued ſo united a State, a people, a ſetled Monarchie, under ſundry Kings, all of them lineally deſcended from *Davids* loynes; from three hundred ninety three yeares, or thereabouts, reckoning from the firſt of *Rehoboam*, unto their Captivity into Babylon, in the eleventh yeare of *Zedekiah*. At this time, that yeare, in the Captivity, the Royall Scepter was taken from *Iudah*, and tranſported unto Babylon, when *Nabuchodonoſor* in the yeare premiſed took Jeruſalem by aſſault, diſmantled the walls, ſet the City on fire, demoliſhed the Temple built by *Solomon*, cauſed the daily Service and Sacrifice to ceaſe, ſlew the ſons of *Zedekiah* before his eyes, and then put out his owne eyes at Riblah in the land of Hama, not far from Damaſcus, as is ſuppoſed; and then led him away Priſoner into Babylon, where he died without iſſue to ſucceed him, or preſerve the memoriall of his name unto poſterity.

35. From *David* unto him, even in *Baronius* apprehenſion and meaning, the Scepter, that is, the Royall Scepter, did not depart from *Iudah*, but continued in that houſe and Tribe, unleſſe for ſome few yeares of *Athaliah's* uſurpation; who yet might pretend as Dowager unto a King of *Iudah*, durante the minority of *Ioas* ſurviving, after the murther of all the elder ſons of the King: Likewiſe during the Captivity of *Manaſſes*, there might be a kind of interciſion. But after the defeature of *Zedekiah*, his Captivity and impriſonment at Babylon, there came in a maine and totall alteration, both of Prince and State: the Scepter really (take it how *Baronius* will or can) was actually gone, and departed away from *Iudah*. He objecteth, and inſtanceth, that it departed indeed, but not otherwiſe then by interruption. For when, after LXX. yeares, the Captivity ended, and *Cyrus* the *Perſian* gave the Jews leave to returne into their owne Country, as many of them did, but not all; then both *Zorobabel*, Prince of the people who returned into Judæa, and all the Governors who ruled in Judah, untill *Herod* of *Edom* became King, were extracted by him, being his children and Poſterity, from the Royall houſe of *David*, and ſo from the Tribe of *Iudah*. In which reſpect, the Scepter, ſaith he, did not depart from *Iudah*, till Chriſt was borne. For he was born in Bethlehem of Judah, in the dayes of *Herod* the King, halfe a yeare, ſay moſt men, ſeven yeares, ſaith he in his opinion, before *Herods* death: in which diſcourſe and concluſion, is little ſolidity for the particulars, and not much truth, but both Premiſſes, and Inferences moſt of them falſe, and inconſequent.

36. For *Sceptrum*, what it ſhould be, what it meaneth, *Baronius* fleeteth up and downe, being, as it ſeemeth, uncertaine how to take it, what to ſay of it, how to explicate, or apply it, where to faſten it.

He firſt ſetleth it on *David*, with the Crown of that Kingdome, and carrieth it along for CCCC. yeares and upward, with and in the hands of all the Kings of Judah, of the houſe of *David*, for many deſcents. There, and then, in them it was Royall, and Monarchicall, abſolute, ſucceſſive, independent, uncontrollable. And to this end he ſtyleth it, ever and anon, *Sceptrum regium, regale Sceptrum, Regnum*, and the like, which ſet forth for a Kingdome, a Monarchy held by them, without contradiction. And yet he falls off againe from the height, (ſuch is his irreſolution therein, perhaps upon better adviſe and ſecond thoughts) *ad principatum, ſaltem aliquem*, to *Dominium, etſi non Regium*, to *Sceptrum, licèt non ſupremum*, and at higheſt to *Ducatum in Aſſamoneis*; much allaied, and abated from the former height, unto a Principality; ſome at leaſt, unto Rule and Authority, though not Royall or Kingly; to a Captain-ſhip, or Dukedome, in the *Maccabees*, or *Aſſamoneans*: So hulleth this great Hiſtorian up and downe, not certaine, how or where to ride at Anchor; what he ſhould ſay, and reſolve, I know, for the meaning of the Prophecy, in the ſubject thereof, his Scepter; Rule, Authority, Order, Government in State, it ſhould be Royall and Monarchicall; but what he reſolveth and pitcheth upon, what he would ſay for the meaning of Scepter in this Prophecy, he is not reſolved, and I cannot tell.

37. Secondly, I finde him as flitting for Departing away: which word, as hath been touched, hath a twofold intent and ſignification. Firſt, *quoad actum* onely, and no farther, which is but a ceſſation and no more for a ſeaſon, upon ſome croſſe accident, or occaſion, and that in different and diverſe ſort, either onely in *part*, by Imminution, or elſe *totally*, though not *finally*, by ſome Interciſion. A greater departing, is *quoad habitum*, which is a great acceſſe unto that of Act, power, hope, and poſſibility of recovering, being utterly caſt off for ever. *Departing* of the *Scepter*, for a time, *Baronius* denieth not: He could not gainſay the Captivity of Babylon, in which for LXX. years, was an apparent Interciſion, long before the comming of Meſſias. So his intent muſt be, for a totall, finall, and utter departing, without recovery or returne. And yet he wavereth even in that. For he tels us that the Scepter was reſtored after the Captivity. And ſo doubtleſſe, it could not *finally* depart. Now for Scepter alſo, he muſt meane, in propriety of ſpeech, that the Royall Scepter was reſtored. For that is reſtored, and muſt be ſo ſaid to be reſtored, which formerly was loſt or taken away. For no reſtitution is, but of what was inverted, taken away, and gone. But ſuch a reſtitution of what was loſt, *Baronius* cannot vouch nor make it good, and I dare ſay, he would not undertake it. There were no *reſtored Kings* in Judah, nor Royall Scepters *reverting* to the houſe of *David*, in *Zorobabel*, at the returne from Babylon, or in any other of his Poſterity; ſuch namely as formerly had been in that Tribe. Prophecy was againſt it *Oſee* 3. 12. *The children of Iſrael ſhall be without a King*: which began to be accompliſhed when Kings ceaſed, that is, at the death of *Zedechias*, and

and *Ier.22.ult. Thus ſaith the Lord concerning Iechonias*, (whom he calleth there *Conias*) *Write this man childleſſe, a man who ſhall not proſper in his dayes: for there ſhall not remaine a man of his ſeed, to ſit upon the throne of David, or to beare rule any more in Iſrael. Salathiel* was ſonne unto this *Iechonias*, borne in the Captivity, and *Zorobabel* was *Salathiels* ſon, borne to him likewiſe in the Captivity; but *Iechonias* had no ſon that ſucceeded him, as he had ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdome, nor did *Salathiel* his ſon, or any of his Poſterity beare rule any more in Judah. So *Hierome* declareth in expreſſe words. *De Iechonianatus eſt Salathiel, de Salathiel Zorobabel, & ſic per ordinem venitur ad Chriſtum. Sed non ſucceſsit Ioachimo filius Rex, ſicut ipſe ſucceſſerat Rex ſuo Patri; ſed fuit in Captivitate, & Salathiel, & Zorobabel, & uſq; ad Chriſtum, nullus Regiam obtinuit poteſtatem.* *Salathiel* was ſon of *Iechonias*, and *Zorobabel* his ſon, and ſo in deſcent we come downe to Chriſt: but *Ioachims* ſon ſucceeded not his Father in being King, as he did ſucceed his Father; but he and *Salathiel* lived in Captivity, nor did any deſcendent obtaine the Kingdome, untill Chriſt came. Which more to cleare and manifeſt againſt *Baronius* and to reſolve the true ſtate and meaning of the Prophecy, the Jewiſh State, Polity, and Government muſt be viewed, as it was, and ſtood after the Captivity, untill *Herod* became King in Jeruſalem.

38. Firſt, their Government was not Monarchicall, as it was of old: *Sceptrum* was not *Regium*, as it had been before: which *Ierome* avouched moſt truly. *Nec proferat quis in medium Zorobabelem*, ſaith *Theodoret: non omni rex fuit, ſed gubernator ejus, & dux exercitus:* Nor let any man object *Zorobabel*; for King he was not, but onely Governour of the Countrey, and Generall of the Army. The more to blame that counterfait under *Baſils* name, who in the Commentaries extant upon the 60.or 59. *Pſal.* hath theſe words, *Solum autem ex Iuda Zorobabelem Principem ac Regem habuerunt: Zorobabel* only of *Iudah* was Prince & King over them. And againe, *Regnũ aliquando inter eos obtinuit Zorobabel:* wherein I ſuppoſe he followed *Cyril.* The Gloſſe upon the fore-cited place of *Ieremy*, hath a teſtimony of *Baſils* directly contrary to this, and moſt true: *Ieruſalem was ruined by Nabuchodonoſor, and the Kingdome of Iechonias was brought to an end. Nor were there any moe, as formerly there had been, paternall ſucceſsions in the houſe of David, the ſonne ſucceeding to his father. Vntill the Captivity, the poſterity of David were Kings, but Salathiel* (though for him it is an error, he returned not, but died in the Captivity) *and Zorobabel returning home, ruled onely popularly over that people, the Kingdome and Principality being tranſlated unto, and united with the Prieſthood; which cauſed a medle and commixture of the Royall and Sacerdotall Houſe and Tribe: and our Lord is juſtly both King and Prieſt to God. True it is, the Royall Tribe did not ceaſe untill Chriſt came; and yet, not any one of Iechonias ſeed, did ever ſit upon the Royall throne of David, or were Kings anymore in Iudah, untill he came, unto whom it was appointed, and the people were collected unto him.* Thus far he.

39. But

39. But *Hierome*, and *Basil*, and others were deceived, will some men say. For in that People, and Country after the Captivity, before Christ came, *Aristobulus*, *Alexander*, *Hyrcanus*, *Antigonus*, were Jews, and Kings over the Jews: so that it seems, the *Royall Scepter ceased not*. *Hierome* knew this well, as well as any Objecter in the world, or as any Annalist that ever wrote. But these were none of them, as he will say, of the line of *David*. *Nullus enim deinceps de stirpe David, in terra Iudæa tenuit principatum*: Not any one descended from the line of *David*, had after that, Princedome in the Land of Judah. They who ruled there, were all of them Priests, (as indeed they were so) of the Tribe of *Levi*: and from thence it came to *Herod*, an Alien borne, but a Proselyte; and anon under *Vespasian* the Roman Generall, and Emperour, the State and Kingdome of Judah was utterly ruined and extinct for ever: not so much as any shadow thereof afterward remaining, as *Hierome* truly noteth from *Iosephus*. *Vnde & Iosephus refert*, are *Hieroms* words, *de Sacerdotali genere & Tribu Levi fuisse principes*; *quibus successerit Herodes Antipatri filius, Proselyti. Et postea sub Vespasiano regnum hujus gentis, imo imaginem imperii fuisse penitùs deletam*: The Jews being scattered over all the earth.

40. And as for *Zorobabel*, he was indeed the son of *Salathiel*, son of *Iechonias*, borne in the Captivity, descended of *Iudah* and *David* in direct line. *In him*, saith our Annalist, *the Scepter was againe restored to Iudah*. He dares not say the Royaltie, the Crowne, the Kingdome, the Regall Scepter, but the Scepter was restored: that is, *Principatus, saltem aliquis*; *Dominium*, but not *Regale*. He had no greater Royalty then *Ducatum populi*, which is not, as hath been said, the Scepter restored; for the Scepter, if restored, must have been Regall: but some Authority it was, subordinate, inferiour, and that also personall, in some few, and not derived to Posterity. For as touching Royalty, or Regall Scepter, the Persian Princes first, from *Cyrus* downward to *Darius Codomannus*; the last, by *Alexander* vanquished and subdued; and after them the Macedonians commanded in Judea, that is, either the *Lagidan* or *Seleucidan* Princes, untill that *Iudas Maccabeus* cast off the *Seleucidan* yoke, and asserted the Jews into a kind of liberty, from forraine Princes. A mixt State it then was wholly, after the Captivity; some few principall men had then all the managing of their affaires; but the High Priests had the chiefest stroke and principality. Κατῴκησαν δὲ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων χώραν πολιτείᾳ ἀριστοκρατικῇ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας, saith *Iosephus*: They inhabited Jerusalem, being governed by an Aristocraty and Democraty mixt. *Zorobabel* was chiefe and principall in his fathers house, of the Tribe of *Iudah*, the stock of *David*, heire apparent, and grandchild to *Iechonias* King, who left issue behind him, but none to succeed him. This man, though by descent he were Prince of Judah, and so the Royall Scepter and Crowne of Judah might seeme to belong and appertaine to him; yet becaus the Jews and their Princes, Gods peculiar people, had by

Antiq. 11. 4.

breach

breach of Covenants forfeited their eſtates unto God, which they immediately held of him; and for that, as being left and abandoned by him, they became ſlaves and vaſſals unto forraine Princes, it was rightly in his power, whoſe vaſſals they thus were, to refuſe to grant, or to give leave for their returne home: to preſcribe then, *when*, *how*, in *what ſort* to returne: to appoint them Captaines, Rulers, and Commanders at their returne: to inhibite, or permit them the uſe of their owne Lawes and ancient Cuſtomes being returned. And ſo, their Soveraigne Prince in State did uſe his Regality as he might. For *Zorobabel* did neither claime nor enjoy that Principality and authority inveſted in him as his right by birth-right, and by deſcent: Nor was it conferred upon him by the *Perſian* Prince in State, *Darius Hiſtaſpes*, in reſpect that he was heire apparant unto the former Kings of Judah, borne in *domo regnatrice*; but being a gentleman of Royall blood, and following of the *Perſian* Court, became well eſteemed of by Prince and Peeres, was of inward acquaintance with *Darius*, yet a private, but a great man, one of the ſeven Princes of *Medes* and *Perſians*; who came to be King, ſome ſay, by his Counſell and aſſiſtance, after the diſcovery and ſurpriſall of *Smerdis* the Mage. *Darius* advanced to the Crowne, however, forgat not his old friend *Zorobabel*, as many doe, when he came in place, but made him an Officer of Honour in his Court, gave him a Patent to rebuild and repaire Jeruſalem againe; made him Lieutenant in Jury, but for terme of life onely, without Entaile and Annexation of it, to his children or houſe: nor yet to him alone *perſonally*, for others were in Commiſſion joyned with him, as *Ieſus* ſon of *Ioſedec* high Prieſt, *Mardochæus*, *Ananias*, and *Sarabæus*. So *Ioſephus* hath related at large out of the Letters Patents of *Darius*, *Antiq.* 11.4. In Scripture we finde no Contradiction hereto, rather a Confirmation hereof in theſe termes, *The chiefe Fathers of Iudah and of Benjamin*, (implying an Ariſtocraticall State) *Ieſus ſon of Ioſedec Chiefe Prieſt, and Zorobabel ſon of Salathiel.* Thus onely we finde in ſacred Scripture: no mention of children, or poſterity. Nor can any thing be collected againſt it from Scripture, or from *Ioſephus*; the contrary rather. For Government Ariſtocraticall is elective, not hereditary. *Nehemias* and *Eſdras*, were not of kin to *Zorobabel*, yet both were men of chiefe command in Iſrael, and had principall Authority in that State. *Pag.* 323.

41. Secondly the Chiefe Prieſt in office and ſucceſſion, was chiefe and principall Governour in State. The Jews had no other ordinary Ruler, untill the dayes of *Herod* the Idumæan; or at leaſt untill the *Maccabees* came in place: ſo ſaith *Ioſephus*, Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς μεχρὶ πολλοῦ τοῦ πάντων πράγματων, ἄρχειν ἔθος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνέβη βασιλεύειν. Which generall aſſertion of *Ioſephus* is verified in particular by inſtances, moe then one, upon authenticall Records. For firſt, in *Nehem.* 12. the occurring negotiations of State amongſt the Jews, are ſet there downe and regiſtred by the times of the ſeverally being high Prieſts, *Ioacim* and *Eliaſib*. The chiefe Prieſt, principall Governour.

Eliaſib. Secondly not long afterward, *Alexander* the *Macedonian* lying before *Tyrus* in leaguer againſt it, ſends to no other Prince nor Governour of Judæa, but to *Iaddus* the high Prieſt for ſupply of victuals for his Army. *Iaddus* replied, he was ſworne liege man and vaſſall to the King of *Perſia*, and ſo long as he lived, he could not break, nor diſpenſe with his oath. Thirdly, *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* King of Egypt, being to negotiate the Tranſlation of all the holy Scripture, or their Law by the Septuagints, with the Jews, had recourſe for that and other his affaires, unto *Eleaſar*, adminiſtrator of the high Prieſts place, and guardian unto *Onias* his Nephew, then in minority and under age. Fourthly, the *leagues*, *contracts*, *conventions*, *&c.* betwixt the Jews and Spartans, the Jews and Romanes, the Jews and other Nations, were concluded, contracted, ſworn and negotiated by the high Prieſt *Onias*, and not by other, as we reade in the Story of the *Maccabees*. No where any mention of any other Prince, or any of the line of *Zorobabel* to intermedle.

Baronius paſſeth them by.

42. *Baronius* paſſeth by all theſe particulars in ſilence, no mention of any of them in his *Apparatus*. Adviſedly, I grant, and out of deep diſcretion, though I cannot commend his *fidelity* therein. For he well underſtood that he could not anſwer them, but ſome other, not ſo wiſe, nor diſcreet as he, (for inſtance, *Barradas* the Jeſuit, upon the Goſpels) having objected them againſt his own Tenet and opinion, which he held, the ſame with *Baronius*, is in a wood, and rambleth up and downe, not knowing how to winde himſelfe out of the Briars, but falleth foule upon this fatall and fooliſh concluſion at laſt: We may anſwer thus, That the Poſterity of *Zorobabel*, who by the Fathers ſide were of the Tribe of *Iudah*, had an intereſt in the Government of that State, untill the comming of Chriſt. A ſtrange anſwer, where the thing in queſtion, Whether they were intereſſed in that State, is brought to prove that they were intereſſed. *They were, ſcilicet, becauſe they were*; which is more fooliſh then a womans reaſon. The queſtion is, Whether the Scepter were taken away from *Iudah* before Chriſt came. His anſwer is, No; but it did remain in the hands and occupation, (*Sceptrum*, though not *Regium*, *Principatus*, though not *Summus*) of the children and Poſterity of *Zorobabel*, that is, proofe muſt be made whether they had any intereſt in it; and it is anſwered for a proofe, they had. *Ioſephus* ſaith no, in expreſſe words, ſo doth the Author of the Book of *Maccabees*, affording many inſtances to the contrary. *Barradas* the Jeſuit ſaith yea, and to make his aſſertion good, uſeth this argument, *Nam ad Poſteros Sceptrum jure pertinebat*, *In right the Scepter appertained to his Poſterity*; which is both falſe, and as abſurd, as the former. They had right unto it, and therefore no doubt but they did injoy it, were in practiſe and poſſeſſion of it; well and wiſely; as if it were not poſſible for a man to be wronged in, defeated of, or put by his right, by injuſtice, fraud, or a ſtrong hand, as if the true heir were alway real owner, and could not otherwiſe be then ſo. This we know is falſe, and againſt

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too common and wofull experience. Secondly, by what right had they intereſt unto it? Right *originall*, they had none, they could not have, it is Gods peculiar: by right *derived* they might, that is abſolute and ſimple, or for terme onely, and with condition, which both are from God, and his deſignation. Abſolute, nor had they, nor hath any man any; and Conditionall, is but upon performance of preſcribed duties, which being not kept, but broken or undone, the ſtate is forfeited into the donors hand. So ſtood the caſe in preſent betwixt God and them, the houſe and linage of *David*, to whom the Kingdome of Iſrael was bequeathed with, *But walk thou before me, and be upright.*

43. But admit they had right unto, and ſo held the Scepter of Judah ever in their hands; yet what Scepter held they? the Jeſuit replyes, *The rule and government of that State, though the High Prieſts had the Soveraignty, and then ſwayed all.* An anſwer more paradoxall then the former, that *Præcipuus locus in repub. gubernandâ*, the higheſt and chiefe place in governing the State, the rule and ordering of all things in the State, howſoever the High Prieſts had it, and did exerciſe it, was yet *penes poſteros Zorobabelis, in the hands and management of the poſterity of Zorobabel*, who was no Prieſt, nor Levite, but of the houſe of *David*. In effect, belike in his opinion it was with the High Prieſts, and thoſe of *Zorobabels* line, as with the *Merovæs*, the ancient Kings of France, and their *Maiors of the Palace*, *Ebroine*, *Charles Martell*, and *Pipin* his ſonne: the Kings were *titular*, and the Maiors did all. Or peradventure he would inſinuate, and give us to underſtand, that in as much as the poſterity of *Zorobabel* were *ſupreme*, and yet the *High Prieſts* ſwayed all, that there was then in being amongſt the Jews, which is challenged and pretended to be amongſt Chriſtians, a power paramount unto the Princes, over-topping and overawing it in the Prieſts. But leave we him to his meaning whatſoever it was; it is apparent by all Stories of the Jewiſh State, that the Scepter, though but Ducall, or inferiour to Royall, was not ſtated upon them of the Tribe of *Iudah*, after the Captivity, but rather wholly or for the moſt part on thoſe of *Levi*: the High Prieſts being the ordinary ſtanding Rulers of that people, in an Ariſtocraticall forme of Government; and thoſe of *Iudah*, but Termers, if any ſuch were, at ſome times more eminent then others: unto them ſucceeded the Maccabees, of the houſe alſo of *Aaron*, who held it unto the dayes of King *Herod*, for the ſpace of fiveſcore years and upward. How they attained it, how they held it, in what ſort they loſt it, ſhall hereafter be more cleared in the Catalogue of High Prieſts that were in *Iudah*.

After the Captivity, *Levi*, not *Iudah*, had the government.

44. In the meane time, to follow *Baronius* with them, certaine it is they ruled all in *Iudah*, from *Iudas Maccabeus*, untill *Herods* reign, having the *Scepter of Iudah* conferred upon them: which, ſaith *Baronius*, they could not have had or done, nor yet juſtified it for good, had they onely been of *Levi* by *Aaron*, and not alſo of *Iudah*, deſcendents

After *Iudah* ſucceeded the Maccabees, *Aarons* houſe.

dents of the houſe of *David*, ſome way or other. That ſo they were, he is perſwaded; but how they were ſo, he cannot tell. It is a great queſtion, What title the Maccabees had unto *Iudah*. *Genebrard*, a bitter man againſt all Proteſtants, hath an opinion ſingular of his own, that they were directly of *Iudah*, and not of *Levi*. His words are theſe: *The Iews, as Kimhi hath noted upon the Prophecie of Haggai, generally teach, that the Maccabees were of Levi and not of Iudah, in which reſpect they enjoyed the High Prieſthood. And I ſee this is the common Tenent of the Chriſtians, who yet withall adde, that by the mothers ſide they were deſcendents alſo from the Royall Tribe. In theſe reſpects of kindred and alliance, the High Prieſthood and Regality was conferred upon them, under the perſecuting tyrannie of Antiochus, wherein all the Nobility were utterly almoſt extinguiſhed, not without ſingular providence and divine diſpenſation, to effect and bring about the Prophecie of Iacob*, Gen 49. The Scepter ſhall not depart from Judah, untill that Silo come. *In this ſort is Iair the ſon of Manaſſes*, 1 *Paralip.* 2. 21, 22. *ſaid to be of Iudah by the mother. So is Elihu the Buzite by Aben-ezra, Iob* 32. *For my part I willingly embrace the contrary opinion, namely, that by Fathers ſide he was of Iudah, and deſcendent of Levi by the Mother.* Thus that railing Rabbiniſt, though here he forſakes them; againſt the teſtimony of *Ioſephus*, who is of more credit then ten thouſand Rabbies, (who yet in this point are in the right) againſt plaine Text of the Book of *Maccabees*, which yet with him and his ſide, is Sacred, Canonicall, and Divine Scripture. *About that time* (ſaith *Ioſephus*, and he meaneth when *Antiochus* did profane the Temple) *there was dwelling at Modin, a Town in Iudæa, one Mattathias, the ſon of Iohn, ſon of Simeon, ſon of Aſſamonæus, a Prieſt, of the courſe of Ioiarib of Ieruſalem. This Mattathias had five ſons, Iohn called Gaddes, Simon named Matthes, Iudas named Maccabee, Ionathan ſurnamed Apphus, & Eleaſar called Auran.* Conſonant & agreeing wherto is that 1 *Macc.* 2. 1. *In thoſe dayes aroſe up Mattathias the ſon of Iohn, the ſon of Simon, of the ſons of Ioiarib of Ieruſalem.* Both concurre, that they, the Maccabees, were Prieſts, and ſerved at the Altar, of *Ioiaribs* courſe; and that by the fathers ſide: That they were of the *ſons*, not *daughters*, all of them, of *Ioiarib*, who was a Prieſt in the dayes of *David*, head by lot of thoſe twenty foure courſes, into which *David* diſpoſed all the ſonnes of *Aaron*. And if they were Prieſts, they could not be of *Iudah*, but of *Levi*: For beſide originall *foundation* of Prieſthood, fearfull *denunciation* againſt *uſurpation* of Prieſthood by other Tribes, *execution* of the ſame even upon Kings themſelves; the Apoſtle ſpeaks it out, both full and home, *Heb.* 7. 14. *Never any of Iudah yet ſerved at the Altar.* And yet *Gilbert Genebrard* is not aſhamed nor afraid to ſay, that *being Prieſts, and ſerving at the Altar*, they were not of *Levi*, by *Aaron*, but of *Iudah*. The man would have raged againſt any Proteſtant, that ſhould ſo audaciouſly have affronted *Ioſephus*, the Maccabees, and holy Writ, as he hath done, in deducting the Maccabees from *Iudah*.

Lib. 2. Chronol. ſub ann. M. 3900.

Antiq 12. 8.

45. *Torniellus*

45. *Torniellus* an Italian, Annaliſt for the times before Chriſt, ſeemes to impute this opinion alſo to *Baronius*. *Nor is the Text of the 1 Maccab. 5. 63. againſt the premiſſes, from whence yet Cardinall Baronius in the Apparatus to his Annals, doth collect that the Maccabees were of Iudah.* But the man hath done *Baronius* wrong; for he nor ſaith, nor yet collecteth any ſuch thing, but expreſly ſaith, that they were of *Levi*; his words are, *Aſſamonæos verò, penes quos fuit ſumma rerum, conſtat fuiſſe Tribu Leviticâ, genere Sacerdotali, ex filiis, ut habet Liber primus Maccabæorum, Iojarib. It is moſt certain, that the Aſſamonæi who ruled in State, untill the reigne of Herod were of the Sacerdotall Tribe of Levi, Prieſts by deſcent, and as the firſt Book of Maccabees hath it, of the ſons of Iojarib.* He could not have ſpoken out more plainly and punctually, to the contrary, then he hath done, of that whereof he was taxed by *Torniellus*. But there be two things in *Baronius* diſcourſe about the *Maccabees*, which might occaſion *Torniellus*, thus to miſ-relate him. Firſt becauſe he preciſely holdeth that by the Mothers, the ſurer ſide, the *Maccabees* were extract from *Iudah*. For *Partus ſequitur ventrẽ*. In *Baronius* opinion, this gave them intereſt unto that Tribe, and ſo conſequently *right* unto the Scepter of *Iudah* in *Iacobs* Prophecy. Secondly, becauſe as he likewiſe ſuppoſeth, 1 *Mac.* 5. 63. they are named *viri de Iuda*, Men of Judah: which aſſertions may ſeeme to look toward the opinion of *Gilbert Genebrard*. And becauſe he durſt not venture on ſo farre as that Blunderer, *Gilbert Genebrard* hath done, he taketh up a new trick, and inſiſteth upon it, to allay the harſhneſſe of that other, and conceiveth that the Scepter of *Iudah* may rightly be ſaid to have continued in that Tribe, and in the Family of *David*, untill the dayes of *Herod*, which cannot be, except we conclude that the *Aſſamonæi* of the Tribe of *Levi*, were inſerted into the Tribe of *Iudah*. In which ſaying he is inforced to inſiſt upon and maintaine two Poſitions. Firſt that it was by the Mothers ſide; for by the Father, it is certain, they were of *Levi*. Secondly, that in reſpect of this alliance, they had that intereſt in and unto the Crowne, and Scepter of Judah; or at leaſt unto that Dukedome and Principality, wherewith all they were actually inveſted a long time.

Why the contrary opinion imputed to *Baronius*.

Ad ann. mundi 4013. nu. 5. Nec obſtat præmiſſis locus, 1 Maccab. 5. 63. ex quo Cardinalis Baronius in Apparatu ad ſuos Annales colligit Maccabæos fuiſſe de tribu *Juda*.

46. That ſo they were deſcended of *Iudah*, the Cardinalls firſt reaſon is, his owne conſtant perſwaſion which he had thereof. *Nulla debet eſſe dubitatio; No man can or ought to make any queſtion of it.* Which how far it will prevaile with other men, I know not; for my part, I do make great doubt therof. The next reaſon is little better, or rather worſe. For I will rather beleeve *Baronius* then the Rabbins, and he tells us that they doe ſay ſo, the Jewiſh Doctors, enemies profeſſed unto Chriſt, to Piety, to Truth, to Reaſon, and *Common ſenſe*: For ſuch, moſt an end, they are; *Prodigious ignorants*, *Monſtrous fablers*, the *Outcaſt of common underſtanding*. Theſe men ſay ſo, therefore *Baronius* doth, and we muſt beleeve ſo, if yet they ſay ſo. For

The Cardinals reaſons for the *Maccabees* deſcending from *Iudah*, rather then *Levi*.

Genebrard, a man throughly enſpired with a *Rabbiniſing* ſpirit, (*Baronius* is not to be named the ſame day with him) reporteth no ſuch *Rabbinicall* Tradition: Nay the contrary he reporteth out of a Rabbi, to be the generall Doctrine of the Jewiſh Rabbins. *The Iews as Kimchi*, ſaith he, *upon Haggai relateth, doe teach and beleeve, that the Maccabees were of Levi and not of Iudah.* Thirdly, *Baronius* is perſwaded ſo, becauſe the Tribe of *Levi* was not forbidden to marry with the Tribe of *Iudah*, as all other Tribes were; and therefore the *Aſſamoneans*, Prieſts, by the Father of *Aaron* and *Levi*, might be of *Iudah* by the Mother. But for this, firſt the queſtion is not rightly ſtated in the Concluſion; *They might be of the Tribe of Iudah*: that which ſhould be the concluſion, being, *That they were of the Tribe of Iudah*; not what might be, but what was. Secondly it is falſe which is aſſumed as certaine and undeniable, that no other Tribe, but *Levi*, might marry with *Iudah*: any Tribe might as well as *Levi*. For the Tribes was licenſed but only in ſome caſes, promiſcuouſly to marry, as they did. The high-Prieſt might marry none but of his owne Tribe, and ſhe muſt be a *Virgin*, not deflowred, divorced, or a widow. Other inferiour Prieſts might marry with *Ioſeph*, *Benjamin*, or other Tribes, as well as *Iudah*, if they pleaſed; but the high-Prieſt might not marry, no not with *Iudah* at all. Next, women Inheritrices to their Parents, were tied to marry in their owne Tribe; *Ne confunderentur hæreditates*, to preſerve the ſeverall poſſeſſions of the twelve Tribes intire, and not to intermingle or confound them. This was the reaſon of that Law concerning marriages, which reaſon ſatisfied, and caſe obſerved, the Tribes might, and did marry intermixedly, where, when, and to whom they pleaſed. In this caſe no Prieſt might marry with a daughter of *Iudah*, an Inheretrix; and unleſſe ſhe were an Inheritrix, any Prieſt, or any Iſraelite might doe it. *Baronius* then can have no help or comfort for his cauſe, from the Law, Liberty, Condition, or whatſoever it was, of marriage ſolemniſed and lawfull, betwixt *Iudah* and *Levi*. The *Aſſamoneans* were alway Prieſts; Chiefe Prieſts, of the firſt courſe of XXIV. namely, that of *Iojarib*; and laſtly, became High Prieſts in Iſrael; and then were not capable of marriages with *Iudah*. And ſuch of *Iudah*, as were to Inherit, who are thoſe alone, that *Baronius* muſt ſtand unto, to conveigh Inheritance, and the right of Poſſeſſion unto the *Maccabees*, might not marry into other, but their owne Tribe. So that wee muſt expect of him ſome other reaſon, which is this:

That either they were ſo, or uſurpers. What uſurpation is.

47. The Maccabees were in reall poſſeſſion, and actually did enjoy the *Scepter of Iudah*, which they could not lawfully have acquired, or poſſeſſed themſelves of, except that one way or other they had been of *Iudah*, and iſſued from the houſe of *David*. *Nullo enim alio jure licitum fuiſſet Tribui Levi, unà cum ſacerdotio abſq; labe tyrannidis aſciſcere ſibi regnum.* And ſo we may conclude, for any thing *Baronius* hath ſaid, or will ſay either, that the Maccabees were no other but plaine Uſurpers. For we cannot be aſſured, not ſo much

as

as probably induced, to think that they were of *David* or of *Iudah*. And howſoever it were cleered, that they were of both, yet are we not the neerer unto purpoſe, unleſſe it were apparent that they were Heires, deſcended from Inheritrices of *Iudah* and *David*: which is contrary to Law commanding in Iſrael, againſt uſe and practiſe obtaining in Iſrael, againſt reaſon of both, for preſerving Inheritances intire in Iſrael; which therefore can never be proved true. And if it could, yet the great Hiſtorian goes not about to prove it: he not ſo much as mentioneth it: nay, I think, never ſo much as dreamed of it: and yet this is all in all. For the younger brother, of whole, or of halfe bloud, may uſurp tyrannically, as *Baronius* ſpeaketh, upon the elder, as well as a ſtranger may intrude upon them both: For uſurpation is intruſion upon right whatſoever, in whomſoever, as in this very houſe and family of the *Aſſamoneans*, *Ariſtobulus*, younger ſon unto *Alexander*, uſurped tyrannically, as *Baronius* phraſeth it, upon *Hyrcanus* his elder brother: which faction his children maintained unto death, till *Herod* a ſtranger got it from them both. But grant we that to *Baronius*, which he can never prove, that the *Aſſamoneans* were not onely of *Iudah*, but alſo heires unto *Iudah* by the mothers ſide: Yet what will he ſay unto his owne Rabbins then? They have a Rule which will not hold ſquare with his Poſition, *The Mothers Family is no Family in Iſrael*: That is, no man is reputed for or from his Mother, to be of this Tribe, or that in Iſrael, unleſſe his mothers father were of the ſame, as *Pererius* expreſſeth it upon *Gen.* 49. Which being a Ruled caſe amongſt the Jews, that borrowed title which the Maccabees *might have* (for who can ſay, *had?*) unto the Tribe, the Rights, and Inheritance of *Iudah*, from ſome Grandame of *Iudah*, married perhaps unto *Levi*, will not yet keep, or hold back the Scepter from departing away from *Iudah*, before that *Silo* came, or was born into the world. If a man dying left onely daughters, no ſons, the Rabbins Rule is, *In eo genus eſt conſumptum*, There an end of him, and of his houſe in Iſrael.

48. But yet to admit exceptions in all theſe caſes, for private families, in private inheritances, yet *In terrâ Salicâ mulier ne ſuccedat*. Be it, that ſuch eſtates, entire or parcenned, might lawfully be by Femals diſmembred, or carried from one Tribe unto another; yet the Scepter of Iſrael could not, did not *follow the Diſtaffe*, as they phraſe it, no more then the Prieſthood was thereto entailed. *Arian* obſerveth in his Hiſtory of *Alexander*, that it was a cuſtome, and ſo had been obſerved from *Semiramis*, that Women in Aſia might, and did ſucceed in State: And he inſtanceth in *Nitocris* of *Babylon*, *Thomyris* of *Scythia*, *Artemiſia* of *Caria*, which continued in *Candace*, and *Helena* of *Adiabene*, after Chriſt. But in *Iſrael* and *Iudah*, we have no precedent: *Athalia* reigned ſometime, but her courſe was unwarranted, unlawfull, and tyrannicall: there never was lineall, or authoriſed ſucceſſion in the Female line; though *Deborah*, a woman, a Propheteſſe had judged Iſrael. And yet to grant that which cannot

The Maccabees right to the Scepter.

be proved, as *Baronius* would have it, for the female line, yet muſt he, even then, and ſo, goe ſeek a new Interpretation of this Prophecie of *Iacob*, for all that. For if it were really accompliſhed, and not before, when *Herod*, an Alien, was put in by the Romans, becauſe the Maccabees are ſuppoſed to have been of *Iudah*, by the Mothers ſide; and if the Female line in ſucceſſion may carry the Scepter from Tribe to Tribe, and ſo be ſufficient to hold it in *Iudah* and *David*, by the Maccabees, till *Herod* intruded, as deſcendent of *David*, by the mother, it wil alſo reſtore it againe unto that Tribe and Family, after *Herods* death: and ſo the Scepter did not utterly depart then, nor was the Prophecie of *Iacob* ſo fulfilled, as *Baronius* wil have it. For *Agrippa*, whom S. *Luke*, *Act.* 12. hath named *Herod*, was made King of Jews, as actually made by *Caius Caligula*, and ſo is ſtyled, as *Herod* his Grandfather was. He was not Tetrarch, as *Archelaus*, and *Herod Antipas* of Galile were. Now this *Agrippa* was as much and as throughly of the Tribe of *Iudah*, according to *Baronius* account, as his Mother, an *Aſſamonean* could make him, or as the Maccabees could confer upon her, or take unto themſelves, from *Iudah*. For his Grandmother, by Fathers ſide, was *Mariamne*, daughter to *Alexandra*, daughter and heyre to *Hyrcanus*, ſecond of that name, High Prieſt: which *Hyrcanus* was eldeſt ſon to *Alexander Iannæus* King of Jews, ſonne to *Hyrcanus* the firſt, ſon unto *Simon* the Maccabee. And therefore if the right of the Maccabees be good by lineall deſcent, and extraction from *Iudah*, by the Mother, then was not the Scepter utterly departed from *Iudah*, no not in *Herod*, but onely intercided for a ſeaſon.

Baronius miſtakes *Iacobs* Prophecie.

49. The truth is, *Baronius*, in following *Cyril*, is deceived, and hath much miſtaken the meaning of the Prophecie, and intent of the holy Ghoſt, by the mouth of *Iacob*. The Prophecie was an eſpecial Prediction, and Predeſignation of the comming of Chriſt, of the Tribe of *Iudah*, the expectation of the Gentiles, according to Promiſe of ancient times, unto the Patriarchs, from the beginning of the world. An infallible ſigne is given to know his comming, and more diſtinctly, to know when he is come, that is, at ſuch time as the Scepter, and Law-giver, which is in effect, Power, Rule, Authority, Command, and Government ſhall be taken away, utterly, abſolutely, and finally from *Iudah*, that is, not from the Tribe of *Iudah* onely, or from the regnant houſe of *David*, of that Tribe, (though that were alſo true in effect, and was alſo intended, in deſignation, becauſe every Totall comprehends and draws with it every part whereof that Totall ſubſiſts, and is made up) as from the whole Nation, the poſterity of *Iacob*, the deſcendents from *Iſrael*, who of *Iudah* and his Tribe, were commonly called and known unto the world by the name of Jews, in the laſt times, after the Captivity, and eſpecially after the comming of Chriſt; which was not, nor could be, when *Herod*, an Idumean ſtranger, was through favour and force of the Romanes, made King of the Jews, as *Baronius* ſurmiſeth,

and

and falſely, erroneouſly, though poorely and weakly, goeth about to prove, and make good, but almoſt foureſcore yeares expired after that period, when they ceaſed for ever to be a people, & to be accounted amongſt the Nations of the world; when God had finally caſt them off, and left them utterly without King, Prince, Governour, Law, Prieſt, Propher, Polity, State, Country, or Habitation of their owne: all which came upon them, and was fulfilled in them, at that wofull deſtruction, and ſweeping deſolation, brought upon them by *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, the Romane generals; Meſſias, whom they knew not, whom they would not know, or acknowledge, being lately come, and by them impiouſly put to death. In that very age and generation wherein he came, according to his owne direct words, in that his Prophecy of their deſtruction, *This generation ſhall not paſſe till all theſe things be fulfilled*; about XLII. yeares after his Aſcenſion into heaven, this fatall ruine, and finall deſolation came upon them; and to confirme more ſtrongly this interpretation, the time of accompliſhment for this Prophecy, is preciſely termed, *the comming of Chriſt*. Joh. 21. 22. *If I will that he tarry untill I come, what is that to thee?* He meant it of his comming in Judgement, and ſo the Apoſtles underſtood it rightly; but erred in particular, what Judgement. They conceited it of his laſt comming in the Clouds, to judge quick and dead, but he meant it of his particular comming, in ſpeciall judgement againſt Jeruſalem, at the end and deſolation of their State. And that this was his meaning, event did manifeſt. For S. *Iohn* lived long after all the Apoſtles, and ſaw the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, the finall deſolation of the Jews.

How often the Scepter went from *Iudah*, and when finally.

50. Here then, and ſo, we muſt, and doe ſetle, the full and compleat conſummation of this Prophecy of *Iacob*. Not any where elſe, in any other period of time, but in this. And yet ſo, that it began to take effect before; moſt remarkably in the perſon, at the advancement of *Herod*. For Prophecies be not intended unto, nor muſt bee pent up within a moment of time; and therfore it may in ſome ſort be referred unto *Herod*, as *Cyril* faſtens it, and after him *Baronius*, becauſe then it began to grow on, and make haſte unto Conſummation. In this reſpect, truly ſaid the Cardinall, *Nunquam adeò defeciſſe viſum eſt*. The Scepter had often gone away from *Iudah*, though not after one and the ſame ſort. In the Captivity after their Returne, by the Grecian Princes of the *Lagidan* and *Seleucidan* Families, but never ſo, as when *Herod* came in State, a ſtranger, an Idumæan, to ſit upon the Throne of *David*, in Jeruſalem, altering, chopping, changing at his will, the Face, the Fabrick, the Forme of their State, Civill, and Synagogicall, murthering the men, diſſolving the Court of *Sanhedrin*, ſetting to ſale the high Prieſthood, diſpoſing, transferring it, as he pleaſed, to whom he would. *The Iews*, ſaith *Auguſt. de Civ. Dei. Lib.* 18. *cap.* 45. *had drawne upon themſelves for King, Herod, an alien, a meere ſtranger borne, impoſed upon their Nation by the Romanes. In whoſe time Chriſt was borne. For now the fulneſſe of time was come*,

ſignified anciently by the holy Ghoſt, in the mouth of the Patriarch and Prophet Iacob, who foretold that the Scepter ſhould not depart from Iudah, till Silo come. There did not want accordingly a Prince amongſt the Iews, of their owne ſtock, and kindred, untill that Herod, a ſtranger, was impoſed upon them to be their King. At ſuch time began the Prophecy, as we have ſaid, and he well obſerveth, to take effect more notoriouſly then ever, becauſe the Jews had then no Prince, no Power, no Command of their owne, as ever before, in ſome degree or other; but not ſo taken away, in, or by *Herod*, but that they continued a Nation ſtill: by Inchoation, it departed away in *Herod*; by Conſummation, when Jeruſalem was *trodden downe of the Gentiles*. Then not onely Regall, Supreme Authority ceaſed amongſt them; but all inferior Magiſtracy, Rule, Principality, Prieſthood, Law, Prophecy, Temple, Sacrifice, Service, whatſoever caried face of a Synagogue amongſt them, or repreſentation of a Civill State, totally, utterly, finally was taken away from the houſe of *David*, Tribe of *Iudah*, People and Nation of the Jews. None of which hitherto have been reſtored, nor ſhall again be reſtored for ever. And thus we put home the ful & perfect accõpliſhment of this Prophecy of *Iacob* to the finall deſtruction of Jeruſalem, *Silo* being already come, & the Gentiles thick & threefold, cõming in at the calling of Grace, to him the expectatiõ of the Gentiles. I proceed to another anciẽt Prophecy, in another ſort of deſigning the ſame evẽt

Balaams Prophecie.

51. That of *Balaam*, *Numb.* 24. 17. thus delivered by that Wiſard. *There ſhall come a ſtarre of Iacob, and a Scepter ſhall ariſe of Iſrael. He ſhall ſmite the coaſts of Moab, and deſtroy the ſons of Seth.* Uttered by *Balaam* unto *Balac* King of *Moab*, upon this occaſion when as *Iſrael came out of Egypt, and the houſe of Iacob from among the ſtrange people: the Sea ſaw that, and fled, Iordan was driven back, and the people walked upon dry land through the midſt of the Sea. The people heard hereof, and were afraid, ſorrow came on the inhabitants of Paleſtina, the Dukes of Edom were amazed, trembling took hold upon the mighty men of Moab. Exod.* 15. 15. *Numb.* 22. 3. *Balaam* the ſon of *Beor* of *Meſopotamia*, by ſome held to be *Elihu*, in the Book of *Iob*, was famous for ſoothſaying in thoſe times, amongſt the children of the Eaſt: Inſomuch that generally the repute went of him, as *Balac* ſaith, *Numb.* 22. 6. *That whomſoever he bleſſed, that man was bleſſed, and whomſoever he curſed, the ſame was curſed.* To him did *Balac* addreſſe this meſſage: *There is a People come out of Egypt, behold they cover the face of the earth, and abide over againſt me. Come thou and curſe them, for they are too ſtrong for mee.* *Balaam* entertained the motion readily, and was willing to goe, becauſe well hired. For as it is, 2 *Pet.* 2. 15. *He loved the wages of iniquity.* But God forbad, and he durſt not but obey; but being importuned, and deſirous of that journey, God at length bad him goe: ſuch is his courſe, he is nor Author of iniquity, nor Inſtigator of the wicked, to doe ill; yet, when they will run on to their deſtruction, he nor doth, nor hath reaſon to hold them in with bit and bridle, but lets them goe. *Invitum qui ſervat, idem facit occidenti.* So dealt

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he with *Balaam*; ſeeing he would go on, he bids him goe, but with a charge to ſay nothing but what he put in his mouth: *Riſe up and goe with them*, Numb. 22. 20. *but what I ſay unto thee, that ſhalt thou doe.* Here is a curb put into his mouth, and by that he was overſwayed. Inſtead of curſing, he bleſſed them altogether: For unleſſe ſin procure it, no curſe falls on any man from God. *Num.* 23. 21. He tels *Balac*, he hath not beheld iniquity in *Iacob*, nor hath he found perverſneſſe in Iſrael: and therefore, as it follows, *ver.* 23. *There is no Sorcery to be uſed againſt Iacob, nor Divination can prevaile againſt Iſrael.* Curſe them he could not, for he was not permitted: Bleſſe them he did, as he was commanded: Which bleſſing runs generally upon a twofold time: Then preſent; Afterward to come, by way of Prophecie and Prediction. Nor doth the condition of the man, a Witch, a Wiſard, an impious Caſt-away, prejudice the value of the action, Prophecying. For the wind bloweth where, and as it will: Nor Miracles, nor Prophecies be appropriate unto the Elect. *Caiphas* prophecied, yet a Caſt-away. Gods Spirit is Agent in theſe courſes; but the courſe of Gods Spirit is in divers men, different: Either ingredient and inſident, as in good men; or urgent and impellent, as in bad men. That this was a Prophecy, ſo intended, ſo delivered, two inducements lead: The ſtyle of delivery in termes, *de futuro*, The ground aſſigned, the *later dayes. Come and I will tell thee what this people ſhall doe to thy people*; not then, though neer unto them, and they ſtood in feare of them, but *in the later dayes.* That which is foretold, the ſubject of this Prophecie, is an Advent, *There ſhall come:* then the Conſequents upon that Advent, *He ſhall ſmite, He ſhall deſtroy.* In the Advent the Party is obſcure, involvedly couched under two Titles, a *Star*, a *Scepter*, both confined to one place: for *Iacob* and *Iſrael* are the ſame. The Conſequents enſuing be remarkable, *in opere operato*, the Act performed: The *Star* and *Scepter* ſhall doe great acts, *ſmite*, and *root out*, that is, vanquiſh in the field, and in purſuit of victory deſtroy all oppoſition whatſoever, Hip and Thigh, Lip and Top, Root and Branch; the word implyes no leſſe, then ἐξωλόθρευσιν, a ſweeping deſtruction and deſolation: Great atchievements for the effect, from great indowments, in the Agents. *Stella* and *Sceptrum* imply and import as much, conſidered in *quality, courſe, kind.* So all is enigmaticall, fitting the paſſage which is a Prophecy, obſcure in it ſelfe, and unleſſe it be explained, to little purpoſe.

52. *There ſhall ariſe a ſtar in Iacob:* not any of thoſe glaring lamps of heaven, faſtned and beſtowed in the firmament to give light and luſtre unto the world, to rule, order, diſtinguiſh the night, in their ſetting and ariſing up. *Scepter* is not, as in literall acceptance, a Rod, a Staffe, which What the Star of *Iacob* is.

——— *è ſylvis ima de ſtirpe reciſa*
Matre caret, poſuitque comas, & brachia ferro.

and after that, filletted and adorned with Gold,

——— *Patribus geſtanda Latinis.*

For

For this Scepter must come out of *Iacob*, from his loynes, of his house, which *not at habitum materialis causæ*. It is not, This Scepter shall be held up in *Iacob*, amongst the descendents of him, but is to be *of him*, as he was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. So that *Star* and *Scepter* put for one thing, the same doe denote one man to be borne of *Iacob*. A phrase of speech familiar in Scripture, where things alike, things apportioned, are as the same, and the signified is called by the signifying; and *vice versa* every where. So *Benjamin* is a Wolfe, *Issachar* an Asse, *Iudah* a Lion, which is a Title given to Christ himselfe, *The Lion of Iudah*: Διὰ τὸ σκῆπτρον, and πατριάρχης. And after this practise and proportion, a *Star of Iacob*, a *Scepter of Israel*, is some descendent issuing from *Israel* and *Iacob*, bright, illustrious as a a Star in the firmament of heaven: στρατηγὸς & Ἡγούμενος, a King regnant with Authority in *Iacob*, whose Kingdomes Scepter makes him awfull. And here we aske the question, Τίς δ' ἐστ' ἐκεῖνος; Who is he?

How to difference it from other Stars.

53. Many Stars have some time arisen up, and shined in *Iacob*: Men of worth, famous in their generations; of whom the sonne of *Syrach* entending to speak, prefaceth thus, *Ecclus.* 44. 1. *Let us now commend famous men, and our Fathers that begat us; the Lord hath wrought great things by them through his power, from the beginning.* Amongst Kings, men renowned for their power: The enemies of Israel confesse as much in their accusatory Letters to *Ahashuerosh*, 1 *Esd.* 4. 20. *There have been mighty Kings over Ierusalem, which ruled all Countreys beyond the River.* Toll, Tribute, and Customes, were paid unto them. Now amongst those mighty ones, what was he? ἀστὴρ ὡς, so like a Star in that Orbe of *Iacob*? a King he was; *Scepter* imports it: and to find him, we have a mark set upon him, we may know him by his deeds, *in smiting Moab*, and subjecting the *sons of Seth*. Those Samaritans intended *David* and *Solomon*, in whose glorious and victorious reignes Israel commanded beyond Euphrates, or the River, as they terme it. *David* was a man of warre indeed: *Achitophel* saith so to rebellious *Absolon*. Great and memorable Acts are remembred by him done, 2 *Sam.* 8. and amongst the rest, that foretold of here, *He smote Moab, and measured them with a line; casting them downe to the ground:* And the *Moabites became his servants; and brought him gifts. David* was a *Star*, a man of renowne, even from a child: He slew a Lion and a Beare, when as yet he kept Sheep in the Downs of Bethlehem; and that great Champion of the uncircumcised, *Goliah* of Gath, fell under his sling. They sang unto him in their triumphant Carols, *David hath slaine his ten thousand:* and whensoever he went in and out before Israel, all things prospered in his hands. It was the terror of *Davids* name, which did secure the peace of *Solomon*. Stars illustrious for their light, are also, and primarily commended for their substance, made of the most pure and refined parts of Celestiall Orbes. *David*, it seems, was not made of common matter, but cast in that mould which God would have him: it is his speciall and reserved Title, *He was a man according to Gods*

Gods heart; and therefore an exemplary draught and patterne for others practice. The commendable perfections of the beſt men referre unto him, with this Elogium, *They walked in the wayes of David their father*. Stars are enclowded oftentimes: it is lately diſcovered, that ſpots are in the Sun: and if our ſight deceive us not, there be in the Moone. No *perfection* of Creatures, but with *imperfection*, in ſome degree or other, more or leſſe. So this ſtar of *Iacob* had ſome ſtaines, blemiſhes caſt upon his light and luſtre, eſpecially in the cauſe of *Vriah* and his wife, not to be covered or alleviated any way: otherwiſe he was as *a guide by night*, ſo bee the ſtarres of heaven, in overhailed darkneſſe, to direct Iſrael in Gods wayes, and to diſcover dangers which might accrue. Starres are all fixed in their Orbes. Even Planets, or Wanderers keep courſe, and ſtation, and be not *deciduæ*, or *evanidæ*: they fall not from heaven as the raine or ſnow, they doe not vaniſh as Comets, having amazed the world awhile, with a greater bluſh of ſeeming beauty then fixed ſtars. *Sauls* Kingdome in Iſrael is like a Comet: *Oſtendunt terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra eſſe ſinunt*. He ſuddenly vaniſhed, having firſt wained in his light; but *David* had a ſetled, a confirmed Kingdome to him and his poſterity for ever. God ſaid in his holineſſe, and he kept his word, *I will not faile David*, which therefore be the *ſure mercies of David*; and in particular he ſaid he would leave him a light in Jeruſalem. For which cauſe, he alone, amongſt ſo many Kings of Judah, *Mat.* 1. is onely proclaimed, *David the King*, by eminency: ſuch it is, *ſignanter*, ſpoken, *The King*, or though not *alone*, yet *above*, and *beyond* all, originall to them, conſervant of them. For to him was it promiſed he ſhould for ever have a light reſerved in Jeruſalem, an honour conſequent, to his name, here, Starre.

How *David*, and how *Chriſt* are Starres.

54. Thus I take this Text, according to the letter to bee meant deſignedly of *David*, the ſon of *Iſhai*, King of Iſrael. The literall ſenſe of Scriptures, is the prime, principall, and grounding ſenſe, but not the ſole or onely ſenſe, *chiefly*, not *ſolely* to bee obſerved; for after the letter, read, acknowledged, yeelded unto, there may be other after ſenſes in time, in conſequence, in dependent being, which muſt be admitted, in no caſe rejected, as moſt an end principally intended, where, and when, all things were in Types, in Figures, in repreſentations of things to come. It is a ſtarveling conceit of Innovating brain-pans, ἐν πᾶσι ἓν: No more but one meaning of one Text; whereas God is rich in all things towards man, and there being moe things then words to expreſſe them by, he cannot but diſpenſingly under one word ſometime imply diverſe things. In the ſecond of *Matthew* we read thus, *That it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet, Out of Egypt have I called my Son:* Perſonally interpreted concerning our Saviour, as ſo intended by the Prophet; but *Oſee* 12. it is perſonally ſpoken of Iſrael going up out of the Land of Egypt: When Iſrael was little, I loved him, and called my ſon out of Egypt. Either S. *Matthew* underſtood not the Prophets meaning, that is, Gods holy

holy Spirit understood not himselfe; or else he wilfully depraved his meaning, both which are blasphemies; or which remaines, of one Scripture, there be two senses, both intended literally by the holy Ghost. This Starre then and Scepter may referre unto *David*, and withall unto some else beside *David*: May, and doth unto him, the Scepter of whose Kingdome is a *Scepter of Righteousnesse; Vnto whom all power is given in heaven and earth; Who had the Throne of his Father David; Who was to reigne over the house of Iacob for ever; Of whose Kingdome is no end.*

It was Christ principally.

55. That it could not be *David* solitarily, that it was not *David* intentionally, that it was our Saviour principally, appeareth to bee plaine, moe wayes then one. In the Introduction to this Prophecy, *Numb.*24.14. the time consigned for accomplishment of this prediction, is precisely styled *The last time. Come*, saith *Balaam, and I will advertise thee, what this people shall doe to thy people in the latter dayes.* But in propriety of Application, the time of Christ incarnate, of Messiah revealed, is, *The last times*, 1 *Iohn* 2.18. *Little children, this is the last time*, and *Acts* 2.17. *In the last times I will poure out my Spirit.* And again, the same *Balaam* saith, *I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not neare.* Not *David* could bee intended by *Balaam*; him he saw not, nor was to see; Christ he shall at the day of Doome, (*not now*, in this present world) when as every eye shall look upon him, even such as pierced him and put him to death, but a *longè*, a farre off, the posture of such, as be not to be assumed unto Gods right hand, of which number hee was one. Thirdly, *David* did smite the coasts of *Moab*, but he did not subdue the sons of *Seth*, whosoever they were intended to be. For questioned it is, who they were. *Oleasters* opinion is absurd, that some Nation inhabiting thereabout. For neither in *Davids* time, nor when Christ came, was there any such people in the world. *The sons of Seth*, be the *sons of men*; all mankinde are derived of him, by *Noah* and his *three sons*, the Children, Issue, and Posterity of *Cain* perishing in the Floud. The children of *Seth* to bee subdued, are all mankinde to submit, and come in to that Starre of *Iacob*, the Church to be Catholique over all the earth. According to that large Charter of Grace; *I have given the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the Earth for thy possession.* So *Daniel* of these later times, *Dan.*2.44. *The God of heaven shall set up a Kingdome which never shall be destroyed: Nor shall that Kingdome be transferred unto another people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all those Kingdomes, and it shall stand fast for ever.* But it may be objected, Christ hath not destroyed all the sons of *Seth*; nor be all Kingdomes subject to him. Not yet compleatly, for the end is not yet; that totall subjection is not till then, when he shall *deliver up the Kingdome to God his Father.* And this agrees with those limits, the last times, which must and doe run on, all that Intervall, and between time interceding the first and second comming of our Saviour. Secondly, there is a twofold destruction of any thing

thing in oppoſition: The one of *Inchoation*, by ſubmiſſion and alteration; this is now practiſed by the Scepter of Chriſts Kingdome, in deſtroying Idololatry out of the world, and preparing a people appointed for God: The other of *Diſſipation*, in finall deſolation, which is yet to be accompliſhed being but in progreſſe to perfect Conſummation.

56. It is further oppoſed, Chriſt Jeſus had nothing to doe with *Moab*, the name was not in being when he came into the world. I anſwer, Peradventure not; but the Nation remained, mixed and confuſed with other Arabian Nations, the iſſues of *Abraham*, *Eſau*, *Lot*; with theſe our Saviour had nothing to doe. As he was *ſent but to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael*, ſo he went not unto *the diſperſion of the Gentiles*, but kept himſelfe within the limits and bounds of *Paleſtina*. This is true, and granted, but not to purpoſe: For as the *Star* of *Iacob* is allegorically Chriſt, ſo is the *Land of Moab*, ſemblably to be taken: the Moabites are oppoſites to Chriſt, his people, and his Kingdome, as *Moab* was to Iſrael, evermore. And in that regiſter of Aſſociates, combined to root out Iſrael from *being a people*, ſo that the very *name be no more in remembrance*, *Moab* is related with the formoſt. Punctually, by *Moab* be underſtood, as alſo by *Edom*, all oppoſites to God, and the word of his grace. *Moab* here named, not *Edom*, or the reſt, becauſe that preſent action which gave this occaſion, was immediately againſt them, and none of the reſt. And good reaſon for it, that *Moab* ſhould ſo import ſuch oppoſition. A people they were deſcendent of *Lot*, a righteous man and good, but Apoſtataes from his Religion and goodneſſe: *Inceſtuous baſtards* by originall deſcent, and ſo hating the Legitimate, as Baſtards doe. In both conditions reſembling a twofold oppoſite faction to Chriſt, and to his Kingdome, *Open enemies*, and *private conſpirators*: Heretiques and Idololaters; which reſemble *Moab*, and for deſcent come in within the verge of the ſons of *Seth*. Be it then, as it is, a Prophecie concerning our Saviour Chriſt to come, and be manifeſted in the laſt times, the fulneſſe of time, and to reigne over the houſe of *Iacob* for ever. Concerning him ſo to come, and to be incarnate, two things are recommended in this Prophecie, out of *Scepter* and *Star*, in one combination. Intrinſecally he was glorious, for pureneſſe of nature; ſuch be the ſtars of heaven in their courſes and kinds. Externally famous for great and honourable atchievements, in ſubduing and diſſipating all oppoſition: The Lord, the Lord of Hoſts, the Lord mighty in Battell, and therefore The King of Glory, as *Pſal.* 24. Which put us upon the ſtock and kindred, the renowne and honour, the State and Kingdome, the wars and triumphs of Meſſiah.

Who are meant by *Moab*.

57. Originall deſcent is much ſtood upon. It ennobleth many, who have nothing at all to commend them at home. To be the ſon of Nobles, máketh Confidents, and not to be *aſhamed* when they *meet with an enemy in the gates*. The *blood of Iacob* was the beſt in the world for lineall deſcent, from the friends of God; and originall iſſue

Iſrael is not this Star.

iſſue from the hands of God: but eſpecially for choice, and favour of God. *Was not Eſau*, ſaith *Malachie*, *Iacobs elder brother?* yet was it reſolved, The elder ſhould ſerve the younger. The reaſon of ſuch inequality, Gods voluntary and moſt free choice, *I have choſen Iacob*, (Iſrael for my people) *and refuſed Eſau*, in his Poſterity. In thoſe of *Abraham*, *Iſmael* and *Iſaac*, ſome carnall reſpects might vary affection, and put a difference in indowments: for *Iſmael* was the ſonne of a Concubine, a ſuperinducted wife; but *Iſaac* was in συνυσιαρχῷ, of lawfull mariage *inter* man and wife. *Inter Eſau* and *Iacob*, no ſuch diſtinction; *Patrimi, matrimi*, the ſons of one father by one *venter*, at one birth, and the mother of them a free woman. It is to be granted, that in ſuch origination, there is a difference *inter* peers, as *fratres utero* may not be *animo*; ſo a *ſon* may not be his *fathers child*. There be of ſons two ſorts eſpecially, one of Propagation, naturall, the other of Imitation, ſpirituall: Theſe are ſtyled Children of the faith of *Abraham*; True Iſraelites, in whom is no guile; Children raiſed unto *Abraham*, out of ſtones. So *Zache* perhaps was not of *Abraham*, yet upon his converſion it is ſaid of him, He alſo is *become the ſon of Abraham*, which he could not be according to humane generation, if he were not of *Abraham* after the fleſh. Some are no way ſons, nor after the Spirit, nor the fleſh; ſome are after the fleſh, not the Spirit; ſome after the Spirit, not the fleſh; and ſome both after Spirit and fleſh; *Moſes*, *David*, *Paul*, and the like Iſraelites: And theſe are ſons of Nobles indeed, both by Propagation and Imitation. *Iſrael* carnally extracted from *Iacob*, had many ſingular, eminent, tranſcendent priviledges above all other Nations in the world: but for all them, ſuch was their deportment, they were but baſtards in Gods reputation. He choſe them from out the maſſe of Mankind in Chriſt, and for Chriſt, to be borne of them. His hand of protection was over them ſtill, to preſerve and keep them from deſtruction. He brought them forth of Egypt with a mighty hand, becauſe he had a favour unto them. He drowned their enemies in the Sea, ſo they had their deſire againſt ſuch as hated them. He went before them to bring them into the Land of promiſed inheritance, and gave them a Law of life and actions. Many other wayes did he magnifie his mercy toward them, but τὸ ἀκρόθινιον, the top of the heape, was, Chriſt came of them after the fleſh. All referre, for Gods part, to Grace without Merit, beyond Satisfaction; and to ingratitude without meaſure upon their ſide. Never was deſert more, or ſo much, never unthankfulneſſe ſo exceeding: Iſrael was not Iſrael, farre from Stars, Meteors, *Ignes fatui*, Prodigies in *Iacob*, with whom no Commerce, had this Starre of *Iacob*.

Why Chriſt is called a Star.

58. Deſcendent of *Iacob*, but as a Starre, a name given him to repreſent his nature; a Starre is ſaid to be the pureſt part of that Celeſtiall Orbe, in which it is and moves, ſeeming ſmall, in regard of diſtance, and ſo caſting forth on earth a twinckling light; ſuch was the condition of this *Starre of Iacob*, *parva ortu primo*, and ſo continueth

eth to men at diſtance, or *à longè*, the caſe of mortalls in the ſtate of ſin, which is ſaid *Elongare*, *Ier.* 2. 5. As a *Star* he aroſe by night, but it was with light, as *Luke* 2. Borne at *Bethlem*, a Country Village, in a ſorry Chamber, a Stable; and laid in a Manger, a great diſproportion *inter* that and a bed of State, betwixt himſelfe and the ſons of Nobles. He came a Light, that is a *Star* into the world, great intrinſecally as the Stars be, moſt of them ſurmounting the earth; little apparently, as they alſo be. *When we looked upon him, Eſay* 53. *there was nothing in him to be deſired*, rather contempt and vilification; he ſaith by *David*, *I am a worme, and no man.* But men of learning in the courſe of nature, conceive and know otherwiſe of the Starres. Heaven on high is the moſt rare and admirableſt piece of nature, and above all creatures, though in wonderfull wiſdome God made them all, *arguit artem conditoris*. It is commended for ſplendor, tralucency, immortality, immutability; all theſe, the beſt of theſe, the higheſt top and eminency of theſe, be thoſe lights in the Firmament of heaven, as lights ſet in ſockets of gold, or as a Diamond in the pale of a ring. We diſpute not, for reſolve we cannot, Whether they conſiſt of heavenly fire, or be condenſated of celeſtiall matter; that whatſoever it be, whereof the heavens conſiſt, this we know, they delight, they raviſh the eye and minde with conſideration, and draw forth from the conſiderer, as he ought, that recognition, *Pſal.* 8. *O Lord our Governour, how excellent art thou in all the world!* Seated they are in the heavens above, not thoſe higheſt, or heaven of heavens, whither Chriſt in glory is aſcended, but farre above all flawes, windes, raine, ſnow, miſts, all comets, gliding, or falling ſtarres; as their ſubſtance, ſo their ſituation, is paramount to all, and tranſcendent. In the firmament of heaven be many Starres; innumerable, knowne to God alone; of ſundry reſultancies, and apparitions; of the firſt, ſecond, third *magnitude*, as they uſe to ſpeak: But above them all, beyond them all, the Sun is *Cheren happuch*, the Horne of Beauty, the Eye of heaven. In heaven upon earth the Church of the Redeemed; for the Church, even Militant, is the Kingdome of heaven, in their courſe, and in their turnes: many Stars of luſtre, lights in their time, as the Goſpel phraſeth it of *Iohn Baptiſt*, have riſen, run, ſet in their courſes; *Quorum agmina cogit Lucifer, & cœli ſtatione noviſſimus exit.* Shine he muſt there, and ſhine he will, untill that time be no more, till riſing and ſetting ceaſe for ever.

A Star in his graces.

59. Glorious externally he could not be, unleſſe he were much more glorious within. That by which any thing is ſo, or ſo, is much rather ſo, then that is or can be, by which it is ſo. For *Extremum potentiæ*, no agent imparts. The *Kings daughter*, that is, the Church, is ſaid to be *All glorious within.* The King of glory goes beyond the Church; ſo Chriſt Incarnate is a Star, as *Purior pars ſui Orbis*, the moſt refined part of his Orbe, of humanity in which he moved and ſubſiſted. His very enemies bare witneſſe of him, that hee was blameleſſe, having done all things well; and Pilate ſaid of him, when

he judged him, *I finde no fault in him at all.* An unjuſt Judge will eaſily charge an innocent with what he is not. Malice is inventive, and calumniatory, yet neither of theſe, in the Jews or Pilate, could finde any thing to charge him ſeemingly withall. Here in purity this Star goes beyond the Sun, wherein, as they ſay, be ſpots diſcovered, as moles or wens in the faireſt face, and pureſt skin; and probably enough, for no creature is perfect without imperfections, that is Gods alone Prerogative. This we are ſure of by evident proofe, the beſt men on earth have their blemiſhes: and this we are informed of by unqueſtionable Record; *He found no ſtedfaſtneſſe in his Angels*; and *the heavens are uncleane in his ſight.* But in the Star of *Iacob*, the Son of Righteouſneſſe, no *Galilaans* can diſcover any ſtaine or blemiſh; *Solus habet, ſuperi quicquid poſſedimus omnes*; his naturall Indowments, as he is of *Iacob*, be incomprehenſible, incommunicable, indefeiſeable. He was *of us*, but *above us*, *found with us*, but *ſeparated from us*; in inſeparable adheſion to perfection; in indeflexible ſubjection to Gods will; totall Converſion to doe his command; and Actuall Continuance in performing it. Aske not how, object not againſt, as *Quis dabit mundum ex immundo?* Who can touch pitch and not be defiled? For is any *word impoſſible to God?* if it be *Verbum*, he hath ſaid it, it is inſtantly *Factum*, as he would have it. It was *Sanctum*, which he took of his Mother, ſo was it in the wombe, and in the grave, becauſe *Sanctificatum*, in ſuch a meaſure, as the Power of the moſt High could effect. This κατ' ἐξοχὴν καὶ ὑπεροχὴν, Eminency of Perfection in otherwiſe imperfect nature, is fitly expreſſed by a *Star* of light, which receives no taint or tincture, from ſinck, kenels, dunghils, or any layſtalls of filthieſt ordure. Nothing in nature ſo cleane, ſo pure, ſo perfect as light: and ſo intrinſecally we conſider this deſcendent of *Iacob*, as in whom, God moſt perfect, was well pleaſed, in whom he could finde no cauſe of diſcontent. Onely hee was *accounted* with the wicked, becauſe he was ſo found amongſt them, in the *ſimilitude of ſinfull fleſh*, and was taken to be one of them; the rather, becauſe he undertook for them, and as a ſurety was held to be a debtor, who in force of the Law is held chiefly ſuch. This puts us upon the influxe or operation of this Star of *Iacob*, a ſecond cauſe why he is named *Star*.

In his works.

60. When God made lights in the Firmament of heaven, *Gen.*1.14. the uſe that he aſſigned them is expreſſed thus; *To be for lights to give light unto the earth: To divide the day from the night, the light from darkneſſe: To rule over the day, and over the night: To bee for ſignes, and ſeaſons, and dayes, and yeares.* As a thing is, ſo it worketh, and as it worketh, ſo and ſuch it is. The Stars of the Firmament, the Lamps of heaven, communicate influxion, two wayes eſpecially and for our purpoſe, by illumination to *direct*, and by influence to *comfort and foment.* In former times there was darkneſſe over all the Land of Egypt, and long before that, of a larger diffuſion, over the *face of the depth.* Darkneſſe is diſconſolate, it is fearfull; Cauſe of much miſchief

in

in mistaking. He that goes in the dark, knowes not whither he goes: He that sits in the dark, is afraid of all things; and feare he may; he cannot discover mischiefe before it comes, and being suddenly surprised he cannot put it off, for he knowes not how, nor whither to remove it: He that is in the dark, cannot perceive the force, or effect of what is; but as the men of *Sodome*, striken with blindnesse, gropeth for what he cannot finde; or as the men of Egypt, sits still and stirres not, because he cannot tell whither to goe. *Light came into the world, Iohn* 3. 19. What to doe? *Quærere, & salvare*; To seek, and to save what was lost: where, *ut morbus, sic medicina*; there is no *saving* without *seeking*, of what was lost, nor any seeking without light. She that swept the house, to finde her silver lost, did first light a candle to see how to seek. There is a twofold darknesse that may befall man, and both avoided by the light: Interiour darknesse, in not knowing God, the things of God, nor our own state; Exteriour or eternall darknesse, the reward, and consequent of the former. Our progresse is, *De tenebris in tenebras*, for not knowing, being without this light of God. So *ad illuminandam noctem vitæ præsentis*, to avoid both, *In fine noctis, Redemptor humani generis quasi verus Lucifer oriebatur*; to enlighten the night of this our present life, towards the end of the night, the Redeemer of mankinde, that true Day-star did arise, saith *Gregory*. But he came with no great successe. For so he saith experimentally, *Light is come into the world*; (to enlighten such as sate in darknesse, and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the wayes of peace) but see his entertainment at his arising up, *Men loved darknesse more then light*; the reason was, *Their workes were evill*; not all, but such: for some were glad to see, to know, to entertaine him. He came purposely to enlighten all by illumination; to comfort all, by consolation. As many shut their eyes against the light, so turned they their faces away from comfort, and were justly left to perish in their owne wayes: Left to destruction and desolation to be beaten down by the Royall Scepter of Israel, the second thing foreseene and fore-declared.

Messiah the Prince of Peace.

61. Conceruing this Scepter and Kingdome elsewhere. Here we fall upon the Actions of his Kingdome, in execution of his Royall Authority, in and upon the house of *Iacob*. Kings can hardly passe the time of their reignes, without warres, either abroad or within doore. *Solomon* himselfe had enemies both at home and abroad, though peculiarly he were a King of Peace, as Messias of Israel also was, and therefore we may aske, What hath he to doe with Armes, with subjecting, or desolating any? It was Prophecied concerning Messias reigne, *Esay* 2. *Micah* 4. *They shall convert their swords into Plough-shares, and their Speares into sickles. Nation shall not lift up sword against Nation; nor shall they be trained unto battell any more*. *Concident*, saith *Tertullian, Lib.* 3. *con. Mar. machæras suas in aratra, & sibynas in falces, id est, animorum nocentium, & linguarum infestarum, & omnis malitiæ ac blasphemiæ ingenia, convertent in studia mo-*

deſtra & pacis; They ſhall convert their ſwords into Plough-ſhares, and their Javelins into ſickles; in effect harmfull diſpoſitions, virulent tongues, malice, hatred, blaſphemous courſes, ſhall be turned to deſire and affection unto peace and modeſty. Peace he procured, he brought, he wrought peace, but not without warre could he, did he effect it. *Bellum geritur, ut in pace vivamus.* Therefore *Pſal.* 24. he is ſtyled, *The Lord mighty in battell*; and *Pſal.* 44. is fitted thereto, *Gird thee with thy ſword upon thy thigh, O thou moſt mighty, according to thy worſhip and renowne.* But both are true. He is *bellator*, and *pacificus*: His work is peace, his working is by warre, without which he could not be Prince of peace. For if *man will not turne, hee whets his ſword, and makes it ready*; but firſt he proclaimes, *Peace upon earth, to men good will*; as the Chirurgion to the cauteries, & fearing iron, ſo comes this peacefull Prince to make warre. *Salus populi ſuprema Lex*; that is procured many wayes: drawing of blood is a neceſſary cure, where other evacuations doe not ſerve the turne, yet is not the Phyſitian therefore a butcher; every private mans life is folded up in the publique, and may be given for the publique ſafety, by the hand of Juſtice, though life be precious, and it be an indiſpenſable Law of the Higheſt, *Hee that ſheddeth mans bloud, by man ſhall his bloud be ſhed.* An act of neceſſity, which is *durum telum*, is diſpenſable withall, againſt common right; and ſo might the title of Meſſias hold, a Prince of Peace, though he be put into action againſt his generall intent. Secondly, extraordinary ſingular courſes, ſometime intervenient in naturall proceſſes, alter not the generall, ſtated, habituall courſe of nature: the heavens ſtood ſtill in the dayes of *Ioſua*, yet was this ſingular ceſſation, cauſe ſufficient, to verifie this aſſertion, Heavens have not perpetuall motion; ſuch were the Retrogradation of the Sun in *Ezechias* time, the not burning of the fire in the Furnace of Babylon, the dividing of the waters, in the Sea, and Jordan, for Iſrael to paſſe over on dry ground, the ſhutting of the Lions mouthes upon *Daniel*, the reſtoring of *Lazarus* from death to life. Semblably in Meſſias caſe, which is affirmed by his carriage, deportment, meſſages to and with thoſe, againſt whom he was and did arme himſelfe. And laſtly, his Armes, his Actions, his warlike proceedings, no way oppoſe, or contradict Peace. For his *warres* are peaceable being *ſpirituall*, not as thoſe of *David* with *Moab*, or *Edom*; as his enemies be of another faſhion, and his Kingdome not earthly, nor of this world.

How his peace is diſturbed. What Idololatry is.

62. Many are and have been thoſe hoſtile attempts which have put our King of peace into the field: for his oppoſites and enemies have been many, in all places of his Dominions round about. In heaven thoſe Apoſtate and collapſed Angels which fell away and kept not their firſt eſtate of nature, grace, and creation. *Michael* and his Angels fought with the Devil and his Angels, and prevailing againſt them, caſt them out, ſo that their place was no more in heaven. God ſware unto them in his wrath, they ſhould never return back unto his reſt,

reſt, being confined unto chaines of darkneſſe to the judgement of that great day. Interim they ceaſe not to oppoſe, and to diſpoſe themſelves to trouble the peace of this Meſſias, by themſelves, their Captaines and Commanders, the world, the fleſh, wicked men; and above all, by that man of ſin, and ſon of perdition, when he commeth to exalt himſelfe above all that is called God. Which battel or war is deſcribed by *Ezechiel, cap.* 38. 39. under the types of Gog and Magog, and by S. *Iohn, Revel.* 20. Secondly, his enemies are Idololaters in this world, inſinuated by the ſons of *Seth*: For even his Poſterity before the Flood, forſook the wayes of their father, walking on in the wayes of *Cain*, unto whoſe daughters they had coupled themſelves, who were all deſtroyed by that Deluge of water; & preſently upon re-peopling of the earth, the moſt of Man-kind, all ſons of *Seth*, deſcendents from one of the ſons of *Noah*, became *ad oppoſitum* unto God and his Chriſt, and ſo have continued ever ſince, not all in one ſtate, or equall termes. For Idololatry is twofold, groſſe or refined; groſſe Idololaters, that forſaking the true God who made heaven and earth, have forged to themſelves the *Called gods*, ſtocks and ſtones, *having eyes*, but *ſeeing not*, *eares*, but *hearing not*. *Thoſe that make them are like unto them, and ſo be all that put their truſt in them.* Others, not ſo groſſe, but bad enough, who call upon any other name under heaven, but that great and glorious name of JESUS; ſuch be Jews, with their dreamed on and expected Meſſias; ſuch Turks and Mahometans, who follow and adore that *falſe Prophet*; ſuch they who receive the mark and badge of Antichriſt when he commeth. Refined Idololaters be of another ſort, the moſt part of men in every county and corner of the Chriſtian world, who enſue the pleaſures and pomps of the world, againſt that profeſſion made in Baptiſme, the vanities and delights of ſin, pride of life, the luſts of the fleſh, covetouſneſſe, and ſuch like, which is Idololatry, *Epheſ.* 5. 5. In the liſts of theſe enemies we all have our intereſts more or leſſe: In this war, or battels of Meſſias, we are engaged and enrolled to his ſervice, and have taken preſſe-mony as it were; for ſo much we profeſſe in our Baptiſme, to fight againſt the fleſh, the world, the devill: therefore is our life a warfare upon oath, while we live on earth, *Iob* 7. 1. We have armes provided and fitted for us, 2 *Cor.* 10. 4. we have inſtances and examples to hold faſt the faith, *Fight a good fight*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 18. and victory aſſured by our Generall, this Prince over all the houſe of God, at leaſt whom the laſt enemy ſhall be ſubdued, which is death, 1 *Cor.* 15. 57.

63. Theſe are partly within, partly without the walls of the Church, who yet be not all: for *Moab* is here to be ſubdued, as well as the ſons of *Seth*. Which words are not in oppoſition, as if *Moab* were none of the ſons of *Seth*; the enſuing Title, *all*, includeth them, as if it were, *Moab* and all the ſons of *Seth*. By *Moab* may be underſtood, as it is conceived, Heretiques and Schiſmatiques in the Church: for *Moab* and *Iſrael* were of kin, though not ſo neere allyed

By *Moab*, Heretiques and Schiſmatiques meant.

as *Esau*, and *Iacob*. *Lot*, Father of *Moab*, was Nephew, or brothers son to *Abraham*, great Patriarch of Israel according to the flesh. *Moab* was a bastard of Incestuous birth, and such are Heretiques in their generation. They went out from us, but were not of us. *Nazianz. Orat.* 32. passing upon that place of *Moses*, *Deut.* 23. *The Moabites and Ammonites shall not come into the Congregation till the fourth descent*; By *Moabites* understands, διαλεκτικὸς καὶ κακοσοφίστους, disputers Hereticall, of bad intention, and relying upon sophisticall discourses: *Qui Dei generationem ac processionem, quæ nullis verbis explicari potest, inquirentes, adversus Divinitatem temerè insurgunt*; Such as doe adulterate and deprave Gods word, fashion it like unto themselves, an adulterous seed, and so declining from the right way, as the Son of *Lot*, which name doth import a declination. So *Subegit Genses, Devicit Hæreses*, according to Prediction, when he came.

Daniels seventy weekes.

64. But not any Prophecy in all the whole Scripture more to purpose for the comming of Christ, or for designement in particular of his Incarnation, against *Moab*, and the sons of *Seth*, against *Iudah*, for departing of the Scepter, then that remarkable one of *Dan.* 9. 24. knowne commonly by the name of *Daniels seventy weekes*. But through diversity of many interpretations, as it often falleth out, obtruded curiously, where no need is, it hath many and sundry wayes been explained, indeed obscured, and involved, not onely of late, but of ancient time, as appeares by *Hierome*, who remembreth eight severall opinions thereabout, before his time extant, and invented; which fince his time have at least been doubled. For *Pererius* hath observed sixteen, of which it may be that none are true; but it cannot well be that more then one should be true. The words of that Propheticall Prediction are these, according to our last Translation. *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and the holy City, to finish the Transgression, to make an end of sin, to make reconciliation for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousnesse, to seale up vision, and Prophecy, and to anoynt the Most Holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the Commandement, to restore, and to build againe Ierusalem, unto the Messiah, the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks. The street shall be built againe in troublesome times. And after 62. weeks shall Messias be cut off, but not for himself. And the people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City, and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the warres desolations are determined. And he shall confirme the Covenant for one weeke with many, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the Oblation and Sacrifice to cease, and for the overspreading of abomination he shall make it desolate, even unto the Consummation, and that determined shall be powred upon the desolate.*

The meaning of them.

65. Thus far the words and letter of the Prophecy. Now for the secret and enclouded sense. The number *seventy*, sacred in Scripture many wayes, and here used by the Angel in his Instructions unto *Daniel*, is not meant, as in common speech we use, seventy weekes, that

that is, weeks consisting of seven dayes a piece, or seven nights, as we call them; for seventy weeks that way, is too short a time for such performings, as here be confined to that terme: but for weeks of yeares, seventy times seven yeares, or seven times seventy yeares. *Dan.*10.11. *In those dayes, I Daniel mourned three weeks, or seven nights of dayes*; and so *Lev.* 23.15. intervening betwixt the two Feasts of Pentecost and Passeover, are *seven weeks of dayes*; this is the ordinary and common use of the word. But in this Prophecy not so; by weeks, ἀπλῶτως, indefinitely used, we must understand upon enlarged termes, *weeks of yeares*. And that is not unusuall in Scripture. For so we have it *Lev.*25.8. *And thou shalt number seven Sabbaths of yeares, and the space of seven Sabbaths of yeares shall bee unto the* 49. *yeares*: And then at the end of those 49. yeares, the fiftieth yeare of *Iubily* was to succeed. So *Gen.*29.27. *Fulfill her seven nights, and then she shall also be given unto thee, for the service, which yet thou shalt serve me for seven yeares more*. So the Greek word, ἑβδομὰς, for a week of dayes, properly is used by forraine Classicall Authors in like sort and sense. By *Aristotle* in 7. *Politic.* thus, Οἱ γὰρ τὰς ἑβδομὰς διαιροῦντες τὰς ἡλικίας: They who divide the ages of mans life by *seven nights*, which is, in his meaning, by *seven yeares*, or every Climactericall and graduall yeare. And so the Latins also used it, as appeareth by *Varro*, whose saying to that purpose is remembred by *Nonius Marcellus* thus: *Se jam duodecimam annorum hebdomadam ingressum*; He was entred into the twelfth sevennight of his age, or he was then aged about LXXXIV. yeares. And thus we must take it intended in this Prophecy. LXX. weeks make up CCCC and XC. yeares. Not as *Origen* conceited erroneously for seventy tenths of yeares, that is, for DCC. yeares. Nor as some Jews would expound it to our Saviours prejudice, for LXX. Jubilies of yeares, that is for MMM. and D. yeares, but as hath been said for 490. a time fixed for great events and employments in Gods dispensation with his people. The time intire, compleat, not cut short, or abridged into any fewer or lesse number of yeares then 490. howsoever the old Translator rendreth and readeth it, *Abbreviatæ sunt*, and the Greek Translation is, συντμηθῆναι, *concisæ sunt*. The word originally signifies to cut out, and so it is proper to this place. LXX. weeks of yeares are *cut out*, that is, set apart from the number of the yeares of the world, from the running on course of time; and be set apart, fixed, and determined for the affaires and businesses of thy people, or for events to be accomplished upon thy people. Not *cut short*, as *Africanus* conceited, who fancied Yeares in this place, to be meant and measured by course of the Moone, and so shorter in the totall, then those of the Sun; but *Abbreviatæ sunt*, that is, so confined and bound up within this straight of time, that they cannot, must not, run out farther into a larger extent. In the Gospel the like phrase and forme of speech is, concerning the dayes of Persecution, under Antichrist, that *Except those daies were shortned, no flesh could be saved*; that is, unlesse God had determined and set bounds

bounds thereto, which the malice of that enemy and man of ſin could not paſſe, no fleſh, no man ſhould be ſaved, but all be involved in that perdition. Which ſet determination in Gods unalterable purpoſe, the phraſe of the originall language doth more preciſely note, in an Enallage, or change of the number. For in the Originall it is not, Seventy weeks *are*, but ſeventy weeks *is* determined; an Idiome, or property of that tongue, as the learned note, when what is uttered, is not alone generally true, but in every part true, and ſo to be verified, as it is delivered. *Iob* 12.17. *Aske the beaſts*, and not, *they ſhall tell thee*, but, *and it ſhall tell thee*: that is, every particular beaſt will ſeverally informe thee. So here, ſeventy weeks *is determined*, that is, every part and portion of theſe ſeventy weeks is reſolvedly ſet, and fixedly concluded for determining ſome events upon thy people.

The time of divine diſpenſation, when.

66. For here obſerve, that this time of divine diſpenſation is propoſed two wayes: *Before*, *à parte ante*; *behind*, *à parte poſt*; where the yeares begin, and where they muſt end; and that which is to be done and accompliſhed within the limited time, is branched out into foure parts: The κατηγορημα, or generall ſubject of all, which I conceive to be Meſſiah, the Prince, our Saviour, and none but he; no Ruler, King, Anointed, Sent, but he; and thoſe particulars which refer unto him, are all to be verified within this limited and ſet time; which where it muſt begin, and where it muſt end, is much queſtioned and debated, and intricated many wayes. It is *ad nos*, knowne it muſt be, and duly ſet out, for the true underſtanding of the Prophecie; but firſt we take into conſideration, *Opus operatum*, thoſe many particulars here inſiſted upon, which muſt be effected, becauſe ſo deſigned within the limited time of ſeventy weeks of yeers; or 490. being theſe enſuing.

The effect and merit of Chriſts death.

67. Firſt, to *finiſh Tranſgreſſion*, and *make an end of ſinne*; an Heroick and a ſingular act, an act of Omnipotencie and divine power to aboliſh tranſgreſſion; the perſonall and ſole performance of our Lord and Redeemer, in ſhedding his bloud. *He appeared once*, it is ſaid of him, *in the end of the world, to extinguiſh and aboliſh ſins*, by the ſacrifice of himſelfe, being that Lambe of God, unſpotted, who bare and took on him the ſins of all the world. By which merit of his death, in offering up himſelfe a ſacrifice propitiatory, and expiatory to God, the body of ſin is ſo far deſtroyed, that it reigneth not in us, nor beareth dominion over us, as formerly; which nor was performed, nor could be effected by the Law, or any Sacrifice, cleanſing, expiation, in the Law or of the Law. A ſecond conſequent act unto the former, is to *make reconciliation for iniquitie*, which cannot be done without aboliſhing of ſin; for God will have no peace with the wicked. The old Tranſlator therefore reads it, *ut deleatur iniquitas*, to blot out, waſh off, and ſpunge out iniquity where it is found. This act of Abolition is performed three wayes; Firſt, *Lavando*, by ſcouring, waſhing, rinſing it, as ſpots, as ſtaines, ſoyle or filth are waſhed out of clothes; for it polluteth and defileth the ſoule, and leaveth

veth *maculam* imprinted behind it: therefore they call unto God in this caſe, *Waſh me thoroughly from my ſins, and cleanſe me from mine iniquities.* When the ſpots are engrained, and will not out by ſcouring, then *radendo*, by ſcraping and paring them away, which often goes unto the quick. Thirdly, *diſſipando*, by diſſipation, or diſpelling them, ſcattering them abroad, as the duſt is in the ayre. So *Moſes* ſtamped and ſcattered the ſin of the people, the Calfe of Horeb: ſo be clouds diſpelled and ſcattered by the winds. Which be the peculiar acts of Meſſias alone. *By his bloud he hath waſhed us from our ſins*, ſaith S. *Iohn. He hath raſed out, and cancelled*, ſaith S. *Paul, that bond and obligation which was againſt us. As a cloud he hath diſperſed our iniquities*, ſaith *Eſay*. A third act remembred by the Angel, is to *bring in righteouſneſſe everlaſting*, which can accrue to none but unto him alone, who was for us made righteouſneſſe and ſalvation. The *righteouſneſſe* of Chriſt, wrought by him, oppoſed to the *righteouſneſſe* of the Law of *Moſes*: That was *pro tempore*, externall, in outward obſervations; this ſpirituall, in internall perfections, reſpecting the indowments of the ſoule. *The righteouſneſſe of God is within us*, ſaith S. *Paul, and doth not conſiſt in meats or drinks, but is juſtice, and peace, and joy in the holy Ghoſt.* That of the Law was confined unto the Jews, and ſo was to continue but for a ſeaſon: ſo long, no longer, as *Moſes* Polity ſtood in force. Chriſts Righteouſneſſe of the Goſpel appertains to all; and as the Goſpel of the Kingdome is an *everlaſting Goſpel*, ſo is that Righteouſneſſe indefatible, and intranſitive to any other State. His Sacrifice once offered, was everlaſting; His Prieſthood whereto he was conſecrated and anointed, everlaſting; That Sanctuary everlaſting, into which he went, once, with bloud, his owne bloud, ſhed for the ſins of the whole world, to make atonement everlaſting; where he alſo found Redemption everlaſting, and the purchaſe of good things, everlaſting. So Redemption, Salvation, Righteouſneſſe by him, be all and every one everlaſting. The fourth and laſt thing is, *to ſeale up Viſions and Prophecies* that were of old, at ſundry times delivered, and in different manner by holy men inſpired and appointed thereto by God. So the ſpeech is uſed, *Ioh.* 3. 35. *He that receiveth his teſtimony, hath ſealed it up that God is true:* As much in effect, is fully perſwaded, and ſetled for his conſcience and reſolution in this, that God is true. A forme of ſpeech borrowed from the courſe of civill Tranſactions, where that which is confirmed under hand and ſeale, hath to all intents and purpoſes, *roboris firmitatem*. Chriſt hath ſealed up, ratified, confirmed, and perfected all. Firſt, becauſe he ſet a full period, finall end, and determination upon all, *quæ prædicta, quæ præfigurata*, which were fore-ſpoken, and fore-deſigned; the Law and the Prophets continued till *Iohn*. Secondly, becauſe he did not otherwiſe determine them, but by fulfilling them; ſo he ſaith to his fore-runner, *ore tenus*, *Thus it behoveth us to fulfill all righteouſneſſe:* and giving up the Ghoſt, his laſt words were, It is fulfilled, *all is done*. Thirdly, becauſe

because he was the subject and substance of Law and Prophets, Promises, Predictions, all in whom were all things Yea and Amen. *What meanes the Angel*, saith *Tertullian* by that speech, *to seale up Prophecies and Vision? because all Prophets spake and foretold concerning him, that he was to come into the world, and suffer many things. For as much then, as in and by his comming Prophecies were all accomplished, therefore are Prophecies and Visions said to be sealed up, by his comming. Himselfe was the seale set unto all Prophecies, in fulfilling whatsoever had of old time been foretold concerning him by the Prophets. After that Christ was come, and had suffered death, there was no more Vision, no more Prophets to tell the world he was to come. If the Iews dare or will gainsay this, let them shew and produce any Volumes of Prophets writings since Christ came, any visible miracles done by Angels, such as in former ages the Patriarchs saw, and were acquainted withall before Christ came, who being now come, hath finished all. In which regard well said the Euangelist, the Law and Prophets were untill Iohn Baptist, but Christ being baptized, that is, having sanctified and washed our soules in his Baptisme, the fulnesse of all ancient spirituall graces was in him accomplished, who sealed up Vision and Prophecie, being all by him fulfilled at his comming.* So he.

The Jewish interpretation of *Most Holy*.

68. Next, the *Holyest* of all, or *Most Holy*, is said in this Prophecie to be *anointed*: which the Jews vainly interpret, and thereabout bable to no purpose, indeavouring to invest their Temple therewithall, and to cast the Title upon Legall Rights and Ceremenies. Christians generally understand it of, and refer it unto our Saviour, the Most Holy, anointed, Prince, Priest, Prophet: Which three sorts of men, eminent for calling, were of old all anointed under the Law, that is, set apart and consecrated by speciall act unto those great functions by being anointed with holy oyle: and for that cause be all of them, not Princes alone, as some restraine it, styled, *The Lords anointed*. So in the Psalme, *Touch not mine anointed and doe my Prophets no harme*: Primarily and literally, not Princes, but Prophets, which is an *epexegesis* of Anointed. Christ was an *High Priest of good things to come*; He was *That Prophet to be sent into the world*, whom in all things God hath commanded to be heard. He was that *King set upon the holy hill of Sion*, to whom was given the *Throne of his father David*, and made to *reigne upon the house of Iacob for ever, of whose Kingdome was to be no end*. Christ being actually, as he was, all these, and invested personally with all these offices, and dignities of eminent place and honour, and so accounted of amongst the Jews, which dividedly were conferred upon others, of severall degrees, descents, and times, hath therefore the name of Messias given him, as a style or title of honour transcendently his, who is ὁ χριστός, the Christ, or anointed of God, so and in such sort as none beside him; from whom in his excellencie excelling all, we have by participation in him, with him, that sacred and honourable name of Christians conferred upon us, intimating that we are a people anointed, a royall

Priest-

Prieſthood, a choſen Generation, an holy Nation. Holy, ſo made for him, for his ſake; by him, his operation; according to his example; for ſo participating of his name, we ſhould participate of his nature: our life, carriage, converſation, ſhould be faſhioned to him and his, ſo to be accepted of him, pleaſing to him, walking before him, in holineſſe, and righteouſneſſe all our dayes, as for that intent and purpoſe being anointed by him. Whatſoever good thing we doe, have, enjoy, partake of, it is had and enjoyed not otherwiſe, then by Communion with him, our head, by participation from him originally, who hath the fulneſſe of all graces abiding in him. There be holy things, and holy men, by this participation of him, and relation to him. Saints are holy, in heaven and upon earth; if in earth, as we have warrant for that title, much more in heaven, the proper place of holineſſe. Angels are holy, ſuch is their name and nature, in their kinde; not as he is holy in meaſure and degree: holy and undefiled every way, not alone, *quà Deus*, but *quà* man; holy God, holy man, both make in him but one *ſuppoſitum*, Chriſt our Lord. As God, he is moſt holy, by holineſſe originall, his eternall Attribute, holineſſe ſubſtantiall, not adherent, inherent, accidentall; his holineſſe is what he is, not ſo much his, as himſelfe; the Attributes of God, as we call and underſtand them, are all God. His Indowments, to call them ſo, be not as ours diſtinguiſhed from his nature, eſſence, ſubſtance, ſubſiſtence: he hath not, properly to ſpeak, Wiſdome, Power, Holineſſe, &c. but he is Wiſdome, Power, Knowledge, Holineſſe; Infinite in nature, as God is; is Infinite in Holineſſe, and ſo without meaſure, manner, condition: and therefore, laſtly, whatſoever thing or man, in heaven or earth, hath holineſſe, for indowment, and is called holy, hath it not originally, from at home, of his owne; but communicatively of him, from him, by him. And therfore as root, and top of all holineſſe, he is named the Moſt holy, the holyeſt of all, that beare that calling *Sanctus Sanctorum*, even as he is man, conceived in, borne of the holy Virgin before his Conception, it was ſaid of him, *That holy thing which ſhall be borne of thee:* Farre more then if it had been ſaid, that child which is born of thee, ſhall be holy. God he is, and ſo moſt holy; for he left not to be what he was, when he became what formerly he was not; but as God, he was not, he could not be anointed, to receive from any, what he had not. Every one anointed, is inferiour, at leaſt reſpecting that act, to him that doth anoint him. For the giver is greater then the receiver: but inferiour, ſuperiour; greater, leſſer, be termes not appliable unto God, nor the act compoſſible with God. Therefore anointing muſt, as it doth, referre to his humanity, in which nature, not otherwiſe, it is ſaid of him *Heb.*7.26. He is an high Prieſt, holy, innocent, ſeparated from ſins, and made higher then the Heavens.

69. This perfection of anoynting the humanity of Chriſt, or receiving the graces of God, by infuſion of the Spirit, wherewith he was

Moſt Holy, is proper to Chriſt alone.

was anoynted in a meaſure above his fellowes, was for us men, as all the acts of his mediation were, and for our advantage, who are of him, be inſerted to him; that ſo of him, from his overflowing fulneſſe, we may receive perfection for us, filling of us, but in number, in meaſure, and in waight anſwerable to the quality and ſtate of our proportion: he having received his part from his Father, anſwerable to the condition of his humane ſtate, without any number, meaſure, weight. Secondly this is, in regard of that abſolute, compleat, perfect union of the Manhood with the Godhead. For if that union of the ſoule with the body, or rather that union of our ſoule with grace, which is but accidentall and ſeparable, when it is made by the grace of Regeneration, hath power and ſufficiency, as it hath, to conſtitute a man holy by Participation, and ſo to conferre upon him the name of Holineſſe; what cannot perſonall union of nature with nature doe and effect in Chriſt Jeſus incarnate, but give him the title of Moſt holy? A name, not communicable to any elſe, becauſe none but himſelf have or can have that prerogative of union, ſo near, and ſo tranſcendent. Next, that ſtyle or title of Moſt holy, accrues unto him in reſpect of that grace, properly his, which Divines do call *Gratiam Capitis*, which is, becauſe by God, he as man is conſtituted and made Head of the Church, which is his body; as Head, he deriveth Influxe, and Indowments unto the body, as the Apoſtle inſtanceth in many particulars, *Eph.* 1. concluding, that he hath given and made him Head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulneſſe of him that filleth all in all. He then received holineſſe from God, not alone, perſonall, for himſelfe, as man, but alſo Originall, as Head of the Church, deductively paſſed from himſelfe to others, members and parts of his body myſticall; who, as ſuch, have nothing but what they have of him. And what they have of him, they cannot poſſibly have it in that meaſure, proportion, degree, wherein he hath it; not alone becauſe of his perſonall union with the Godhead, originall ſpring and fountain of all, but becauſe that Rule of nature is generally, and originally true. *Quod efficit tale, illud ipſum eſt magis tale.* For inſtance, all light is derived from the Sun, and all heat originally from the fire; therefore is the Sun in light and brightneſſe tranſcendent to all, and the fire in heat ſurpaſſeth all. Semblably Chriſt, being holy himſelfe, and cauſe of all holineſſe, to whatſoever is holy, an exemplary, meritorious, ſufficient cauſe of holineſſe, in holineſſe muſt needs be above, beyond all; both things, and men, whatſoever, and whoſoever, by him, and for him, are made holy. And therefore farther yet, the naturall, proper, and ſubſtantiall grace of Chriſt, was neceſſarily paramount and in efficacy infinite and unbounded, implying and compriſing the nature, condition, force, and effectuality of grace, which was not ſo conferred upon him, as it is upon us. We of not holy, for ſuch we are by nature, are by him made holy, ceaſing to be what originally we were, and proceeding to be what we were not, wrought by grace of Regeneration in him,

when

when we are baptized into his name. Thus we: not ſo he. The time never was, wherein he was not for holineſſe at firſt, what now he is. He never was not holy: Never leſſe or more holy. Not by degrees in ſucceſſion or acceſſe is he holy; not by receſſe is he not, or leſſe holy; but totally, compleatly, indefectibly holy, at once for all. In which regard, well he may be, as here he is ſtyled, the *Moſt holy*, or Holieſt of all: *That the moſt holy may be anointed.* The premiſſes conſidered, the ſubject of this Prophecy is undeniably and uncontrollably, our bleſſed Saviour. It is improbable that Meſſias in the firſt place, ſhould be ſome Jewiſh Governour, we cannot tell who; and in the ſecond place, running on the ſame ſentence, upon the ſame termes, Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.

70. Within the compaſſe then and ſtation of time here fixed, which is 70. weeks, or 490. yeares, either continued, or intercepted, the things here ſpecified muſt all be accompliſhed and conſummated. The Jews to be returned out of Captivity, to their own Country. Being returned, they were to build againe the City, and Temple demoliſhed by the Babylonian Army. They were to recover a ſtanding State, and Polity, for forme, not the ſame peradventure, but a Government and Governours, as before the Captivity. Eſpecially to have Meſſias the Prince, exhibited unto them, according to Promiſes and Predictions of old. Meſſias was to come, to be borne, to be manifeſted, to die, to ſuffer many indignities, and to be cut off. The value and merit of his death and Paſſion, muſt, as it did, aboliſh ſin, and thereby bring in and eſtabliſh everlaſting righteouſneſſe. And to bring this Prophecy fully home, to the conſummation of that of *Iacob*, of the *Scepter departing away from Iudah*; *Ieruſalem*, the Temple, the Law, the Service, all Legality was to ceaſe and to be taken away for ever: which are particulars, all of them, of great moment, and all compriſed in this Prophecy.

The Prophecy accompliſhed within the prefixt time.

71. But from what Parapegme or root of time, theſe 70. weeks or 490. yeares muſt be current, is a thing much perplexed and involved many wayes. It may ſeeme that method retrogade, to cleare all queſtions, and to ſettle the true ſtate upon the right beginning, as *Aſcendendo*, to goe up from the period ſet of Jeruſalems deſolation, and finall deſtruction, by the Prophet remembred: to reckon from thence backward 490. yeares, and there to ſettle the beginning, from that looſe to ſet out; 62. weeks and 7. weeks, in fractions repriſed, muſt firſt be accompliſhed, and fully run out, before that Meſſias ſhould be ſlain: when they be determined, He muſt be ſlaine, and after that, the Jews ceaſe for ever to be Gods people, a people, or numbred with the Nations of the earth; as they denied him, ſo he would deny them, and after ſuch deniall of him within few yeares. This terme of deſolation is well known, 42. yeares after our Saviours death, after the killing of Meſſias.

The Meſſias not ſlaine before the determined time.

72. Meſſias the Prince, our Saviour Chriſt, ſuffered death upon the Croſſe, in the 34. or rather 35. yeare of his age, current, as much

Chriſts birth, baptiſme, buriall, in what time.

as from *Chriſtmas* in the 34. to *Eaſter* in the 35. *Luke* 3. he was baptized by *Iohn* in *Iordan*, upon the 6. of *January* which we call *Twelfe day*, as the ancient Tradition of the Church obſerveth, beginning to be about 30. yeares of age, his 29. determining the 25. of *December* before. And, as it is apparent out of S. *Iohns* Goſpel, he had been preſent after his Baptiſme at foure ſeverall Paſſeovers in Jeruſalem. He was borne in the DCCLII. yeare of Rome, according unto *Panvinius* account, *Auguſtus Cæſar* the thirteenth time, and *M. Plautius Sylvanus* being Conſuls. He was crucified of the Jews, under *Pontius Pilate* Procurator of *Iudæa* in the DCCLXXXVI. yeare of Rome, *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* being Conſuls, the laſt yeare of the 202. Olympiad, toward the later end of that yeare, which determined at the Summer Solſtice following. From this Epoche, if we account backward, CCCCXXXIV. yeares, which is the totall that LXII. weekes doe make up, (for threeſcore and two times ſeven doe amount unto that number) after which LXII. weeks expired, it is ſaid that Meſſias ſhould be ſlaine, and be taken away from amongſt the living, the time falleth with the CCCLII. yeare of Rome, and the third yeare of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, ſon unto *Darius Nothus* King of *Perſia*; from which Parapegme aſcending high towards the time of *Daniel* by ſeven weeks more, that is 49. yeares, we fall upon the 301. yeare of *Rome*, the twelfth of *Artaxerxes* with the *long hand*, ſon unto *Xerxes*, King of *Perſia*, accounting his intire reigne from the death of his Father *Xerxes*, that invader of *Greece*, murthered by *Artabanus* the *Parthian*. Now from the death of Meſſias, at the time fixed, unto this twelfth yeare of *Artaxerxes* with the *long hand*, are 490. yeares compleat; within which intervall, or between time, as the Prophecy is, the *wall muſt be built againe in troubleſome times*, by warrant of an Edict to come from a King of Perſia, beſide which building Meſſias *muſt come*, muſt *be ſlaine*; which being particulars of importance, muſt be enquired after, more punctually, to bring the Prophecy home unto Conſummation. And firſt the ſeverall reignes of the Kings of *Perſia* are Chronologically to be ſet downe, under whom the accompliſhing of much of this Prophecy was to be had, and with whoſe ſeverall reignes the principall parts thereof muſt *coincidere* and accord.

Cyrus Emperour of *Aſia*, *Cambyſes* ſucceeds.

73. The firſt and moſt renowned King of Perſia, was *Cyrus*. He brought with him the Empire and Command over all Aſia, from the Medes, in *Aſtyages*, or *Cyaxares*, or *Darius* of the Medes, as *Daniel* calleth him, who by *Arbaces* had formerly taken it from the Aſſyrians, in *Sardanapalus*. He was himſelfe native of Perſia, ſon to *Cambyſes*, and *Mandane* daughter of *Aſtyages*, King of Media. A Prince he was of excellent and eminent parts; howſoever *Xenophons* relations be, rather Pedagogicall then Hiſtoricall, raiſed up ſpecially by God himſelfe for works of Divine Providence, according to Prediction by the Prophet *Eſay*, who calls him by his name long before he was borne. He reigned in all thirty yeares, as with generall conſent

conſent *Dionyſius*, or rather *Dinon* I think it ſhould be, and *Cteſias* relate: to whom conſenteth *Cicero* in his firſt *De Divinatione*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Euſebius*, and other; only *Theophilus*, an ancient Biſhop of Antioch, and ſixt in ſucceſſion after S. *Peter*, gives him thirty eight yeares, by error of himſelfe, or of his Tranſcriber, in his third Book againſt *Antolycus*. To him ſucceeded his ſon *Cambyſes*, a furious brain-ſick Prince, indowed with no royall condition, utterly unlike his father *Cyrus*. He invaded madly, and conquered Egypt furiouſly; inhibited the Jews from proceeding in building of their Temple, utterly againſt the Grant and Edict of his father *Cyrus*. Maſſacre he did many of his Nobles, and amongſt others, his owne brother *Smerdis*. And laſtly, by caſualty, wounded with his owne ſword, he died of that wound, having reigned ſeven yeares and five months. *Herodotus* and others give him eight years compleat: but they caſt in upon his ſcore thoſe ſeven months, wherein *Smerdes* the *Magi* uſurped the Kingdome after his death. *Cteſias* gives him eighteene yeares, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* cites his Author for nineteene; but they differ not betwixt themſelves: the one meanes eighteene compleat, the other nineteene current: Nor from others indeed, who allot but eight; for thoſe ten yeares abounding, are to be caſt upon his father: the cuſtome being in Perſia, that in the neceſſary abſence of the Prince in State, the Heire apparent was Vice-roy, and is ſometime ſaid in that reſpect to be King.

74. The *Magus*, pretenſed brother of *Cambyſes*, and Uſurper of the Kingdome for ſeven monethis, being diſcovered a counterfait, was uncaſed and ſlaine by the ſeven Princes of Perſia, all of the bloud, as iſſuing from a ſecond houſe of *Achimenes*, as *Cyrus* did from the firſt and eldeſt. Theſe ſeven by conſent elected for King *Darius* ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, one of their owne combination, who began his reigne in the fourth yeare of the ſixty fourth Olympiade, the two hundredth and thirty ſecond yeare of Rome, about April, and died in the ſame month, having reigned thirty ſix yeares: Five yeares before he received that memorable defeature in the Plaines of Marathon, by *Miltiades*, Generall of the Athenians. *Xerxes* ſucceeded toward the later end of the ſame Olympiade, who in the ſixt yeare of his reigne, to revenge his fathers loſſe at Marathon, invaded Grecia with that huge Army which drank Rivers dry, made bridges over the Sea, ſayled over dry land. He was with great diſhonour affronted by *Leonidas*, with three hundred Spartans, in the ſtrait of Thermopylæ: vanquiſhed at Sea, by *Themiſtocles* the Athenian Generall, beaten out by him, and *Pauſanias* of Sparta, who ſlew *Mardonius*, left behind by *Xerxes* with 500000. men, in the fields of Platæa. He reigned not fully out twenty one yeares, being ſurpriſed and ſlaine by *Artabanus*, a great Lord in his Court, in the fourth yeare of the ſeventy eighth Olympiade, two hundred eighty eighth yeare of Rome. To him ſucceeded his ſon *Artaxerxes*, ſurnamed

The ſucceſſion of the Perſian Monarchies.

Epeaſi, ſtrandra Medo. Veſificatum Athos.

with the *long hand*, becauſe his armes were ſo long, that ſtanding upright, he could touch his knees with his hands. In his ſecond yeare, the building of the Temple, granted by *Darius*, was inhibited. When he had reigned out forty yeares, he died in winter, the ſeventh yeare of the Peloponneſian war, unto whom ſucceeded *Xerxes* the ſecond: then *Sogdianus*, both ſcarce making up a yeare betwixt them; and then came on *Darius Nothus*, in the ſecond yeare of the eighty ninth Olympiade. He reigned nineteene yeares, and died in the laſt yeare of the Peloponneſian war, the fourth of the ninety third Olympiade. To him ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, who reigned forty three years compleat, and died the yeare of the battel of Mantinea, wherein *Epaminondas* was ſlaine, but left the victory to his *Thebans*. Next came *Artaxerxes Ochus*, for twenty three yeares, and then *Arſes* his ſon for three yeares; he being treacherouſly killed by *Bagoas* the Eunuch, *Darius Codomannus* the laſt King of Perſia did ſucceed, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed in two ſet battels, and *Beſſus* one of his Captaines killed in the third yeare of the hundred and twelfth Olympiade, the foure hundred twenty third yeare of Rome. And thus with him came to a period the Perſian Monarchie, having held about two hundred and thirty yeares, under the remembred ſeverall Kings.

The firſt Edict made by *Cyrus*.

75. Which of them was the Author of this mentioned Edict, comes next to be ſcanned, as we may. There be remembred foure ſeverall Edicts, Commandments or Proclamations made and given out from the Kings of Perſia, at ſeverall times, concerning the Jews, as then their ſubjects by conqueſt of the Babylonians, whom *Cyrus* ſubdued in the defeature of *Nabonidus*, or as *Daniel* calleth him, *Darius* of the Medes, unto the Perſian State. The firſt Edict was made by *Cyrus*, mentioned in the laſt Chapter of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, and in *Eſdras* 1. 3. *In the firſt yeare of Cyrus King of Perſia, when the word of the Lord, ſpoken by Ieremy the Prophet, was finiſhed, the Lord ſtirred up the ſpirit of Cyrus, King of Perſia, that he made a Decree throughout all his Kingdome, ſaying, Thus ſaith Cyrus King of Perſia, All the Kingdomes of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given unto me and hath charged me to build him an houſe at Ieruſalem which is in Iuda. Wherefore, whoſoever now is amongſt you of his people, the Lord his God be with him, and let him goe up unto Ieruſalem in Iuda, and build the houſe of the Lord God of Iſrael.* This is that Edict which *Cyrus* King of Perſia made concerning the building of the Temple, according as it had been prophecied concerning him, *Eſay* 44. 28. to which Prophecie it ſeemeth that *Cyrus* himſelfe had reference in his Edict, where he ſaith, That *God had charged him to build an houſe at Ieruſalem in Iuda.*

This Edict the ſame with the Angels to *Daniel*.

76. That this Edict of *Cyrus*, was that which the Angel intended in his Revelation unto *Daniel*, is ſuppoſed by many learned men, great Maſters in Chronology, and is ſo conceited by two of the ancient and beſt verſed in Chronology of the Greek Fathers, *Euſebius* and

and *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, though with diverſity. Secondly it was the firſt and eldeſt in time of all thoſe foure ſeverall Edicts made by the *Perſian* Kings touching the Jews: and therefore, thirdly, nearer unto the time of the Prophecy, which was revealed unto *Daniel* in the firſt yeare of *Darius Medes* King of Babylon, immediate ſucceſſor unto *Baltaſar*, and Predeceſſor unto *Cyrus*; and therefore it may ſeeme, not without ſome ſhew of probability, to have been intended in that Revelation unto *Daniel*. That *Cyrus* made this Edict in his firſt yeare, is unqueſtionable, the Scripture is punctuall and direct; but how that firſt yeare is to be underſtood, it is, and well may bee queſtioned: there being remembred moe beginnings then one, of *Cyrus* reigne.

77. A twofold Epoche or root of time may be allotted, and as *Scaliger* conceited, a third from both, which make the going forth, or beginning of the Edict uncertaine. For either it may be caſt upon the firſt yeare of his reigne in *Perſia*, or the firſt yeare of his reigne over *Babylon*, when he took that City by aſſault, and ſubverted the Babylonian Kingdome, one of the branches of the diſſolved *Aſſyrian* Monarchy. The firſt yeare of his reigne over *Perſia*, is with an univerſall and concording aſſent of all Antiquity, both Hiſtorians, and Chronologers, as others occaſionally, faſtned upon the firſt yeare of the 55. Olympiade, as it is confeſſed by *Petavius*, proved by *Scaliger*, and by our learned Countryman, M. *Edward Lively*, ſometime Hebrew Profeſſor in *Cambridge*, a man, *Vltra fidem ad miraculum eruditus*: about the ſpring, he began that his reigne, toward the later end of that Olympick yeare. *Iulius Africanus*, a Chriſtian Chronologer of great note in the Primitive Church, is remembred by *Euſebius* (for his works are loſt) to have delivered thus; *Cyrus* began his reign over *Perſia* in the 55. Olympick yeare current; which is ſo recorded by *Diodorus* in his Hiſtoricall Library, by *Thallus*, by *Caſtor*, *Polybius*, and *Phlegon*, in their works; and by all that handle the Olympick yeares; all preciſely agree upon the beginning of his reigne, and alſo the continuance which was thirty yeares compleat, as is further delivered by *Herodotus*, *Cteſias*, and *M. Cicero*. He was ſlaine in battell, ſaith *Herodotus*, by *Thomyris* Queene of *Scythia*, to whom accordeth *Trogus Pompeius*, and the major part of Writers; but ſaith *Cteſias*, a man of greater skill and experience in the State of *Perſia*, by *Amorrheus*, King of the *Derbices*, where, though he loſt his life, yet he got the victory.

Hiſtorians conſent.

78. A ſecond beginning of *Cyrus* reigne is derived from his conqueſt of Babylon, and ſubverting of that Empire. *Nabuchodonoſors* Poſterity failed in *Bethaſſer*, the laſt of his line, an effeminate, laſcivious, and as commonly ſuch be, a tyrannicall Prince, killed by his Satrapaes and Noblemen at that feaſt or drunken night-wake, in which he ſo impiouſly and ſacrilegiouſly profaned, the holy veſſels of the Temple at Jeruſalem, tranſported to Babylon by *Nabuchodonoſor*: unto him thus ſlain, ſucceeded by election *Darius Medes*,

Bethaſſer the laſt of the line being ſlain, *Darius* a Median born, ſucceeds.

becauſe he was a *Median* borne, one of the Conſpirators, he is ſtyled by *Herodotus Labonitus*, by others *Nabonidus*, which, ſaith *Scaliger* is all one name, varying onely by the different dialect. Mention is of him in *Herodotus*, more full and compleat, by *Beroſus* in *Ioſephus* thus, which I inſert for the underſtanding of the ſtory in *Daniel*. After the death of *Nabuchodonoſor*, ſaith *Beroſus*, his ſon *Euilmorodach* ſucceeded him, who carried himſelf in his government againſt Law, in all lewd licentiouſneſſe. *Nerigliſſaorus* who had married his ſiſter, conſpired againſt him, and ſlew him, having reigned but two yeares; *Nerigliſſaor*, after the death of *Euilmerodach* reigned foure yeares, to whom ſucceeded his ſon *Laboroſoarchodus*, a child (the grandchild of *Nabuchodonoſor*) and reigned nine moneths, againſt him conſpired his friends, Nobles, and Counſellours, becauſe he gave them great cauſe of ſuſpition, he would prove a tyrant. This is that *Beltaſher* in *Daniel*, who was a young man when he was ſlain, as *Beroſus* reports him. The conſpirators, ſo it followeth, when they had ſlaine him, conſulting about a ſucceſſor, with generall conſent, concurred upon *Nabonidus*, one of his confederacy, dwelling at Babylon. In the ſeventeenth yeare of his reigne, *Cyrus*, who out of *Perſia*, with a great Army, had invaded, and ſubdued all *Aſia*, addreſſeth his courſe againſt the Babylonian. *Nabonidus*, informed of this invaſion meets him in field, with a great Army, and joyning battell, was vanquiſhed and put to flight; out of that battell he fled and withdrew himſelf to the ſtrong places of *Borſipene*. *Cyrus* proſecutes the courſe of his victory, firſt againſt Babylon, but becauſe he conceived the ſiege would be long, he gives it over at preſent, and followes *Nabonidus* to *Borſipene*, who yeelded himſelfe without making reſiſtance; *Cyrus* uſed him very courteouſly, and aſſignes him the government of *Carmania*, where he ended his dayes in peace: thus *Beroſus*. It ſhould ſeem that two yeares did expire, before he tooke in Babylon. For in the nineteenth yeare of his *Perſian* Kingdome, was that defeature of *Nabonidus*, and in his 21. year he took in Babylon, from which time began the account of his reigne over Babylon. That excellent fragment of Antiquity, to be priſed, ſaith *Calviſius*, the great late Chronologer, above gold, called Κανὼν βασιλέων, and by him publiſhed, in his Εισαγωγή, being by my ſelf firſt tranſcribed out of a Manuſcript *Ptolomy* of S. *Henry Savil*, which *Calviſius* received from D. *Overall*, to whom I gave it, as himſelfe acknowledgeth, next to *Nabonidus*, placeth *Cyrus*, and allots him nine yeares. So that he took in Babylon the one and twentieth yeare of his *Perſian* Kingdome, which was in the third yeare of the LX. Olympiade, the two hundred and ſeventeenth yeare of Rome.

Scaliger addes another Decree of *Cyrus*.

79. To theſe two beginnings of *Cyrus* reigne, *Scaliger*, in his Animadverſions upon *Euſebius*, addes a third, from his conqueſt of the Bactrians, which, ſaith he, made him Lord and Ruler of all Aſia. And how ſo; that he ſhould have declared: were the Bactrians, as the Babylonians, an Emperiall State, or were all other Nations of Aſia,

Aſia, beſide Bactrians, conquered by *Cyrus*? The Indians were not, the Derbices, according to *Cteſias*, were not. Certainly, nor ſo, nor ſo: but this is a ſingular deviſe of his owne, forged by him, without warrant, as many things are, out of the ſudden apprehenſion of his owne braine. Let this paſſe: the fore-ſpecified diviſion of *Cyrus* beginning, his Perſian, his Babylonian Kingdome, is notorious, and juſtified by Antiquity: of which two, the later, that over Babylon, is that which is ſet for the Decree of *Cyrus*. In the firſt yeare of his reign over Babylon, the one and twentieth of his Perſian Kingdome, and nine yeares before his death, he made this Decree: for as King of Perſia, he had not to doe with the Jews; they were conquered and made ſubjects to the King of Babylon by *Nabuchodonoſor*, and continued as Captives and Subjects to ſerve the King of Babylon, untill that Babylon was by *Cyrus* ſubdued unto the Perſians, who by that conqueſt became Lords alſo over the Jews, and as Lords gave them liberty againe to returne into their owne Countrey.

80. Next, for the contents and ſubject of this Edict, in *Eſdras* and in the *Chronicles* no more is expreſſed, but the Temple to be reſtored, re-builded, and made fit for Gods ſervice: but in *Eſay* 44. 28. and 45. 13. in which places, it is foretold what *Cyrus* ſhould doe, mention is made of the City alſo, to be re-builded: and it is further ſpecified in *Ioſephus*, that ſo much was contained in the Edict, ἀνακτίσαντα τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ναόν: To raiſe up, or new build the City and the Temple of God. The whole Edict of *Cyrus* is by him thus related: *Foraſmuch as the greateſt God of all Gods hath made and conſtituted me King of all the earth, I beleeve he is that God whom the people of Iſrael do worſhip. For by his Prophets he foretold my name, and alſo appointed that I ſhould build a Temple unto his ſervice in the Land of Iudea.* And thus much, ſaith *Ioſephus*, *Cyrus* came to underſtand by reading of *Eſaias* the Prophet, who ſpake thereof in his Prophecie two hundred and ten yeares before the time. For in his Propheticall relations, the ſame *Eſaias* ſaith, that God had told him thus much. *It is my will and pleaſure, that Cyrus whom I have conſtituted King over many and populous Nations, ſhould ſend back the people out of captivity unto Iudea, and build a Temple there unto me.* Thus much did *Eſaias* prophecie, ſaith he, an hundred and forty yeares before the Temple was deſtroyed. *Cyrus* therefore reading this Prophecie, and much marvailing at the power of God, had an earneſt, and much affectionate deſire to fulfill that which was therein foretold. Whereupon he convented the chiefe of Jews that dwelt in Babylon, and let them know that he gave them leave to returne home into their owne country, to re-build their City Jeruſalem, and to re-edifie the Temple of God. Thus far *Ioſephus*, ſpecifying preciſely the re-building of the City, as well as of the Temple at Jeruſalem. And indeed to what purpoſe could the Temple ſerve, or what need to re-build it, if there were no City for Inhabitants to dwell in, who might uſe that Temple, and worſhip God therein? Againe, ſuch as were enemies to the Jews, thoſe

The Edict of *Cyrus*, what it was.

those bad neighbours the Samaritans complaine upon them unto *Cambyses*, *Esa.* 1.4,12. that such Jews as came up from Babylon, began to build againe the City, and to set up the walls thereof; which is a pregnant proofe of their practise, and of the intent of that Edict: For they nor would nor durst have done any such thing, had not their Commission given them leave and warrant to doe it. To conclude, upon these premisses considered, it may seeme, that this first Edict, made by *Cyrus*, was that Decree remembred by *Daniel*: the rather, because *Clemens* and *Eusebius* so conceived of it. The first of them somewhat intricately, who referreth Messias to be meant not of Christ, but of *Sceptrum Judæ*, a Ruler and Governor in and over Judea, in the seven weeks, or forty nine yeeres, which he divideth from the sixty two: Not onely so, but disposing of the seven weeks first, and then of the sixty two contrary to order in the Revelation; as likewise both from the last of all, without warrant of cause or probable reason for it: and withall delivereth what is most false, that ἐν ταῖς ἑξήκοντα δύο ἑβδόμασιν, ἡσύχασεν ἅπασα ἡ Ἰουδαία, καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνευ πολέμων. *Judea continued without war at all, in rest and peace, during all those sixty two weeks.* Thus *Clemens*.

The building of the Temple.

81. *Eusebius* in his Euangelicall demonstrations, *Lib.* 8. discourseth at large upon this subject of *Daniels* seventy weeks: In which he first relateth the opinion of *Julius Africanus*, that ancient Chronologer; and then delivereth his owne very untowardly, and confusedly, and withall, falsly. First, that *Messias, the Prince*, specified in the first place to be *anointed*, is not intended unto, as not meant of our Saviour Christ, but of Jewish Governors, and Rulers of the people, High Priests, or others, who after their returne from Babylon into their owne native Countrey, according to this Edict of *Cyrus*, as he supposeth, commanded in that State untill the Incarnation of our Saviour, and the reigne of *Herod* the Idumean. Secondly, he conceiteth that this Prophecie, delivered generally at first, containeth the whole entire time of seventy weeks, for the full accomplishment of all things therein contained, but must be continued afterward according to particular subdivisions. Answerably he divideth the totall of seventy weeks, or foure hundred and ninety yeares, into their severall distinctly succeeding periods, as *Clemens* before had led him the way, into seven weeks, sixty two weeks, and one week. For every subdivision, particular events and successes were designed out, and had their accomplishment in their severall due times. The first seven weeks, or forty nine yeares, he begins at the first yeare of *Cyrus* reigne over Persia, when yet *Cyrus* had nothing to doe with the Jews, nor power to make any such Decree, and extends them to the sixt yeare of *Darius Hystaspes*: at which yeare, the building of the Temple, having been hindred by *Cambyses*, was fully compleat, *Aggai*, and *Zachary* Prophets, encouraging the people to the work. *Darius* in his second yeare gave order againe for it, according to *Cyrus* Edict, to be proceeded in: and appointed overseers of the work,

as

as alſo for Governours of the people, *Zorobabel*, ſon of *Salathiel*, of the Tribe of *Iudah*, direct heire of the houſe of *David*, and *Ieſus* ſon of *Ioſedec*, ſon of *Seraias*, ſlain at the Captivity, high Prieſt, formerly by *Cyrus* deputed for the ſame. And whereas from the firſt of *Cyrus*, there want three yeares of 49. to the ſixt of *Darius*, (for *Cyrus* reigned thirty yeares, *Cambyſes* 8. yeares, and *Darius* 6. in all 44. and not 46. as *Euſebius* muſt aſſigne) he ſuppoſeth thoſe three yeares, which indeed ſhould be five, or he ſhorts in his account, he conceiteth they were ſpent in building of chambers, lodgings, reveſtries about the Temple, as we would ſay, in finiſhing the Cloſe. In which conceit of his, be many inconſequencies, and incompoſſibilities; and I cannot but wonder with indignation, at the extreame, ſupine, negligence, ſecurity, or ignorance of thoſe Ancients, who having ſo many, and ſo great helps at hand, which we want, of the Perſian, Babylonian, Aſſyrian, Egyptian Writers, who at large related the Acts of thoſe Princes, with whom in their times the State of the Jews did concurre, but touched at, or obſcurely delivered in Scripture, who were abundantly furniſhed with hiſtories of the *Seleucidan* and *Lagidan* Princes of the Macedonian race, with whom the Jews after the Captivity had great Negotiations, have left unto us ſo very poore, or rather none at all helps, for direction, that we have little or no cauſe to thank them for it. In which point *Euſebius* is chiefly taxable, both for his Hiſtory and Chronology. In this particular, had his care, his diligence, his judgement, been any, hee nor could have ſo erred himſelfe, nor preſented us juſt occaſion to taxe him.

Euſebius blamed for aſſigning *Cyrus* the Decree for the Jews.

82. Firſt *Cyrus* at that time aſſigned by *Euſebius*, in that yeare, the firſt yeare of his Perſian reigne at large could make, in no diſcretion, any ſuch Decree for the Jews, who were not under his Authority or Command, but Subjects to the King of Babylon, then in State. Nor could *Cyrus* then ſay as he doth in his Edict, that God had given him all the Kingdomes of the earth, who when he firſt began to reigne, was King of Perſia only, a large, but yet a ſole Countrey; the Medes, the Babylonians, the Aſſyrians, were yet of greater power and dominion then he. *Euſebius* was, or exceeding ſimple, or extreamly negligent, who marked not this. Nor doth it accord with the terme of ſeventy yeares, allotted by *Ieremy* for the Captivity, from any period of *Iechonias*, *Zedechias*, or whomſoever. Fourthly, it is a Jewiſh dotage, derogatory from Chriſt, againſt the Prophets meaning, to interpret Meſſias of any other Prince, Governour, or Government, but of Chriſt our Saviour ſlaine for others, not for himſelfe. But if it be ſaid, Meſſias there in that paſſage is meant of Chriſt, but not in the former of the ſame paſſage and period: I demand *Purquoy*; is there any note of diſtinction, any apparent cauſe of difference? the Prophecy running on in the ſame termes, without interception, upon the ſame ſubject, without alteration; See the 25. and 26. verſes of that ninth of *Daniel*. It is yet further not onely abſurd, but falſe, that from the Decree, to Meſſias the Governour, ſhould be 49. yeares, as

we

we reade it determined, for what Governour meant he, that ruled in Judæa 49. yeares after the first of *Cyrus*? None can be, for none were, but *Iesus* and *Zorobabel*, and they could not be put off for 49. yeares, becauſe by the Decree they were made Governours at firſt, and their Patent was not recalled, becauſe to their ſecond appointing under *Darius*, there be onely 42. yeares, not 49. ſixe weeks determined, and not ſeven. And further it is falſe, that *Iesus* and *Salathiel* were the Meſſias, or Lords anointed, who never were anointed with oyle of Conſecration at all, and therefore were uncapable of the title of Meſſias: Nor anointed, or ſeparated and deputed in that ſenſe which is intended by *Euſebius* himſelfe, at their ſecond ſending or going up to Jeruſalem, under *Darius*, by his appointment, they were not ſo anointed, that is appointed Governours abſolute, whatſoever they were under *Cyrus*; for at their ſecond ſending, their Authority was limited, and they had other aſſiſtants, as *Ioſephus* ſpecifieth. And concerning the ſeventy yeares Captivity of Babylon that of *Iechonias* deportation ended directly in the 22. of *Cyrus* Perſian Kingdome, the firſt or ſecond of his Babylonian Monarchy, for ſo many yeares intercede the 147. yeare of Rome, wherein *Iechonias* and *Daniel* went into Captivity, and the 216. yeare of Rome, wherein *Cyrus* took Babylon, about 23. yeares before the ſixt of *Darius*, and 19. compleat before the ſending of *Zorobabel* and *Ieſus*, the ſecond time into Judæa. But if the 70. yeares of the Captivity bee reckoned from *Zedechias* deportation, they will determine about the third yeare of *Cambyſes*, who not favouring the Jews, ſent no Meſſias, or Governour into Judæa; gave no relaxation unto their Captivity, but hindred the rebuilding of the Temple, all his reigne. So full of inconſequencies and abſurdities is this conceit of *Euſebius*, taken up yet by many for reſolution of the ſeven weeks.

The dividing of *Daniels* weeks.

83. The $\overline{\text{LXII}}$. weeks, his ſecond diviſion, he beginneth inſtantly, upon determining of the former $\overline{\text{VII}}$, that is, from the ſixt, indeed the ninth of *Darius*, ſon to *Hyſtaſpes*, and ſetteth them up for determination, he is not reſolved where, as *Petavius* ſheweth, but moſt inclinably, upon the taking in of Jeruſalem by *Cn: Pompeius* the Romane generall, who purſuing his victories in the Eaſt after the defeature of King *Mithridates*, amongſt other Countries made alſo Judæa ſubject to the Romanes, in the 612. yeare of Rome, about ſome 61. yeares before the Incarnation, and about 450. yeares, after the Temple rebuilt and finiſhed, in the ſixth or ninth yeare of *Darius*, as he had faſtned it; which come ſhort of 483. yeares, the ſumme aſſigned by himſelfe, 33. To which if we adde ſeven weeks or forty nine yeares, from the Edict of *Cyrus*, then be the 62. weeks exceeded; and from that Edict of *Cyrus*, to the birth of Chriſt, intervene 559. which cannot agree with Story, nor with the words of the Angel unto *Daniel*, or the account of *Euſebius* himſelfe, from the firſt yeare of *Cyrus*, to the death of *Alexander Iannæus*, the Jewiſh Prieſt, one of his Parapegmes, for he hath moe then one, ſo uncertaine is he,

he, and *ſecum diſconvenit ordine toto*. His particulars he diſpoſeth of thus: From *Cyrus* to the death of *Alexander* the Great, be two hundred and thirty yeares; which is falſe, they are above two hundred and ſix yeares. Next, from *Alexanders* death to the beginning of *Seleucus* reigne in Aſia, (where is the head of the Grecian yeare, or Seleucidan period, ſo frequently mentioned in the ſtory of the Maccabees) ſo many years as make up two hundred forty eight, which ſhould be but two hundred forty two. From thence to the death of *Simon* the Maccabee, one hundred ſeventy ſeven years; in all, foure hundred thirty five: after whom *Hyrcanus* was Prince twenty nine years, *Ariſtobulus* one, *Iannæus Alexander* twenty ſeven: in all, for theſe three, fifty ſeven. Of all which particulars, the amounty is foure hundred eighty two, which is the totall of ſixty weeks, but ſhort two years. Thus *Euſebius*.

The Edict of re-building Jeruſalem, when.

84. Againſt which I except. Firſt, it ſtands not with the Chronologie of the ſeverall reignes of the Kings of Perſia, which according to the former exact calculation make up, from the firſt of *Cyrus* Perſian reigne, to the death of *Darius Codomannus*, two hundred and thirty yeares, to which adde thirteene years, and ſeven months of *Alexanders* reigne, as alſo twelve or thirteene yeares after his deceaſe, before *Seleucus* took in Babylon, and erected in Aſia the Kingdome of the Grecians, and in all, from the firſt of *Cyrus* thither, we have two hundred fifty foure yeares; to which adde the remembred fifty ſeven yeares more, and the hundred ſeventy ſeven to *Iannæus* death, and the whole amounty is foure hundred eighty eight, ſo many incertainties are in this accompt. Next, what reaſon had *Euſebius*, for it is worth the knowing, to pitch ſo remarkably upon *Iannæus* death, and there determine the period of the Jewiſh government? For *Salome*, or *Alexandra*, his wife, after him, either as abſolute, or as Regent for her ſon *Hyrcanus*, ruled almoſt nine years; and after her death, her ſons *Hyrcanus*, and *Ariſtobulus*, and *Antigonus* kept the Government on foot, in the ſame line and family unto *Herod* the Idumean. In the interim, true it is, *Cn: Pompeius* called in by the Jews factioniſts at home, made the State tributary to the Romans; yet did he not depoſe the Prince, but confirmed him in his State, which he held, though with diſturbance of his factious Nephews, untill *Herod* got it. And laſtly, *Euſebius* ſaith nothing at all concerning the laſt week after ſeven weeks, and ſixty two weeks, as materiall as the former, if not more. Nor doth *Clemens Alexandrinus*, from whom *Euſebius* took his hint, though he wiſely leaveth out thoſe untoward words, *Iudæa was at reſt and in peace all that while*. A paſſage in *Clemens*, though to no purpoſe, moſt abſurd, falſe, againſt all Storie, contrary to plaine Text, *The ſtreet and City ſhall be builded in perilous times*: and though he bound in thoſe weeks with the perſon of our Saviour, yet he expreſſeth not whether he meanes his Birth, or Baptiſme, his Incarnation, or Initiation, his Diſpenſation, Death, or Paſſion: But which way ſoever he diſpoſeth it, it will not

not fall out well for him: the time from *Darius* ninth yeare will not reach, nor from the firſt of *Cyrus* to the death of *Cleopatra*, that is, if it were to purpoſe, the determination of the *Lagidan* line, and kingdome of Egypt, in the *Ptolomies*, which was about twenty eight yeares before the Incarnation. From the firſt of *Cyrus* to the birth of Chriſt, it is, as himſelfe reckons, about ſix hundred years. Wherefore he wanders infinitely from the marke, beſide his ſtrange aberrations, (if yet it be not the Tranſcribers fault) in the names and years of the Perſian Kings, and the particular ſummes of the years of their reigne, which make not two hundred thirty five yeares, as he ſaith they doe, but onely two hundred twenty and five. Laſtly, the week alone, or laſt ſeven yeares of the foure hundred eighty three, is not onely diſmembred from the reſt, but diſtracted from it ſelfe: one moity being, I know not why, confined upon *Neroes* reign, the other upon *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, *Veſpaſian*. All which and other uncertainties, for himſelfe is as in a maze, will not ſuffer us to faſten this Edict of re-building Jeruſalem, upon the firſt of *Cyrus* Perſian reign, as hath been conceited by him and others.

A ſecond Edict fathered on *Darius*.

85. A ſecond Edict of another Perſian King, not *Cyrus*, hath been fathered upon *Darius*, ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, choſen King by the Nobles and conſent of the Commons, after the death of *Smerdis* the uſurping *Mage*, which was in the fourth or laſt yeare of the ſixty fourth Olympiade. For the former Edict of *Cyrus* had been ſuſpended, not by himſelfe, upon complaint made in generall onely, againſt the Jews, as *Scaliger* dreameth: for that had been an idle courſe taken by ſo adviſed a King, and eſpecially having publiquely pretended, that he was commanded to doe it by *The great God of heaven and earth*; and that his Succeſſor who made ſearch in the Records for the Edict of *Cyrus*, and finding it, proceeded in the work, could not but have fallen upon the Revocation, and ſo would not, as he did, have given charge for the putting in execution of *Cyrus* Decree: but it was ſuſpended by that ungracious *Cambyſes* his ſon, Prince declared in his fathers abſence, and ſo continued by him all his reigne. Which impeachment of *Cyrus* Edict by him, was procured by falſe ſuggeſtion of the Samaritans, their ill neighbours, and ſubornation of bribed Courtiers, the inſtruments of miſchiefe in a State.

Darius revives *Cyrus* act, the Iews finiſh the Temple.

86. In this caſe of inhibition, and ſuſpenſion of the work, they continued untill the ſecond yeare of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, as we reade, *Eſd.*4. But ſomewhat before, all the firſt of his reigne, by inſtigation of the Prophets *Aggai* and *Zachary*, they re-aſſumed the work upon warrant of *Cyrus* his former Edict. For which courſe, complaint being made unto *Darius* by their enemies, and they pleading the Decree of *Cyrus*, *Darius* cauſed a ſearch to be make for that Decree, and having found it, revived it by his owne Act and Commiſſion, giving ſpeciall order to the Deputies, Officers, and Satrapaes of the Tranſeuphrateſian Countreyes, to further and aſſiſt them in that work, *Eſd.*6. upon which warrant from the King, the Jews incouraged,

ged, went cheerfully on, and in the ſpace of five yeares finiſhed the work of the Temple, much leſſe then *Solomons*, for ſpace and work. Whereupon ſaith the Prophet, *Who is there amongſt you that hath ſeene this houſe in the firſt glory? and how doe you ſee it now? is it not as nothing in reſpect thereof?* yet he addes to their comfort in reſpect thereof, *The glory of that ſecond houſe ſhould exceed the firſt.*

The building the Temple commanded by Cyrus, other houſes on the By.

87. From this ſecond Decree, thus made by *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, *Euſebius* upon a ſecond contemplation, diſſenting in uncertainties from himſelfe, as well as others, hath begun the account of *Daniels* ſeventy weeks. Him enſueth *Cyril* of Jeruſalem in his fifteenth Catechiſme, though he miſname the man, and nicknames him *Darius Medus*. But in proſecution, he and *Euſebius* diſagree: The one, *Euſebius*, ſaith nothing of the laſt ſole week or ſeven yeers, in which yet the Revelation is ſo punctuall, as in neither of the former parts; *Cyril* rents it off from the former parts of ſeven weeks, and ſixty two weeks: Both come very far ſhort of the birth of Chriſt, and much ſhorter of his Paſſion, or *being ſlain*. But further, this Edict was not a new one, but a continuing and reviving of the former made by *Cyrus*, and it concernes the Temple onely, not the repairing or walling of the City. Nor doe we heare of more done or performed in the execution of the Decree, and conſummation of the work, then of the Temple. But *Petavius* the Jeſuit objecteth for the building and walling of the City at that time, this Text of *Aggai*, *Is it time for your ſelves to dwell in ſeeled houſes, and the houſe of the Lord to lie waſte?* Which muſt referre neceſſarily unto the time before the Decree came forth, in the ſurceaſement of *Cyrus* Edict, and the Temples building, during moſt part of *Cambyſes* reigne: by whom they were inhibited to build the Temple, but not forbidden to build houſes for themſelves to dwell in, unleſſe by an Edict he had recalled them back again, which he did not, to Babylon. Being then permitted to dwell in the land, they muſt be permitted, and were not forbidden to build them houſes to dwell in. Theſe they built, and it ſeemes, beſtowed coſt upon them, but went not on with building the Lords houſe, as *Cyrus* commanded, by ſpeciall words in his Decree: It was the cauſe moving of their returne: The building of their owne houſes was but coincident and upon the By, for as much as they muſt needs have houſes to dwell in. And it is not onely falſe, but fooliſh which he objecteth; unleſſe he conceive, or could prove, that no great, ſtately, richly furniſhed, ſeeled or wainſcotted houſe, were not to be found, but only in walled towns; which how it may ſtand with the faſhion of France, I cannot tell, but with us in England, it is a meere forgery, and foppery, who have few walled townes, but many faire well furniſhed houſes, every where. But be theſe houſes, as they may be, conceited of: This Edict cannot be that intended by the Angel; for laſtly, it exceedeth ſeventy weeks, or 490. yeares. It was before the birth of Chriſt 520. yeares, in exceſſe thirty, before his Paſſion at leaſt fifty four. So that we muſt go ſeek for ſome

other Edict, of ſome other King of Perſia, beſide *Darius Hyſtaſpes*.

The third and fourth Edict by *Artaxerxes*, a pious Prince.

88. The third and fourth Edict, came both from one man whoſoever he was, who is ſtyled *Artaxerxes* King of Perſia, *Eſd.*7. *Nehem.*1. Firſt unto *Eſdras* was granted, as appeares by his owne relation, (but in what yeare it is not expreſſed) licence to goe up unto Jeruſalem, to carry with him all ſuch voluntaries as would goe; to viſit Judah and Jeruſalem, in the Kings name, and by his Commiſſion; to take with him the remainder of the Veſſels of Gods houſe, and whatſoever was not yet returned: by which it appeares, that the Temple was then finiſhed, and in caſe and condition for Gods ſervice: to receive the voluntary offerings of the King, his Nobles, the people, for Sacrifices, and Oblations to the God of Heaven. For bearing of his, and his Aſſiſtants charges; and for all convenient expedition, he had warrant to receive from the Officers of thoſe parts one hundred Talents of ſilver, with proviſion of Wheat, Wine, Oyle, Salt. Beſide, he carried with him great immunities, priviledges, and exemptions, granted to the Prieſts, Levites, Singers, and other Servitors, in and at the Temple. Very ſtrange Piety and Devotion in a Pagan Prince, to the ſhame of ſome Chriſtian Princes and States, in their execrable robberies, expilations of devoted and conſecrated things by others, not onely ſacrilegious contempt, and prophaning of them, by Diſſolutions, Diſſipations, converting them to keeping of Hawks, Hounds, Whores, to all prodigious Luxury, beyond *Balthaſar*, and laſtly, by unequall and therefore unjuſt and tortious permutations.

——Quam vellent æthere in alto,
Nunc, & pauperiem, & duros perferre labores.

This religious affection of this Prince, queſtionleſſe did originally proceed, after Divine diſpenſation, from that indeared love and favour which he bore unto that Venerable man, *Eſdras* the Prieſt, ſo farre, that, as ſaith holy Text, he granted him all that he would ask or deſire, according to the good hand of his Lord God, which was upon him. Howſoever it were principally the hand of God, yet God working by meanes, it muſt be grounded upon ſome very eſpeciall good ſervice, and great deſert in *Eſdras*, though not remembred in holy Scripture. This Patent was ſealed in the ſixth, or ſeventh yeare of *Artaxerxes*, but certainly put in execution in his ſeventh yeare. He came to Jeruſalem in the fifth moneth, which was in the ſeventh yeare of King *Artaxerxes*. Upon the firſt day of the firſt month, began he to go up from Babylon; and on the firſt day of the fifth month he came to Jeruſalem, according to the good hand of his God upon him, *Eſd.*7.7,8.

The fourth Edict, procured by *Nehemiah*.

89. The fourth and laſt Edict was of the ſame *Artaxerxes*, in the twentieth yeare of his reigne, in favour of another Jewiſh Gentleman, *Nehemias*, then following the Perſian Court, a man in great favour with, and Cup-bearer unto the King. The occaſion of this Decree was related by himſelfe, *Nehem.*1. In the twentieth year of King

King *Artaxerxes*, there came from Jeruſalem to Suſis, where the Perſian Court then lay, *Hanani*, a Jew, of him *Nehemias* enquired, as the manner is, What news in Judæa, in what ſtate ſtood the affaires of the Country, how the Temple, City, people were: *Hanani* tells him, In bad eſtate: the people diſheartned, the City unwalled, lying open and waſt, the gates burnt with fire; in effect, *in ſtatu quo Nabuchodonoſor* left them. *Nehemias*, a true and faithfull Patriot, at theſe ſo harſh and unpleaſing reports, wept, mourned, faſted, and prayed certaine dayes. The King, upon whom he attended daily, perceiving him altered in countenance, and penſive, demanded the cauſe: To whom he replyed, as we reade, *Nehem.* 2. 3. *How can I but look heavily, when the Citie and place of my Fathers buriall doth lie waſt, and the gates thereof be conſumed with fire?* Upon which his intimation wherein there is nothing touching the Temple, as neither is in the information of the Angel unto *Daniel*, as being formerly finiſhed, as they were able to performe it, in the reigne of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*: but the City, the walls, the gates burnt with fire, as *Hanani* had informed him. And as his complaint and deſire was, the King ſent him to Jeruſalem, with commiſſion and warrant to build up the walls, and encloſe the City: which he performed, but not without great oppoſition, that is, in troubleſome times.

Which of the *Artaxerxes* gave *Nehemiah* his Commiſſion.

90. Thus have we foure Edicts of Perſian Princes concerning Jeruſalem and the Jews: Of which, the firſt and ſecond concerne the Temple onely, not the City: The third, made unto *Eſdras* in the ſeventh of *Artaxerxes*, wherein is no mention of City or Temple, to be builded or repaired, only of viſitation, viewing, ordering of things either right or wrong: Onely in that Decree to *Nehemias*, in the twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, there is particular, ſpeciall, ſole mention of the wall, the City, and ſtreets thereof, but no mention of the Temple: which point *per* point agrees with the Revelation to *Daniel*, where no Temple is remembred. The ſon of *Syrach* accords, who 49. 13. gives this teſtimony to *Nehemias*, *Amongſt the Elect was Nehemias, whoſe renowne was great; who ſet up for us the walls that were fallen; who ſet up the gates, and bars, and laid the foundation of our houſes.* So that in all probability, this twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, from the Commiſſion to *Nehemias*, was the time deſigned by the Angel, from the going out of a Decree onely to build and wall Jeruſalem. Not in the firſt of *Cyrus*, the ſecond, ſixt, or ſeventh of *Darius*, but in the twentieth of *Artaxerxes*. But which *Artaxerxes* this was, for there were two of that name, Kings of Perſia, famous in Story, a farther ſearch and enquiry muſt be made; the rather, becauſe ſome make not onely two, but twice two, nay five times two of that name, and ſo trouble enquiry and reſolution with confuſion of perſons, by ambiguity: telling us, that *Artaxerxes* was a generall name of all Perſian Kings, as *Pharaoh*, and after *Ptolomy* was in Egypt, *Agag* in Amalec, and *Abimelech* in Gezur. There were two onely of that name, ſo called, knowne by that name in all Stories,

and none beſide: the former ſon to *Xerxes*, that *phantaſme* of Greece, ſurnamed generally with the *long hand*; the other his Grandchild, *Artaxerxes* with the *good memory*. Without confounding of names through ambiguity caſt in, the queſtion is, naturall to which of thoſe two, the two Edicts, but eſpecially the later, muſt be affianced. The name *Artaxerxes*, if it ſignifie, as they ſay it did, in the Perſian tongue, *a great and mighty Lord*, may be taken two wayes: Properly, as a mans private name; or Appellatively, as a Title of honour. *Cæſar* was at firſt, the proper name of *C. Iulius*, as *Ptolomæus* was to the ſon of *Lagus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines; but in proceſſe, they became Appellative, to ſuch as ſucceeded in thoſe States. Nearer to our purpoſe, that Prince who *Eſd.* 4. hindred the building of the Temple, according to the Edict of *Cyrus*, was by his perſonall name *Cambyſes*. Now though it were univerſally true, as it is not, that every Perſian King, and ſo *Cyrus*, *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and *Darius Nothus*, were named *Artaxerxes*, yet in the caſe put to queſtion, it is not alledgeable. He that in the twentieth yeare of his reigne made the Decree for the walling and finiſhing of Jeruſalem, could be no other but one of thoſe Perſian Kings, whoſe proper name was *Artaxerxes*. For in the laſt of *Nehemiah* it is ſaid, That he returned againe unto the King in the thirty ſixt yeare of his reigne. Both the *Artaxerxes*, and onely they, of all the Kings of Perſia, reigned above thirty ſixe yeares. *Darius Hyſtaſpes* dyed in that yeare, but *Nehemiahs* age will not reach to him. *Darius Nothus*, upon whom *Scaliger*, *Calviſius*, and others reſolve, cannot be the man: he reigned but nineteen years: therefore *Nehemias* (what became here of *Scaligers* brains?) could not come back to him in his thirty ſixt yeare, nor could he make any ſuch Decree in his twentieth yeare, which he came not unto. I marvaile *Scaliger*, but much more that Mr *Lively* could faſten upon this *Darius Nothus* for Epoche of the ſeventy weeks, who as in all good learning he equalled *Scaliger*, ſo in ſolid judgement he was far before him.

The period of *Daniels* weeks not found in the reign of any Perſian King.

91. Now of thoſe two Perſian Princes, who bare the name of *Artaxerxes*, he could not be *Mnemon*, he began to reigne in the third yeare of the ninety third Olympiade, the three hundred forty eighth yeare of Rome. From that yeare unto the Baptiſme of Chriſt, in the thirtieth yeare of his age, be foure hundred thirty foure years; to his death, about foure hundred thirty eight and a halfe; unto his birth but foure hundred and foure: and becauſe the Decree was made in his twentieth yeare, foure hundred twenty foure to his birth, foure hundred fifty foure to his Baptiſme, and to his death foure hundred fifty eight; ſhort of *Daniels* period thirty two yeares, and ſo to be rejected. *Xerxes*, who idly affrighted Greece with his invincible Army, was killed by *Artabanus* the Parthian Lord, in the fourth year of the ſeventy eight Olympiade, and the two hundred eighty eighth yeare of Rome. From the death of *Xerxes*, to the birth of Chriſt, are foure hundred ſixty two yeares, to his Baptiſme foure hundred ninety two. The Decree of *Artaxerxes* was made in the twenti-

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eth of his reigne. From thence to his Baptiſme are foure hundred ſeventy three yeares, to his Paſſion foure hundred ſeventy ſeven and *dimid*', which comes ſhort of ſixty nine weeks, or yeares, foure hundred eighty three, by ſixe yeares, which from the going forth of the Decree, muſt be accompliſhed and run out, before the killing of Meſſias. Upon which premiſſes, it ſeemeth, that the twentieth yeare of *Artaxerxes* with the *long hand*, cannot fall out juſtly with the deſignation of *Daniels* ſeventy weeks. And if not, the juſt period cannot poſſibly be found in the reigne of any Perſian King.

92. Firſt it is not declared, nor ſpecified by the Angel unto what time, or Cardinall work of the Meſſias, the ſeven weeks and ſixty two weeks are to referre; whether to his birth, or his Baptiſme, or his Paſſion. The 24. verſe is a generall ſumme, or compriſure, of things intended to be performed within the compaſſe of the entire Prophecy. *Seventy weeks*, in all, *are determined upon thy people and thy holy City*. Then in more particular in ver. 25. concerning Chriſt. *Know then, underſtand that from the going forth of the word, to build againe Ieruſalem, unto Meßias the Governour, ſhall be ſeven weeks, and threeſcore and two weeks. It ſhall be builded againe, ſtreet and wall, in troubleſome times.* In all ſixty nine weeks to Meſſias, but no more then to Meſſias, Birth, Baptiſme, Death not ſpecified, only Death is not included, but punctually put off till after the expiration of that time. So the *Quare* is, whether the Birth, or Inauguration of Meſſias be meant here. In my opinion, his Baptiſme rather, becauſe the Text is not, to Meſſias, but unto *Meßias the Governour*.

In *Daniels* weeks, no ſpeciall work of the Meſſias mentioned by the Angel.

93. But a little to enlarge. It muſt firſt be taken into conſideration, that this is a Propheticall hiſtory, and Prophecies are accompanied with extenſions, περι τινι, not ever preciſely *at*, or *upon*, but *about* ſuch a time, to be accompliſhed; and therefore they are not to be narrowed, or ſtraitned to an houre, a day, a moneth, or certaine ſet period punctually, but left unto a latitude, or extent. And therefore, though this Prophecy ſhould not, or could not, be brought to fall out preciſely for a yeare, as if juſt ſixty nine weeks muſt be accompliſhed, and then the Meſſias be anointed, yet ought not the accompliſhment, ſo or ſo, be rejected. And yet it may perhaps appeare, that the times of *Artaxerxes* reigne will fall out juſt with the accompliſhment. Againe, it is generally, and indefinitely ſet downe, that theſe ſeventy weeks determined for doing ſo many great works, ſhall be, as occaſion was, in part, or in totall, ſomewhat ſhortned, abridged, or cut off from themſelves, as they are, being ſeverally divided into ſeven weeks, ſixty two weeks, one week; or for determinaon in effects; as the word uſed by the holy Ghoſt, doth ſignifie, which accordingly is expreſſed by the ſeventy Interpreters for the Greek, and the vulgar Tranſlation for the Latine, in *Abbreviata*, made ſhorter by abbreviation, and συντμηθησαν, cut off from being full and compleat; and howſoever later Interpreters uſe *Determinata*, and *Definita*, which referres unto the reſolved purpoſe of God,

Prophecies not to be limited to an houre.

without alteration; yet that croſſeth not with abbreviation, but confirmes it rather, reſolving the whole, and every part thereof, which admits, that in the whole, and in each part, there may be an abbreviation, which is ſo particularly declared in the laſt week. *In halfe that week, he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice to ceaſe.* And in the corps of the Revelation, two great and notable occurrencies divided in time, are alſo diſtinguiſhed in declaration. The rebuilding of Jeruſalem by Royall Edict. The revealing, anointing, killing of the Meſſias, who was to come, for thoſe employments remembred, *ver.* 24. *To end ſin, make reconciliation, ſet up righteouſneſſe everlaſting, ſeale up Viſion and Prophecy.* All aſſigned for, and fulfilled by our Saviour in the dayes of his Incarnation. For building of Jeruſalem, which is ſpecified onely in this Edict, wherein there is no mention of the Temple, ſeven weeks, or forty nine yeares are abbreviated, or determined, and then ſixty two weeks, or foure hundred thirty foure yeares, abbreviated alſo; both to iſſue from one roote, which is *Exitus Sermonis*, The going forth of the Word, or Decree to build Jeruſalem againe, in the twentieth of *Artaxerxes*; which was the laſt work to be performed upon Jeruſalem, after returne of the people from Captivity.

What followed the death of Meſſias.

94. Next comes the determination of the ſecond part, ending in the death of Meſſias; after which act, the people ſhall be cut off and caſt away, the City and Sanctuary laid waſt, the Temple demoliſhed by the Captaine of that people, which ſhall come, meaning the Romane Army with *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, who brought upon the Jews, deſolation, as a Floud, a ſweeping deſolation, to continue to the end of time, that heaven and earth be no more. After then the declaration of this Perſian Decree, within the ſpace of forty nine yeares, Jeruſalem was to be built, walled, fortified, ſtrengthened, made a defenſible City, as it was by *Nehemias* in his life time; before the full expiring of ſixty two weeks more, or foure hundred thirty foure yeares, Meſſias muſt have been *come*, been *manifeſted*, been *anointed* from heaven, as he was really at his Baptiſme, by the viſible deſcent of the holy Ghoſt upon him: upon which anointing, he was to confirme the Covenant with many, for one week, all that were appointed to eternall life, amongſt the *loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael.* This he performed by his Preaching for the ſpace of three yeares and an halfe, at the end of which *halfe week* he was to be killed; where by that one oblation of himſelfe, once offered, he made a full, perfect, ſacrifice, oblation and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole world; by which oblation ſo made, he finiſhed, conſummated, and aboliſhed all Leviticall Sacrifices, and Service for ever, aboliſhing ſin, conquering death, cancelling the bond and obligation of mankind unto the Devil, in faſtning it unto his Croſſe.

95. Now for the accompliſhment of theſe ſeverall performances, and conſummation of all at once. In the thirtieth yeare beginning of his life, our Saviour was baptized by *Iohn* in Jordan; this

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is unqueſtionable: and for the day, the ſixth of *Ianuary*, it cannot be controverted, being the Tradition of the Catholique Church. It was in the fifteenth yeare of *Tiberius Caſar*, *Luke* 3. who began upon the death of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, in *Auguſt*, in which yeare were the two *Gemini*, *Caius Rubellius*, and *C. Fuſius* Conſuls. From thence foure hundred eighty foure, or ſeven weeks, and ſixty two weeks. They were Conſuls in the ſeven hundred eighty ſecond yeare of Rome. From thence to the going forth of the Edict, foure hundred eighty foure yeares muſt be expired, which will fall upon the three hundredth yeare of Rome, the third of the eighty firſt Olympiad; upon which yeare the Decree muſt paſſe out, and that yeare muſt be the twentieth of *Artaxerxes* with the *long hand*: to make all agree, *Artaxerxes* began to reigne after the death of his Father *Xerxes*, ſlaine by *Artabanus*, which was, ſaith *Diodorus Siculus*, in the two hundred and ninetieth yeare of Rome, the firſt of the ſeventy ninth Olympiad, foure hundred ſixty two yeares ſaith *Petavius*, before the birth of Chriſt; but this will fall out but the tenth of *Artaxerxes*.

A cuſtome amongſt the Perſians for the Son to reigne with his Father.

96. To this I anſwer, The yeares of *Artaxerxes* have a double Epoche, the one from the death of his Father, which was but ten yeares before the three hundredth yeare of Rome, in which *Daniels* weeks are ſet, and ſo the Text ſhould be in *Nehemias* his tenth, not his twentieth yeare; or from the Epoche, ἀπὸ ὅτε ἐβασίλευσε, of his originall reigne with his Father, in the two hundred ſeventy ninth yeare of Rome: for it was an ordinary cuſtome with the Perſian Princes, and for the moſt part in all the Eaſt, The ſon to reigne with the Father, ſo did *Cambyſes* with *Cyrus*, *Xerxes* with *Darius*, *Nabuchodonoſor* with *Nabopolaſſar*, and our *Henry* the ſecond Crowned his ſon Co-King together with him. From hence it came, that *Cteſias* gives *Cambyſes* eighteen yeares of reigning; or as *Clemens Alexandrinus* writes, nineteen yeares, who yet reigned ſole after his Fathers death, but eight yeares compleat, or nine current, which is ground of thoſe eighteen or nineteen yeares given him. And this was a cuſtome in Syria, and Iſrael derived thence: *Soloman* was anointed in *Davids* life time. By which, and no other meanes, can the different yeares, allotted in Scripture to ſome Kings, be compoſed, unleſſe it be granted that they reigned together with their Fathers. That this is not *gratis dictum* concerning the Kings of Perſia, is cleared by *Herodotus*, concerning *Xerxes*, left ſo by his Father *Darius*. *Darius* intending a voyage againſt the Athenians, and Egypt, there happened a bitter and violent conteſtation betwixt his ſons about the Regency in his abſence. For according to the Perſian Law and Cuſtome, he was to nominate and deſigne his ſucceſſor before he ſet forward upon any journey. This being ſo evidenced by the teſtimony of *Herodotus*, I wonder it could paſſe from *M. Livelies* pen, a man of that learning and judgement, as I know he was, *Let the Records of all Hiſtories be ſought, for the whole time of the Perſian Monarchy from the beginning to the end,*

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it ſhall never be found, that the Father, and his Son reigned together.

Who *Themiſtocles* was.

97. This Perſian practiſe ſo by them obſerved, as hath been inſtanced, reconcileth a diſſention, *inter* ancient Hiſtorians, concerning *Themiſtocles* that renowned Athenian, his retiring unto the King of Perſia, being exiled by his moſt unworthy and ungratefull Countrymen. *Plutarch* in the life of *Themiſtocles*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others relate, that he being forced to abandon his Country, and flie for his life, was alſo forced to retire himſelfe unto the King of Perſia, for reliefe and ſuccour, whom he, in that great invaſion made by *Xerxes*, and memorable delivery of Greece from bondage, had defeated, which fell out in the ſecond yeare of the ſeventy ſeventh Olympiade, in the ſixteenth yeare of *Xerxes*, ſixe yeares before hee was murthered by *Artabanus*, in the beginning of the fourth, or end of the third yeare of the ſeventy eighth Olympiad. *Ephorus*, *Dinon*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides* and *Diodorus* relate, that *Themiſtocles* put himſelfe upon *Xerxes*, but as *Plutarch* reporteth, *Charon Lampſacenus*, and *Thucydides*, caſt him upon *Artaxerxes* ſon of *Xerxes*, then King, then newly come to be King, Ἐπεμψε γραμματα πρὸς Βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου, τοτε νεωστὶ Βασιλεύοντα; He wrote Letters to *Artaxerxes*, ſon of *Xerxes*, newly made King; where it is not ſaid, that he was newly made King after his Fathers death. *Plutarch* indeed hath it, Τεθνηκότος τοῦ Ξέρξου, *Xerxes* being dead, and fathereth it falſly upon *Thucydides*, who hath it not, ſaith no more but that *Themiſtocles* wrote Letters to *Artaxerxes*: it was *Plutarchs* addition and miſtake, that he fled to *Artaxerxes*, his Father *Xerxes* being lately dead; to *Artaxerxes* lately made King, might be true, and was ſo done, his Father yet living; who had ſet a price upon *Themiſtocles* head, of two hundred Talents, to any man that could take him: which money he gave to *Themiſtocles* himſelf, when he voluntarily preſented himſelfe, moved with an honourable reſpect unto that famous man. It may be *Charon Lampſacenus* ſaid no otherwiſe then *Thucydides*, but of him we can ſay nothing, his works being loſt. Certain we are, *Thucydides* ſaith not, what *Plutarch* puts upon him. *Æmylius Probus* miſtook, or falſifies *Thucydides*, as well as doth *Plutarch*, *Scio pleroſq; ita ſcripſiſſe, Themiſtoclem Xerxe regnante in Aſiam tranſiiſſe, ſed ego potiſſimùm Thucydidi credo eò quòd ætate proximus erat.* And ſo doe I, though not for that cauſe. Nearneſſe is no infallible ſigne of truth. But I ſay withall, he needed not have ſaid ſo. *Thucydides* doth not croſſe thoſe *Pleroſq;*, Hiſtorians all of eminency, and *Dinon* purpoſedly writing in particular *Perſica*, the hiſtory of Perſian Princes. It is ordinary in all Stories to fall and be put upon different roots of time, and ſo with different relations in Story, which muſt be taken as they were intended, and ſo be reconciled, not ſet out at farther oddes when there is no cauſe. *Diodorus Siculus*, that generall Bibliothec, who had ſearched and read to purpoſe, all Stories extant before his time, caſteth the exiling and flight of *Themiſtocles*, upon the ſecond yeare of the ſeventy ſeventh Olympiad, the two hundred eighty ſecond yeare of Rome. It is again objected,

jected, *Artaxerxes* was not eldeſt ſon, *Xerxes* had two other, both elder, and therefore could not, as heire, reigne with his Father. I anſwer. He had two other ſons, *Darius* and *Hyſtaſpes*, but not both elder, *Hyſtaſpes* was younger, *Darius* elder then *Artaxerxes*, but born in *domo privata*, before his Father was King, and ſo, by the Law at leaſt of Perſia, uncapable of the Crown; and ſo *Xerxes* himſelf, Father to theſe brethren, came to be preferred before his elder brother *Artabazenes*, upon the mature reſolution of his Father and the Nobility of Perſia, as *Herodotus* writeth. So *Xerxes* reigne had two beginnings, the one in the life time of his Father *Darius*, the other after his death, when he reigned alone: And ſo had *Artaxerxes* reigne two beginnings, the one, living yet his Father, the other after his death. Alone he reigned forty years, but with his Father forty ſix, and ſome moneths: None of the Perſian Kings attaining forty yeares, but himſelfe, and that other *Artaxerxes*.

98. Thus all ſcruples removed, and doubts with objections cleared, no other Perſian Kings reigne according, no not with the many ſtretchings of Story, we have brought the juſt period of *Daniels* ſeventy weeks home, the moſt memorable Prophecy of our Saviour, for the full accompliſhment every way. Meſſias the Prince is none but he. Novellers, and Rabbins may goe ſeek their Jewiſh Governour, if they knew where, when, or whom. Meſſias hath three ſpeciall characters aſſigned: his Anointing from heaven at his Baptiſme, which was his Inauguration, or Manifeſtation to be ſuch; his killing at his Paſſion not for himſelfe, but for others, for he bought us with that price of his bloud, ſhed for the ſins of the whole world; his confirming the Covenant for half a week with many, whom by his preaching he prepared a People ſelect to the God of their Fathers. This was all delivered by the Angel to *Daniel*, within ſeventy weeks or foure hundred and ninety years after a time by him deſigned, the Decree of a Perſian King to rebuild and wall Jeruſalem, which Decree was never made but to *Nehemias*, in the twentieth yeare of a Perſian Kings reigne under whom he lived. This Perſian King could not be *Darius Nothus*, as *Scaliger* dreamt, and others with him, for he never came to the twentieth yeare of his reigne; one of the *Artaxerxes* it needs muſt be; *Memor* it was not, the times will not accord: *Macrochir* it was, as that learned and induſtrious *Petavius* rightly hath it, ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας, reckoned from his reigning with his Father *Xerxes*, which falls juſt to be foure hundred and ninety yeares, abating as the Angels warrants, half the laſt week or ſeven years of thoſe ſeventy. And though it may ſeeme *Nehemias* his age could not ſo fall out, becauſe from the twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, to the time of *Alexander* whereto *Nehemias* attained, are about a hundred twenty two yeares, and he was in all probability twenty years old when the Decree was made; It is no objection of value, if all be granted, for at the ſame time lived *Eſdras*, to whom the third Decree was made by the ſame Prince, who was of the children of the Captivity, ſon to *Seraias*, younger

The accompliſhment of *Daniels* weeks, the characters of the Meſſias.

younger brother to *Iosedec* then deported, muſt be as old, if not elder then he. A hundred and forty years for a mans life, is not ordinary, but a wonder, yet we have read and ſeene of farre later times, men of as great or greater age, to goe no further then our owne Country. *Ingulf* relates, that at one time, there lived in the Abbey of *Croyland* three Monks, whoſe names he remembers, and in generall ſtyles them *Sampectas*, whereof one lived 115. yeares, another 146. and a third 160. Of late yeares the old Counteſſe of *Deſmond*, I take it, in *Ireland*, S. *Walter Rawleigh* is the reporter, whom he ſaw, that was married in *Edward* the fourths time: A Parſon in *Bedfordſhire* died ſince 1607. who was made Prieſt in *Richard* the thirds time. I my ſelf knew one Mother *Milton*, in *Windſore* Foreſt, who lived welnigh 140. years: And all *England* takes notice of *Robert Parr*, above 160. who died the laſt yeare. So that nothing hinders, but the iſſue of the Prophecy may be as is fixed. Many other ſpeciall predictions of Meſſias in Scripture, from *Moſes* downward, might be added, eſpecially from the *Pſalmes*, *Eſay*, *Zachariah*, *Micah*, eminent and remarkable ones, perſonally fulfilled, in, and by our Saviour, ſo manifeſtly told, as if they had then been actually performed, but they are obvious and unqueſtionable. What was Gods diſpenſation with the Gentiles abroad, in this very point of Revelation, would be alſo looked into, eſpecially it ſo near concerning the ſtate, the Acts and Monuments of the Church before Chriſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Sibylls.

THE SUMMARIE.

PARAG.

1 *THe myſterie of the Incarnation revealed by Prophets both to the Jews and Gentiles.*

2 *How true Religion was revealed to the Gentiles.*

3 *S.* Auguſtines *opinion concerning the Gentiles Prophecie of Chriſt.*

4 *The Objection out of S.* Paul, *anſwered.*

5 *The diverſe ſorts of Prophets among the Gentiles.*

6 *The difference of Prophecies.*

7 *The Tranſlation of the Septuagint. The Gentiles knew part of the Scriptures before that.*

8 *The Gentiles learned their knowledge of the Jews.*

9 *How ſome of the learned Gentiles gained their credit.*

10 *The ſeverall kinds of the moſt famous Magicians.*

11 *Their ſects, and how they were inſpired.*

12 *A particular recitall of their eminent Magicians.*

13 Balaam, *his Countrey, kindred, perſon, end, &c.*

14 *By what power he wrought.*

15 Tertullians *opinion concerning him.*

16 *His Prophecies concerning Chriſt.*

17 *His Prophecie of the Star of* Jacob, *how it deſcended to the* Magi *in our Saviours time.*

18 Hydaſpes, *or* Hyſtaſpis, *a Pagan Prophet.*

19 *The Hiſtorie of* Triſmegiſtus.

20 *The Egyptian learning.*

21 *Their Metaphyſicks, or Theologie.*

22 *Concerning* Triſmegiſtus, *out of* Suidas.

23 Triſmegiſtus *his Booke, ſtyled* Pœmander.

24. & 25. *That it was not fathered upon him by a Chriſtian.*

26 *Something added about the former ſubject. The matter of the firſt Paragr. concluded.*

27 *Whether* Triſmegiſtus *himſelfe penned* Pœmander, *or no.*

28 *Who it was that penned it, and how ancient.*

29 *The Sibyls Prophecies moſt famous among the Pagans.*

30 *Their denomination, condition, and ſtyle.*

31 *Their number.*

32 Sibylla Delphica *the firſt, her hiſtorie.*

33 Sibylla Erythræa *the ſecond, her hiſtorie.*

34 Sibylla Samia *the third, the fourth* Cumana, *her hiſtorie.*

35 *The fift* Cumæa, *or* Cimmeria, *her hiſtorie.*

36 *The ſixt* Helleſpontiaca *or* Trojana, *the ſeventh* Lesbica, *the eighth* Phrygia, *the ninth* Tiburtina, *the tenth* Perſica, *or* Chaldæa: *to which many others are added.*

37 *Concerning* Sibylla Cumæa *and her Prophecies.*

38 Sibylla Cumæa *lived not in* Tarquins *time.*

39 *The Oracles preſerved in the Capitoll, not the ſame which were preſented to* Tarquin.

40 *Gods providence in the collection of theſe*

theſe Oracles, which could not be forged by Chriſtians.

41 *Why the Fathers uſed them; Gods and the Romans end in them.*

42 *The difference betweene the Oracles burnt in the Capitoll, and thoſe cited by* Cicero *and* Virgil.

43 Sibylla Antiqua *in* Juſt. Mart. *was not* Beroſus *his daughter.*

44 Juſt. Mart. *corrupted. Who that Sibyll was.*

45 *The Sibyls no Virgins; they were inſpired by God.*

46 *S.* Auſtins *opinion concerning Pagan Prophets.*

47 *God ſpake by the Sibyls though wicked, and not the Devil.*

48 *What a Prophet is. The Jewiſh Prophets.*

49. & 50. *How God inſpired Prophets. S.* Auſtins *opinion concerning it, defended.*

51 *S.* Baſils *opinion reconciled to that of S.* Auſtin.

52 *Concerning Seers. The difference of Prophecies.*

53 *How Gods Prophets prophecied, and how the Devils.*

54 *Proved by S.* Baſil *and S.* Chryſoſt. *that Gods Prophets were not enraged.*

55. & 56. *S.* Baſils *opinion proſecuted.*

57 *The queſtion ſtated by* Philo's *diſtinction of Ecſtaſies.*

58 Tertullian *and S.* Baſil *reconciled in this point.*

59 *The Devil imitates the Rites of Gods ſervice.*

60. & 61. *He imitates likewiſe his Prophets.*

62 *The difference betweene Gods, and the Devils Prophets.*

63 *The Sibyls Prophecies no fictions.*

64 *That they prophecied by divine inſpiration.*

65 *Which of them inſpired by* GOD, *and which not.*

66 *Why the Fathers uſed the Sibyls Authority.*

67 *S.* Pauls *not mentioning of them, make them no fictions.*

68 *All that Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſpake is not written, and many things are loſt which were written.*

69 Baronius *vindicated. How Pagan teſtimonies may be uſed in matters of faith.*

70 Clemens *defended againſt* Scaliger. *Antiquity extolled.*

71 Scaligers *objection of old confuted by* Lactantius.

72 *A Critick cenſured, whoſe name is ſuppreſſed.*

73 *Heretiques fictions condemned of old; but not ſo the Sibyls Oracles.*

74 *Theſe Oracles could not be forged but by the Apoſtles or their Diſciples, if by any Chriſtians.*

75 *S.* Auguſtines *cenſure of all kind of lies.*

76 Juſt. Martyrs *and the old Churches cenſure of lies.*

77 *The expreſneſſe of the Sibyls Oracles doth not prove them to be forgeries.*

78 *The Gentiles Prophecies more expreſſe then the Jewiſh.*

79 Juſt. Martyrs *teſtimony of the Sibyls, vindicated.*

80 *The learning and piety of theſe Oracles, are no argument that they are forged.*

81 Sibylla Erythræa's *Oracle.*

82 *The ſumme of that Oracle, by* Lactantius.

83 Conſtantines *teſtimony of the ſame.* Cicero's *opinion of it.*

84 *God ſent Prophets to the Jews and Gentiles.* Juſt. Mart. *and S.* Auguſtines *opinion of them.*

The concluſion of this Chapter concerning Sibyls.

THe counſell and purpoſe of God from Eternity, for the Redemption of the world by our Saviour, was diverſe wayes, and in different ſort, foretold by Prophets, amongſt the Jews, whom God raiſed up, inſpired and ſent unto that people from time to time. Nor was it utterly and altogether kept ſecret from the Gentiles. It ſtood not with

with the goodneſſe and wiſedome of God, abſolutely and totally, to deprive them of all manner knowledge and apprehenſion of the meanes which he had appointed for their ſometime *happineſſe* to come, whereof at length they were to be made partakers. God was indeed *Deus appropinquans*, more neare approaching unto, and more familiarly converſing with the Jews, his ſometime *Choſen out*, and *ſelected People*, then unto the Gentiles, whom he ſuffered to walk in their owne wayes; yet did he not altogether abandon up, and leave the Gentiles without direction, revelation, inſtruction. *They had*, ſaith *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Prophets ſent unto them of their owne, anſwerable to their apprehenſion, and capacities, by whom he would bring to the knowledge of himſelfe, the beſt and moſt approved amongſt them.* Gods diſpenſations of mercy, goodneſſe, and the like, are in due proportion ever anſwerable unto, and fitted for, the meaſure of mans capacity. The Gentiles had not the meaſure of the Jews, but a meaſure, and *dimenſum* they had aſſigned to them. God did not leave himſelf altogether without teſtimony and evidence, even amongſt them, who became fooliſh in the vanity of their owne wayes. *From the firſt beginning*, ſaith *Auguſtine*, *and firſt birth of mankinde, though ſometime in more hidden, reſerved, and involved manner, ſometime in more perſpicuous and revealed ſort, as his heavenly wiſedome thought it fit and and convenient for divers ſeaſons, he was evermore Prophecied of and beleeved in, from Adam ſucceſſively unto Moſes, both in Iſrael, a people by ſpeciall diſpenſation myſticall, viſited by Propheticall indowments, and alſo in and amongſt other Nations, before the Incarnation of our Saviour.*

Strom. 6 p. 2[illegible].

Epiſt. 49. qu.

2. How God in particular, to what ends, in what meaſure thus imparted himſelfe unto the Gentiles, it is known demonſtratively to himſelfe alone. He is not tied, nor confined ſtraitly to any one courſe, but hath moe wayes then one to effect it by. Ἑτέρως θεὸς διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων, *God*, ſaith *Epiphanius*, *hath ſaved man many wayes. Multis modis, nobis miris.* It is not againſt piety or faith at all, which *Dionyſius Areopagita* hath, that Angels ſet over, and appointed preſidents of Countries, as Perſia, Babylon, and the like; out of a deſire, and affection which they have unto our good, and to promote the Kingdome and Glory of God Almighty, doe uſe to ſuggeſt unto thoſe Nations, by men, the better ſort of men amongſt them, a knowledge of the true and onely God, the wayes of Honeſty, Truth, Pietie; wherein, at leaſt ſometimes, they doe prevaile with ſome men, whom God indoweth with more then common or ordinary meanes, in ſome tranſcendent and ſpeciall ſort. *Non lege atq; doctrinâ ſonante forinſecus*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *ſed internâ atq; mirabili, ac ineffabili poteſtate operans, in cordibus hominum, non ſolùm veras revelationes, ſed etiam bonas voluntates. Not that he cauſeth the doctrine of the Law, or ſalvation, to be publiſhed unto their eares outwardly, but working in their hearts inwardly, good wils and diſpoſitions by internall, wonderfull, and unutterable*

How true Religion was revealed to the Gentiles.

De Eccleſia Hierar. cap. 9.

Πρὸς ταύτην ἀπῆρεν τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ὃν τρόπον ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἱεραρχοῦντες ἄγγελοι.

De gra. Chri. Lib. 1. cap. 24.

rable meanes, or revelations. Whereof *Iuſtin Martyr* giveth large inſtance, in his exhortation to the Gentiles.

S. *Auguſtines* opinion concerning the Gentiles prophecy of Chriſt. *De Ciu. Dei. Lib.* 18 *ca.* 47.

3. And therefore S. *Auguſtines* reſolution is this, *What ſtranger borne ſoever, and not of Iſrael, nor by the Iews received into the number of Canonicall Writers, hath Prophetically delivered any thing concerning Chriſt, when we have notice and information of any ſuch, we may well put him in upon our account, and to make up our number of teſtimonies; not becauſe we ſtand in need of his witneſſe, and ſo, if we had him not, were defective in our proofes, but for this cauſe, that it may conveniently be thought, that unto ſome men, in other Nations beſide the Iews, this myſtery hath alſo been revealed, that thoſe men have been driven to diſcover and reveale this myſtery, either by participation of the ſame grace with the Prophets, amongſt Iews, or without any ſuch indowments, by information from evill Angels, who, as we know, did confeſſe Ieſus Chriſt Incarnate, to be the Sonne of God, whom for ſuch, the Iews, nor would nor did acknowledge.*

The Obiection out of S. *Paul*, anſwered.

4. And if it be objected, that in thoſe times of old, God was known in Jury onely, and his name was great in Iſrael alone; the Heathen had no knowledge of his Lawes: we anſwer, firſt, that in the *Pſalme* it is not, *God* was *onely knowne in Iury*, but in a generality, *Knowne in Iury*; that is eminently, in a peculiar ſort, ſo known in Jury, as no where elſe: which, ſecondly, is explained by that which followes, *His name is great in Iſrael*; ſo known, that his name was great. For otherwiſe his name was in all the world, amongſt Pagans, in times of greateſt alienation. And therefore it is parallel, for the time of Revelation, that *Magnũ in Gentibus nomen ejus.* Thirdly, that part, *The Heathen had no knowledge of his Lawes*, muſt be underſtood of the written Law; and ſecondly, in compariſon of the Jews. Not ſuch knowledge as they had, not ſo cleare and eminent, not by ordinary meanes, as had the Jews. Some knowledge they had in ſome meaſure, conferred upon ſome men, diſpoſed and aſſigned according to courſe of Gods diſpenſation with them. There was no whole Nation, as then, Gods people, beſide the Jews; but amongſt other Nations, ſome men there were ſometime, who did belong unto that *Ieruſalem above*, as Citizens thereof, and fellow-ſubjects with Gods holy Saints: which is in termes, S. *Auguſtines* aſſertion; *Populus reverà, qui propriè Dei populus diceretur, nullus alius fuit: homines autem quoſdam, non terrenâ ſed cœleſti ſocietate, ad veros Iſraelitas, ſuperna Cives Patriæ, pertinentes, etiam in aliis Gentibus fuiſſe, negare non poſſunt*; which he particularly proveth by bleſſed *Iob*, who was not of *Iſrael*, but *Eſau*.

Auguſt. ibid.

The diverſe ſorts of Prophets among the Gentiles.

5. The Prophets of the Gentiles, by whom God and his counſels in ſome ſort were made known unto the Gentiles, even that his chiefe and principall work of wonder, the ſending of his Son into the world, were not all of one ſtate, condition, or indowment. Some of them were but Conjecturers and no more; others, Relators or pretending to be ſuch as they were not; others Wizards and Sorcerers,

rers, working by, and concurring with evill Spirits. Some immediately acted by God, which might well be in a twofold manner and course: *Impellente Spiritu*, the Spirit forcing them to speak, either what they would not, or what they knew not; or *Spiritu insidente*, the Internall grace of the Spirit directing them willingly, and knowingly.

The difference of Prophecies.

6. Prophecy is not all of one and the same assise, either originally for the Author, and Authority of Revelation; or dispensatorily, for the manner and deportment in delivery. So some were but Relators onely, of what they had *read* or *heard*; which might be, either in the works and writings of the Seers of Israel, or by conversing with, and information from some of Gods people, Prophets, and servants, who had their instructions by and from, either God himselfe, or intimation of his holy Angels. Many did purloin, and steale their seeming Predictions from the Prophets, whose writings were publique, and extant amongst the Jews, and had Canonicall authority amongst that people long before all, or most of Pagan Prophets and Sibyls had any being in the world. And from the writings of those Prophets, the Pagans might take those passages, obscurely delivered, not well apprehended or understood by themselves, and therefore by them also ambiguously transmitted, as they were.

The Translation of the Septuagint. The Gentiles knew part of the Scriptures before that.

7. The Scriptures were translated into Greek by the seventy Elders, for *Ptolome Philadelphus* King of Egypt, three hundred yeares before the birth of Christ; and probable it is, that before that time, some part of them at least, had been read of, and were made known unto some of the neighbouring Countreys, as to the Sidonians, Tyrians, Phœnicians, Syrians, and also to the Persians, Medes, Babylonians, through occasion of commerce or transmigration. *Eusebius* relateth concerning this thing in the eighth Book *De Præpar. Euangel. c.* 5. and so likewise *Iosephus*, out of *Aristeas*, who hath written the Story of the LXX. Interpreters, and their Translation; by whom it is remembred, that *Theopompus*, an Historian of great name, presuming to insert into his Storie something out of sacred Scripture, which therefore he must needs have read, became thereupon distracted of his wits, for thirty dayes: then having some *lucida intervalla*, when he came to himselfe, and his right wits, he earnestly besought God to let him know the cause of his Lunacy; which by dreame was revealed unto him to be, because he would divulge and make common some part of holy Writ. Upon which information he spunged it out of his writings, and so presently he became perfectly hole. The like is said to have happened to one *Theodectes*, a Tragick Poet. So that anciently, even before the Septuagint, Scripture, some part thereof, was translated into Greek, and in the hands of some, at least learned Pagans. Whereupon *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, both elder then *Eusebius*,

Διότι μέλλων τινὰ τῶν θεοπεμπτικῶν ἐπεκβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸν λόγον θεσπρεπῆ, ταραχθεὶς λέβης τ διανοίας, πλείους ἡμέρας διέκειτο· καὶ ἡ αὐτὸν ἐξελάσασα τ Θεὸν, ταχὺς αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι τινὸς χάριν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἔδει. Διὸ ἀνέῳξε μαθόντα ὅτι τὰ θεῖα ζηλοῖ ἀνεῤῥαβδώτους, εἰς κοινὰς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιφέειν ἀπορρήτων ἡ, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγείη.

due directly charge the Pagans with filching and purloining from ſacred Scripture. So that, even for, in, and concerning the caſe in queſtion, it is not improbable, but notice was given and taken too, and by ſome Pagans, out of Jewiſh Prophecies, at leaſt, in which they were but meere narrators, reporting that which they had heard or read of otherwhere.

The Gentiles learned their knowledge of the Jews.

8. In which kind eſpecially, and to which purpoſe, were the Chaldean Wizards, Egyptian Prieſts, and Hierophantæ, who are confeſſed by all Grecian Writers of Learning, but that Rapſodiſt, *Diogenes Laertius*, to have beene the great Patriarchs and firſt Founders of Arts, Sciences, and Philoſophie, wherein they ſo excelled afterwards. And undoubtedly they had all their learning of this kind, eſpecially that part which concerned God, heaven, and heavenly things, from the elder Patriarchs after *Noah*, but chiefly from *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Iacob*, *Ioſeph*, *Moſes*; who lived amongſt the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phenicians, and had their converſation in thoſe parts, as had Iſrael with their poſterity in ſucceeding ages.

How ſome of the learned Gentiles gained their credit

9. From Egypt and Chaldea, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Muſæus*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, and others, profeſſe they received their Divinity, as they called it, who ſometime deliver ſtrange doctrines and concluſions touching ſome points, even of *our moſt holy faith*, but cloathed in forreigne ſheep-skins, to which meere Naturaliſts could never attaine, nor deliver from any grounds, by any evidence or power of ſole nature, being ſuch as extend far beyond the card and compaſſe of ordinary cauſes, and courſe of nature: But ſome ſeeming Narrators, were originally, and ἀφ' ἑστίας, as they ſay, at home, bare conjecturers and no more, that out of ſearch, diſquiſition, diſcourſe upon probable reaſon, have given ſhrewd gueſſes, with great likelihood, and often with verification in event, at conſequencies of things out of antecedents; at diſpoſitions, inclinations, affections of men; at ſucceſſe, proceſſe, end of ſome things. And although they erred often in their prognoſticating declarations, yet hitting right ſometimes, as needs they muſt, For, *Quem ſæpè tranſit caſus, aliquando invenit*, even here, as ſome Empericks or Quackſalvers by fortunately curing of ſome ſpent or worne diſeaſe, get themſelves a name, or as the ſaying is, Credit and Crownes; ſo have ſome men amongſt the Pagans, of ſearching heads, good naturall parts, deep inſight, very curious, punctuall, and obſervant in their ſpeculations, by conſidering and adviſing ſeriouſly of naturall cauſes and effects, by laying Antecedents unto Conſequents, in neceſſary, but obſcure, or fortuitous occurrences, in order of nature and courſe of time, got opinion and reputation of being Prophets, Foretellers, Wizards, Foreſeers, Soothſayers, with the common people, ignorant, credulous, and admirative. Ἰσχὺς, ἐκ παρθένου Σαμουὴλ, They prove in account as *Samuels* and Seers from the Cradle. *Non eſt enim conſilium in vulgo.* Men for the *major* part are of no great faculty to diſcerne of ſpirits, but commonly ſtand at gaze, and out of admiration eſpecially, if one take

take the hint, they follow like a Heard of Deere, or Flock of Sheep, and admiration ſoone admits of conceit, that ſomething more then ordinary, or humane is in them whom they admire. Such were, and yet be, in *Luce literarum*, Figure flingers, Fortune-tellers, Starre-gazers, Aſtrologers, Genethliaques, Palmiſters, Phyſiognomiſts, and the like. Dearth, and Scarcity, Famine, and Plenty, Cheapneſſe, Abundance, Peſtilence, were ſometime ſo foretold amongſt the Grecians, by *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Epimenides*, *Hippocrates*. The ordinary, and now frequent Eclipſes of Sun and Moone, neceſſarily depending upon naturall cauſes in courſe of kind, unleſſe the courſe of nature be croſſed by omnipotent diſpenſation, are to the unlearned as a miracle, who cannot conceive, that it may be foretold, but by a Conjurer, or the Black Art, as they call it. Of theſe kinds, or not much unlike to theſe were many Prophecies & Predictions of things among the ancient Pagans: meer conjectures, or the like.

10. But there were alſo many of different courſe, and diverſe ſtyle and title, *Maleſici*, Malefactors, who uſed indeed, and not bare opinion, *Curious arts*, as the Scripture calleth them, ſuch as *Elymas* and *Simon* the Samaritan were, Soothſayers, Augures, Aruſpices, Wiſards, Conjurers, Witches, Necryomanties, Invocators of Devils, having Familiar Spirits, Paredros, Aſſiſters to, or Walkers with them. Such dealt with, and wrought by the Devill, the power of Belzebub, as they charge our Saviour. From him they took and imparted to others, informations of things to come, by his confederacy they wrought wonders, indeed ſtrange and extraordinary operations, both upon man and beaſts. Such were *Iannes* and *Iambres*, and their fellow Magicians of Egypt, who oppoſed *Moſes*; ſuch was the Witch of Endor, that called up the Devill in *Samuels* likeneſſe; *Simon Magus* and *Elymas*, againſt *Peter* and *Paul*; and in ſucceeding times Apoſtolicall, *Ebion*, *Menander*, *Elxai*: but eſpecially, and beyond all, that grand impoſtor, *Apollonius* of *Tyana*, whoſe life in eight Books is extant, written by *Philoſtratus*; whom for his miracles, that impious wretch *Hierocles* compared with our Saviour. Such were moſt an end the Prieſts of Oracles amongſt the Pagans, the Bacides of Beotia, the Prophets at Delphos, Claros, Ammon; the Dodonean Doves, *Amphiaraus*, *Mopſus*, *Amphilytus*, and infinite others. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that ancient Writer neare the Apoſtles time, and great Chriſtian Polymatheſt, in the firſt of his Stromats, reckoneth up and reciteth by name, a multitude of many Ages, Countries, Conditions, private perſons, men, women, and whole families, as the *Ianuda* of Elis, the *Polyidei* of Argos, and ſometimes whole Cities, as the *Telmiſſenſes* in *Arrhianus*.

The ſeverall kindes of the moſt famous Magicians.

11. It was a part of the profeſſion of the Prieſts and Religious, or Naturaliſts and Philoſophers of many Nations. The Britaine and French Druides, or Saronides, the Germane ἁγνὰς γυναῖκας, or holy women, the Hyperborean Opides, the Indian Brachmans, Calani, and Sarmanæ, the Æthiopian Gymnoſophiſts, the Samanæi amongſt

Their ſects, and how they were inſpired.

the Bactrians; the Chaldæi, Magi, Magaſæi, the Hierophantæ, Prophetæ, amongſt the Egyptians, Perſians, and Aſſyrians; all theſe being Sects, Schooles, and Profeſſions of learning, were more or leſſe, Wizards, Diviners, and foretellers of things to come. Αλλ' οἱ μὲν κλεπται παντες καὶ λῃσται, *They were all Thieves and Robbers*, ſaith *Clemens*, as the Scripture calleth them. The greater part of their predictions were meere obſervations, (ἐκ παρατηρήσεως) and bare conjectures, (ἐξ εἰκότων) ſuch as Phyſitians, Palmiſters, and Phyſiognomiſts uſe. Some of them were moved, and incited by the Devill; others were enraged, with vapours, fumes, water, ayre, formerly infected and troubled by ſpirits: who therefore ſpake and uttered the things which themſelves underſtood not, and when they had delivered their Enthuſiaſmes, looked no more after them, nor cared what became of them, as the Poet himſelfe obſerveth concerning *Sibylla*, and her predictions: *Inconſulta abeunt, ſedemq; odere Sibylla.* And yet as *Caiaphas* did Prophetically ſpeak he knew not what, God directing what he ſaid to his own counſels and purpoſes; ſo did thoſe Enthuſiaſts amongſt the Pagans deliver that by Gods direction, ſometime one way, ſometime another, whereof they had no notice or apprehenſion.

*Æn.l.*3.445.

A particular recitall of their eminent Magicians.

12. But of this more anon. Now we come to take a particular view of ſome more eminent ones amongſt the Pagans, who delivered unto them, the Things, Counſels, and Wayes of God; theſe are remembred to have been *Balaam*, *Hyſtaſpes*, or *Hydaſpes*, *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, and eſpecially, and above all, the *Sibylls*, as they were called.

Balaam, his Country, kindred, perſon, end, &c.

13. I wonder that *Baronius*, taking occaſion to ſpeak of ſuch Prophets, as amongſt Pagans, and Gentile-Idololaters did foretell any thing concerning Chriſt and his Kingdome, ſaid nothing at all of *Balaam*, a famous Wizard in the world, and of high account in his time, and memorable upon Scripture record unto this day, both in the old, and the new Teſtament. He is ſaid to have been native of *Meſopotamia*, to have come from *the mountaines of the Eaſt*, and was the ſon of *Beor*, or *Bozor*, as himſelf profeſſeth oftentime, *Numb.*22. and 23. He was of the Family of *Buz*, deſcended of *Nahor*, brother unto *Abraham*, and was the ſame man, who in the Book of *Iob*, is named *Elihu*, as *Hierome* reciteth the common opinion of the Jews to have been; to whom agreeth the Author of the Commentaries upon *Iob*; and that at firſt he was a religious man, a true Prophet of God, till loving the wages of iniquity he fell away, and periſhed, not onely *temporally*, in the ſlaughter of the *Madianites*, but alſo *eternally* being caſt off by God, becauſe he for thoſe rewards and wages of iniquity, taught *Balac* to lay a *ſtumbling block* for Iſrael, and cauſed the people to ſin in the *cauſe of Peor*, *by committing whoredome with the daughters of Moab*, and ſo ſeducing them to the offerings of their Gods. For which he is branded as

Secundus natus eſt de Melca, Buz, & ex hujus genere eſt Balaam ille Divinus, ut Hebræi tradunt, qui in libro Job dicitur Elihu: primùm vir Sanctus, & Prophetes Dei; poſteà per inobedientiam, & deſiderium munerum, dum Iſrael maledicere cupit, Divini vocabulo nuncupatus. *Hieron. Quæſt. Hebr. in Geneſ. Sic Tertul. c. Mar.* 4.28.

as accurſed of God, by the Apoſtles S. *Peter*, S. *Iude*, S. *Iohn* in the Revelation. He wiſhed indeed that he might *Die the death of the righteous, and his later end be like unto his*; but what was his finall end and wofull ſtate for ever, himſelfe fore-ſpecified in that paſſage. *I ſhall ſee him, but not now*; *I ſhall behold him, but not neare.* Namely where every eye ſhall looke upon him; but they onely ſhall behold him *neere*, who have intereſt in him by faith, and holy life and converſation. The wicked ſhall behold him *a farre off*, not alone in diſtance of acceptance and grace, but in diſtance of place alſo.

14. But whether he were ſome time an holy man, a true Prophet of God, one enſpired by Gods holy Spirit, or evermore a Wizard, Magician, Conjurer, Soothſayer, it is not materiall, and it is uncertaine. *Origen* is peremptory that he was no true Prophet, but wrought by the Devil, and was a Conjurer, *Homil. 13. in Num. & & To. 30. in Iohan. Perſpicuum eſt, quòd Propheta non erat: Augurem enim fuiſſe ſcriptum eſt. Atq; ſi aliquis Propheta eſt, prophetat; ſin verò prophetat, non ſtatim eſt Propheta.* So thought *Theodoret*, and many others, and thereto the Scripture ſeemeth to concur, in ſaying that he went *to fetch Divinations*; and in confeſſing, that *There was no ſorcery againſt Iacob, nor ſoothſaying againſt Iſrael.* But yet for his own greater credit ſake he would ſeeme to work, and be directed by God. Or becauſe when he conſulted with his *ſpirits*, he only heard a *voice*, but ſaw no *ſhape*, in ſtrong deluſion hee might ſuppoſe that hee wrought by God, and that God it was, who as himſelfe ſaith, *Put a word into his mouth. Ille quidem non verum Deum interrogabat*, ſaith *Theodoret*, *reſpondet tamen ei Deus: non is qui rogatus fuerat, ſed quem ignorabat.* As if God by an Angel had anſwered, when he asked counſel of the Devil, to evacuate and fruſtrate his enchantments. So *Origen*, who yet held him for a Conjurer. *Igitur Balaam divinaculis acceptis, cùm ſolerent ad ipſum ventitare dæmones, fugatos quidem Dæmonas vidit, ſed adeſſe Deum: & ideò dicit, Interrogare ſe Deum, quia conſuetos ſibi parere Dæmonas, nunquam vidit. Venit ergo ipſe ad Balaam, non quòd dignus eſſet, ad quem veniret Deus, ſed ut fugarentur illi qui ad maledicendum & ad malefaciendum adeſſe conſueverant.* *Balaam* having received Divinations, the Devils familiarly uſing to repaire unto him, ſaw the Devils gone, but God in preſence; and hence he ſaith, He conſulted with God, becauſe his familiar ſprights he could not find. God came then to *Balaam*, not becauſe he deſerved God ſhould come unto him, but to drive them away, whoſe preſence he had in hearing and in doing ill. Thus *Origen*.

By what power he wrought.

15. And ſo we may interpret *Tertullian*, who though he ſtyle him *a Prophet*, yet inſinuates, that he meant *a falſe Prophet*, *By whom*, and not *In whom*, God ſpake and foretold of things to come. *Qui & Bala, quod non cogitaverat, ſuggeſſit: imò contrà ſuggeſſit, quam cogitaverat. Spiritu enim implebatur, non ad quam venerat maledictionem, ſed quam illi, ipsâ horâ, ſpiritus ſuggerebat, benedictionem pronuntiabat.* To which purpoſe, the Author of the *Imperfect work upon Matthew*, not

Tertullians opinion concerning him.

not S. *Chryſoſtome*, but elder then he, hath diſcourſed out of *Origen*; but if he were, as he is ſuppoſed to have been, *Elihu* the ſon of *Barachel* the Buzite, doubtleſſe, at firſt, he was a good man, and peradventure a *Prophet*, by God *enſpired*: For *Elihu* is highly commended for his wiſdome, and not excepted againſt by God, or cenſured, as *Iobs* other friends were.

His Prophecies concerning Chriſt.

16. But *whoſoever*, or *whenceſoever* he was, he foretold moſt evidently, no Prophet more cleerly, of many things to come, long time before they came to paſſe. What the Jews ſhould doe unto the Moabites, to *Edom*, to *Amalek*; what Iſrael ſhould ſuffer from the Aſſyrians, and the Babylonians; what ſhould happen unto them from the Greeks and Romans, and of the finall deſolation of the Jews at laſt; but eſpecially of the comming, kingdome, power of Chriſt, in that famous Prophecie which hath been formerly remembred in theſe words, *There ſhall come a Star of Iacob, and a Scepter ſhall be raiſed up in Iſrael, which ſhall ſmite the coaſts of Moab, and deſtroy the ſons of Seth.* The time prefixed for the accompliſhment, *the laſt times*, which is a character of the Kingdome of Meſſias. The *Star* deſigned, is not one of the *Stars* in the firmament of heaven; for how can ſuch a *Star* come of *Iacob*? Come unto *Iacob*, ariſe upon *Iſrael* ſuch *ſtars* might; but not poſſibly *come of Iacob*. But a *Star* of *Iacob*, is a man of *Iacob*, one of his loynes: *Notat habitum cauſa materialis*; He meant a man of eminency in his time, of honour and renowne in his noble acts, by an ordinary courſe of holy Scripture, which is, to call the thing ſignified and deſigned out, by the name and notion of the ſign. So Chriſt is ſtyled, the *bright Morning Star*, the *Sun of righteouſneſſe*, the *day-ſpring from on high*, *Light of the world*, *ſhining in darkneſſe*, our *Paſſeover*, and our *Paſchall Lambe*. A *Star* of *Iacob*, is a glorious, eminent man of *Iacob*.

His Prophecie of the Star of *Iacob*, how it deſcended to the *Magi* in our Saviours time.

17. *David* is ſuppoſed to have been the man, who did, in his time, *ſmite the coaſts of Moab*, and brought *Kir* in ſubjection unto *Iſrael*. But *David* was not the onely man who did ſmite *Moab*; *Ahab* and *Iehoſaphat* did the like. But nor they, nor he, in *ſmiting Moab*, did *deſtroy all the ſons of Seth*: And had he wrought ſuch a deſolation, yet *David* lived not in the *laſt times*: but this was a prediction of the laſt times. And as for *David*, *Balaam* never did, nor ſhall ſee him: but he ſaith, he ſhall ſee this *Star of Iacob*, Chriſt in his glory, at the day of doome; whom he, as all the world, ſhall then behold, though he, as a Reprobate, *a far off*, and not taken up into the clouds, to meet the Lord in the ayre. Secondly, take it literally for that Star which appeared to the *Magi* when Chriſt was borne; and ſo it was a Prophecie eminent, notorious, truly fulfilled in the laſt times. So all Antiquity underſtood this Text, as more at large is inſtanced in that Story of the *Magi*. *Balaam* foretold unto Pagan people the comming of our Saviour in his Incarnation; and left it by Tradition, if not by writing, unto his ſucceſſors, thoſe of his *ſchoole*, whereof the *Magi* long time afterwards were generally thought to be. *Origen* ſaith

ſaith he left this Prophecy in *writing*, who happily both *ſaw* and *read* the ſame in his time, and as he plainly ſpake, ſo they throughly underſtood, and according to direction, came with this *Quare, Where is he that is borne King of the Iews? Pro maledictis infert Balaam benedictiones, & Prophetias quæ poſſunt ædificare, non ſolum Iſrael, ſed & reliquas Gentes. Si enim à Moyſe Prophetiæ ejus ſacris inſertæ ſunt voluminibus, quanto magis ſunt deſcriptæ ab iis qui habitabant tunc Meſopotamiam? apud quos magnificus habebatur Balaam; quoſq; artis ejus conſtat fuiſſe diſcipulos: ex illo deniq; fertur Magorum genus; qui deſcripta habentes apud ſe, in partibus Orientis, omnia quæ Propheta verat Balaam, etiam hoc habuerunt ſcriptum, quòd, Orietur Stella ex Iacob.* In ſtead of curſing, *Balaam* gave bleſſing, and ſuch Prophecies as might edifie both Iſrael, and other Nations. If *Moſes* recorded his Prophecies in holy Writ; much rather did the then inhabiters of *Meſopotamia* regiſter them, amongſt whom *Balaam* was of great account, who were profeſſed in his skill. From him it is ſaid, the *Magi* came, who having all *Balaams* Prophecies amongſt them in the Eaſt, had this with the reſt, There ſhall come a Starre of *Iacob*. And this was directed to the Gentiles, long before any noyſe was of learning amongſt the Greeks, by which God revealed unto them that, which, had they regarded it as they ought, might have brought them to knowledge of his wayes. *Hom. 13. in Na.*

18. Concerning *Hydaſpes*, or *Hyſtaſpes*, I cannot ſay much. He is ſcarce knowne or remembred in Antiquity. The name is of note, whether he were, *Hydaſpes*, or *Hyſtaſpes*, but the party deſigned, is unknowne. *Hydaſpes* was an Eaſterne Prince, againſt whom *Dionyſius* in his Indian voyage made warre; and a River alſo there was of that name, which ſaith *Philoſtorgius*, the Arian Heretique in his hiſtory, came out of Paradiſe, wherein are Crocodiles as in *Nilus*. *Hyſtaſpes* was a Nobleman of Perſia, of the Royall Achemenian houſe, in the time of *Cyrus*, Father to *Darius* afterwards King. That either of theſe were Prophets I doe not finde, this I doe, that *Hyſtaſpes*, as commonly all the Nobility of Perſia were, was a man very learned in the learning of Perſia, in naturall Magick, Aſtronomy and other Arts, and happily might have read the *Pſalmes*, the Prophets, *Moſes*, who ſpake and foretold of Meſſias, and his Kingdome to come. He might very well have been familiar with *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Ananias*, *Azarias*, *Miſael*, and with other Jews skilfull in Scriptures, and from them he might have learned what he delivered; the rather becauſe his ſon *Darius* before he came to be King, was of familiar acquaintance with *Zorobabel* Prince of the Tribe of *Iudah*. And hee might alſo have been enſpired, as the Sibylls were otherwiſe. But reſolve one way or other for him I cannot, onely *Iuſtin* the Martyr, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in their writings directed unto the Pagans, make mention of him, as of a Prophet, who lived amongſt, and wrote unto the Pagans, but whether in proſe or verſe, I can no more tell, then who he was. *Take and reade*, ſaith *Clemens, the books* *Hydaſpes*, or *Hyſtaſpes*, a Pagan Prophet.

of

of the Gentiles. Consider how Sibylla professeth one onely God, and foretelleth of things to come. Take and reade Hystaspes, and in him you shall finde the Son of God, spoken and written of in plaine termes. There it is said and foretold, that Kings shall combine, and confederate in armes against him; that Princes, and Potentates of the earth shall associate and gather themselves together against him; that they shall hate, detest, and persecute both himselfe and such as beleeve in his name; or affie themselves upon him, and be called after his name. Thus he, then which no Christian could speak more home. And *Justin Martyr* in his Apology for Christian Religion, addressed unto the Romane Emperors then in State, saith, That through instigation and procurement of the Devil, *Men were forbidden to read the works and writings of the Sibylls, and Hystaspes, upon paine of death,* because he spake so plainly, punctually, and to purpose, of Christ, and his Kingdome, as it appeares by *Clemens* he did. And this is all that I doe know, or ever yet have met withall in Antiquity, concerning *Hystaspes*. Enough to manifest that even amongst the Gentiles, before the comming of our Saviour in the flesh, God, *at sundry times, by diverse men and meanes,* did manifest his Son, his Kingdome, his Religion unto the Gentiles, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, *Heb.* 1.

The history of *Trismegistus.*

19. *Mercurius Trismegistus* is better knowne, much mention is of him, in all Antiquity sacred and prophane. He was originally an Egyptian Prince and Priest, (for of ancient times, both functions concurred upon one person) elder then *Moses*, at least as ancient as he; the great Patriarch and Founder of that which the holy Scripture calls, *The learning of Egypt. Baronius* in his *Apparatus* doth name him, and but name him, and no more, amongst those Pagan Prophets, whom God from time to time raised up, and used to informe and instruct them in the things of God. He is very ancient, elder, as I said, then *Moses*, at least as some have thought; but S. *August.* makes him younger, so doth *Eusebius*, and to have taken what he had from *Moses*. The Egyptians named him, *Thoyth*, generally, they of *Alexandria*, *Thoth*, the *Phenicians*, *Taunth*. *Multarum artium peritus claruit, quas & hominibus tradidit*, saith S. *Augustine*. But if he were younger then *Moses*, he could not be the inventer of that *learning*, which was in use amongst the Egyptians. For *Moses*, elder then he, *was learned*, saith S. *Stephen*, *in all the learning of the Egyptians*. So that learning must have been amongst the Egyptians, before *Moses* was borne. And so no doubt it was taught them by *Ioseph*, *Iacob*, *Abraham*, who conversed in Egypt, and by *Mizraim* and others who might have it from *Noah* and his sons. But learning being decayed in Egypt, especially concerning heaven and heavenly things, *Moses* first might restore it to some part of former perfection, and adde unto it many particulars, anew: and after *Moses* time, it decaying again, this *Thoyth*, or *Taunth*, whom the Greeks call *Hermes*, an Interpreter, might the second time reforme it, though not to that perfection which it had at first, and so be accounted, especially of ignorants, the

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the founder thereof, who was, as *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* amongſt the Greeks, not the founder, but yet perfecter of Philoſophy; or as the Maſter of ſentences in the Romane Schooles, not the Father, but faſhioner of Divinity, and the ſtudy thereof, formerly more confuſed, and obſcure; which learning was not hand over head promiſcuouſly imparted unto all, but as enigmatically delivered, ſo reſervedly imparted unto ſome, by their Prieſts, Prophets, *Hierophantæ*, who themſelves were not elective out from the multitude, but ſucceſſive, and of a Tribe, as the Prieſts and Levites were in Iſrael.

The Egyptian learning.

20. What this learning of Egypt was, whereof it did intreat ſubjectively, and wherein the eminencie of it was, we cannot certainly reſolve, becauſe we have no *conſtat* thereof incontrollable, but onely relations at the ſecond hand, from *Euſebius*, collected out of *Diodorus Siculus*, who tranſcribed them from *Manetho* and ſome other, or from *Ioſephus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, differing in ſome things one from another. But all agree, that the learning of Egypt was that which we now call *Secular learning, all liberall Sciences*, taught and profeſſed there. Beſide which they had a peculiar kind of learning, which *Philo Indæus* calleth ἡ διὰ συμβόλων φιλοσοφία, *Symbolicall Philoſophie*, by figures and reſemblances declaring their meaning, which is ſtyled Hieroglyphicall, or Hierogrammaticall, and by *Clemens*, Myſticall Theologie, the moſt ancient courſe of inſtruction amongſt them, as appeareth by *Lucan*:

Nondum fluminеas Memphis contexere byblos
Noverat, in ſaxis tantùm, volucreſq́, feraq́,
Sculptaq́, ſervabant magicas animalia formas.

Vt qui dum Solem indicare volunt, ſaith *Clemens*, *circulo ejus rotunditatem exprimunt: & qui Lunam, ejus cornua in ſemicirculo repræſentant.* A courſe, though not *per omnia* the ſame, yet uſed amongſt all Nations more or leſſe; and not infrequent in holy Scripture, as where God is ſaid to be A. and Ω. where *Iudah* a *Lion*, *Iſſachar* an *Aſſe*, and the like; where parables and ſimilitudes are ſo ordinary in the Jews manner of teaching. *Primi per figuras animaliũ*, ſaith *Tacitus*, *Ægyptii ſenſus mentis effinxerunt, & antiquiſſima monumenta memoriæ humanæ ſaxis impreſſa cernuntur.*

Their Metaphyſicks, or Theologie.

21. This was for the manner of writing and delivering formally of Arts, Sciences, Naturall, Morall, and the like: beſide which, as the Grecians had their Metaphyſicks, or Theologie, concerning Intellectuall Eſſences, Abſtracted notions, Tranſcendent eminencies and perfections: ſo had the Egyptians more then any, more abſtruſe and ſecret; and ſo, more reſerved, admirable, and divine, then all other Pagan Nations in the world. The common people were more bruтiſh Idololaters then any, but the Prieſts, and *Hierophantæ* amongſt them, the moſt refined of all other, who wanted the knowledge of the true God. To them repaired for inſtruction, the moſt eminent and famous amongſt the Grecians: Of and from them they received thoſe paſſages, apophthegms, dictates of Truth & Divinity, which

which the Fathers of old, and we now, read with admiration in their works, as comming ſo neere unto Chriſtian profeſſion, that many men ſuppoſe them inferred by Chriſtians into their writings, or ſuborned by Chriſtians for their writings; as if God had not left ſufficient teſtimony of himſelfe amongſt men, to make them inexcuſable, who knowing God, and the things of God, yet worſhipped him not as they ought to doe. *Quicunq; ergo Philoſophi de Deo ſummo & vero iſta ſenſerunt, quòd & rerum creatarum ſit effector, & lumen cognoſcendarum, & bonum agendarum, quòd ab ipſo ſit & principium naturæ, & veritas doctrinæ, & fælicitas vitæ, eos cæteris anteponimus, eos nobis propinquiores fatemur:* The Philoſophers then, who ever they were, who concerning the onely true God, the God paramount to all, held, that he was Creator of all, that he is a light to underſtand all, that the onely good to be acted, that the beginning of nature, truth of doctrine, happy life, is from him; theſe we prefer before others, theſe we profeſſe come neereſt to us, ſaith S. *Auguſtine, de Civ. Dei, Lib. 8. 9.*

Concerning *Triſmegiſtus* out of *Suidas.*

22. Such was this Egyptian *Thoth*, or *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, as they call him, of whom we reade in the Collections of *Suidas* thus: *He was an Egyptian Sage, elder then Pharaoh*, (and ſo in his opinion before *Moſes*) *He was ſtyled Triſmegiſtus*, (that is, thrice the greateſt) *for that which he wrote and delivered concerning the ſacred Trinity; namely, that in Trinity was an Vnitie. So there was light intellectuall, prior unto intellectuall light: There ever was mind* (νῦς) *enlightning mind:* (the Father imparting himſelfe to the Son) *Nothing was beſide theſe two, both one together with the Spirit. Without this, there was nor God, nor Angel, nor yet Eſſence; for God, one in three perſons, bleſſed for ever, was from everlaſting alone. Lord and Father he is of all: All things are under him, and all things in him; for his word being all in all, fruitfull and Creator of all, cauſed the water* (ſo *Moſes* ſtyleth it) *to produce all things.* And thus *Suidas* having inſtanced theſe divine Aphoriſmes out of him, ſets downe his Oath or Adjuration: *I adjure thee, O heaven, that wiſe workmanſhip of a great God: I adjure thee O Word of the Father, which firſt of all he ſpake, when he faſtned and eſtabliſhed all the world: I adjure thee by the onely begotten Word, and by the Father, who containeth all things, be good, gracious, and mercifull to me.* Strange paſſages in a Pagan: but *Conſilium Dei fuit*, (as *Baronius* well and to purpoſe obſerveth) *ut longè ante Chriſti adventum, tanti rei ſacramentum Iudæis & Gentibus innoteſceret:* That many Ages before Chriſt came, the Sacrament or myſterie of ſo great account ſhould be known to Jews and Gentiles.

Triſmegiſtus his Book, ſtyled *Pamander.*

23. There is extant at this day a *Booke*, bearing name and title of *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, ſtyled *Pamander*, or *The Shepheard of men*; in which are may points and heads of our ſacred Piety and moſt holy Faith, concerning *One God*, the *Bleſſed Trinity*, the *Word*, or *Sonne of God*, the *Creation*, and *reſtauration* of the world, with others: where *Pamander* brought in *per ὑποτυπωσιν*, is Chriſt our Saviour, who

who in the Gospel calleth himselfe *A Shepheard*, the *Good Shepheard*, who came to *seek and to save what was lost*; wherein, be like passages, some the same, many of that kinde which were recited even now out of *Suidas*, so plaine and evident that great Clerks therefore perswade themselves, and would perswade others, that all is counterfait, ἰδίν ὑγιὲς, ἱλικτὰ πάντα, which is there delivered, counterfaited by some Christian, some ancient Christian, long agoe, as ancient as the Apostles times. For *Trismegistus* never wrote any such thing; but because his name was famous in the world, therefore some Christian in the Primitive times, thought it *Facinus palmarium*, that hee shall doe God and the Church good service, by *officious lies*, and fained leasings, to promote the cause of the Gospel, that so it might finde more free and ready accesse and admittance, with Philosophers and wise men amongst the Pagans. For because *Iustin Martyr* makes mention of this Author, therefore the counterfait must be as old as Apostolical times: For *Iustin Martyr* could not cite him otherwise, seeing that himself lived so near those times, and necessarily he must be older then *Iustin Martyr*. These and other exceptions are taken against the book by great Clerks.

24. To which I answer; first, I wonder it is not vouched by the Imputers, that he was counterfaited by the Apostles themselves. For what was he for a Christian, that did counterfait it? was he an Heretick, or an Orthodoxe? Hereticks I grant, even then, did obtrude upon the world many forged and counterfait writings, and that under the sacred names of the Apostles. But did ever any of the Worthies of Gods Church, especially such as *Iustin Martyr*, who hated and detested them with his soule, give any credit or countenance unto those Hereticall then invented forgeries, by vouching testimonies out of them, for confirmation of the maine points of our faith? especially against Pagans, whom they would refell or convert? Secondly, if he were an Heretick that had done it, as his intent was in doing it, the confirmation of his Heresie, so there would appeare interspersed, passages or insinuations at least tending to the *confirmation* of that Heresie, which he would propagate and foment. But let instance be given out of *Pæmander*, what ancient Heresie, how, and where, is there confirmed thereby. If he had been of *Valentinus* sect, we should doubtlesse have heard somewhat of his *Æones* there delivered, especially so well comporting with the subject of his *Bythos*, *Pleroma*, and the like. For ἀρρενόθηλυς, which is objected, as if it came from *Valentinus* Schoole, God being by him said to be so, it is farre enough from such Hereticall prophaneness. *Synesius* a Christian Bishop, who useth the same phrase, and was no more a *Valentinian* then the Objector, declareth what himselfe and *Pæmander* meant by the phrase, that God was Σπέρμα πάντων, μίζα ὑπόστασις; *The Seed, and Root originall of all things; Male and Female both, came from him.*

That it was not fathered upon him by a Christian.

25. But happily the Author was an Orthodoxe Christian, and

no Heretick: If ſo, then why ſhould he goe about by lies to ſeek or give countenance unto the truth? was it his peculiar Fact and Fancy, or according to the humour and cuſtome of thoſe times? This rather, as it ſeemeth unto Novellers; *Primis illis ſeculis naſcentis Chriſtianiſmi, tum cum tantâ licentiâ libri, falſis titulis inſcripti, quotidie fingerentur:* At the firſt age of but newly borne Chriſtianity, when ſo licentiouſly they dayly forged and ſent abroad counterfait books, with lying titles. Such reverend opinion have they of thoſe Apoſtolicall times of the Apoſtles themſelves, for promoting Chriſts Goſpel, by fained leaſings and tales of Robin hood. And yet wee are told by *Tertullian*, that a Prieſt of Aſia, who forged the Legend of *Paul* and *Tecla*, was *eo nomine*, deprived of his Prieſthood, and caſt out of the Church, by cenſure of *Iohn* the Apoſtle. For the faithfull God and true, in all his courſes, never approved forgeries for any advantage. But Orthodoxe, or Heretick if he were, how could or durſt *Iuſtin Martyr* have vouched that work ſo lately forged, unto Pagans and Gentiles to convict them? He could not but look for oppoſition, and examination. Had he vouched unto them, as againſt them, that which nor was, nor was acknowledged to be ſuch, it muſt needs have been a great prejudice unto his cauſe. They muſt have firſt known, and acknowledged that to be ſuch, accounted of as ſuch, which he alledged for *ſuch*, or he ſhould have proved himſelf a very ſimple man, ſo to inſtance. *If a man would know*, ſaith he, *what opinion the moſt ancient Philoſophers amongſt them had of God, let him hear and give audience to Ammon, and to Hermes. Ammon in his writings ſaith, that God is utterly hidden and abſtruſe.* The Scripture would ſay, *dwelleth in light that none can attaine unto; and Hermes plainly and directly affirmeth: To underſtand or conceive what God is, it is hard, but to utter or explaine it, is impoſſible.* And laſtly, whereas it is objected, that this counterfait *Hermes* was ſome half-Chriſtian, ſome Novice, not well inſtructed in the myſteries of our Religion, the Objector talks at randome, and againſt himſelfe: For he had formerly profeſſed, *Negari non poteſt in illis capita religionis non pauca, clarè & perſpicuis verbis inveniri expoſita:* It cannot be denied, not a few heads, and points of our Religion are therein found, which be delivered in very plain, expreſſe and perſpicuous manner; and thoſe *Capita* be the Fundamentalls of Chriſtian Piety, there ſpecified and named. So that he could not be *Sacris leviter imbutus*, a Novice in Religion, or ſmatterer in Chriſtian Piety. If hee were ſuch, he could not doe ſo. Thus doth he unadviſedly overthrow his own poſitions.

In exhort. ad Gent. pag. 1.

Something added about the former ſubject. The matter of the firſt Parag. concluded.

26. I doe not deny, nor will any man contradict; Much hath been counterfaited in the world amongſt Chriſtians, as well as Pagans, but we muſt not preſently flie to that καταφύγιον, or ſhelter of ignorant men, that what wee like not, or approve not, or ſeemes ſtrange unto us, is ſtraightway counterfait, none of that Authors, whoſe name it beares. Many things have been thruſt forth into the world, under honourable titles, of *Ariſtotle*, *Cicero*, *Ovid*, *Auguſtine*,

Auguſtine, Hierome, nay of S. *Peter*, and S. *Paul*; ſhall we therefore ſay that nothing which bears their name, is theirs, becauſe much is not theirs which bears their name? This will call into queſtion whatſoever is extant. *Triſmegiſtus* was famous amongſt the Ancients; He was held to be the Founder and great Patriarch of ſecular learning: and therefore it is ſaid by his Impugner, that *Certatim omnes fere ſcriptores cunctarum ſcientiarum de ejus nomine ſuis ſcriptis gratiam & famam quæſiverunt*: All writers almoſt in every kind or arts, ſought to gaine credit to themſelves and their writings, by borrowing his name. Be it ſo. Therefore neceſſarily there was ſuch a man: neceſſarily he had written of ſuch arguments: or it had been fooliſh for any man to have put out his own conceits, under his name, which could have no colour or pretence to be reckoned his, unleſſe he alſo had written in that kind. If therefore any Chriſtian, Orthodoxe or otherwiſe, had at any time put forth any Book under his name, concerning the maine points of our Religion, it muſt needs have been that in truth, or in the opinion of men, he had written and ſaid ſomewhat, or was not unlike to ſay ſomewhat in that kind, and tending that way. Certaine Mountebanks and Impoſtors I grant had obtruded upon men certain medicinall books and writings of *Triſmegiſtus*, which *Galen* did juſtly caſt off and condemne: but theſe Impoſtors would never have done it, had not he written, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſaith he had, of that argument. And therefore I cannot but with reaſon think that *Triſmegiſtus* had written concerning the chiefe points of Chriſtian piety, ſeeing that ſuch counterfaits as the Imputer talks of, did make choice to obtrude upon the world, ſuch manner writings under his name, if the Book we ſpeak of were counterfait, as they would have it: and even ſo, we have what we would have, which is, That God amongſt the Pagans did, as pleaſed him, extraordinarily, now and anon, reveale the myſterie of Chriſt Jeſus, as he was pleaſed, unto the Gentiles: and why not then by *Triſmegiſtus*, whatſoever become of the Book *Pæmander*, ſo traduced by our Novellers for a counterfait?

27. And yet will I not deny, but at leaſt, in ſome ſort, it may be a counterfait, and none of his, though not forged by any Chriſtian. Thus far a counterfait, as not intirely his, nor peradventure written by him, but according to his doctrine compiled out of his works; and therefore not unfitly aſcribed unto him: As the Liturgie which beareth *Chryſoſtoms* name, cannot poſſibly all of it, be S. *Chryſoſtoms*, becauſe *Alexius* the Emperour is prayed for therein; but that generall forme was inſtituted firſt, and uſed by him: the maine corps of it was compiled by him, to which additions were annexed occaſionally afterward. *Hermes* I grant could not make mention of *Phidias* the Statuary, *Eunomius* the Harper, nor of the Olympick games, by way of narration, but of Prophecie. This argues he was of a later date, who compoſed the Book, as alſo becauſe he writes in pure Greek, and *Hermes* wrote his Works in the Egyptian Language. But

Whether *Triſmegiſtus* himſelfe penned *Pæmander*, or no.

the Author of the Book, who had read *Hermes* Works, and understood them in their mother tongue, being, as I conceive, some Hellenist, such as *Philo* was, of Alexandria, might deliver in Greek what *Hermes* wrote in Egyptian: and out of his owne reading in Greekish Libraries, adde, as occasion served, those particulars. For so *Philo* himselfe hath allegorically commented upon Scripture, not in Hebrew, but in Greek, according to Greek learning then in use, fitting Divine Oracles to his purpose. It is therefore a bravado, no such reality, *I have proved that the Book was nor written by Hermes, nor yet compiled out of his works.* That is not affirmed, it needs not be: This is not proved, nor can be made good.

Who it was that penned it, and how ancient.

28. For it could not be forged by any Christian, being so ancient as it is confessed to be, equall with, or immediate unto the Apostolicall times. Secondly, it was elder then any Christian, as is manifested by these instances. First, *Iust. Mart.* cites it for an Apophthegme of *Hermes*: Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν ὅτι χάλεπον, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον, *Deum intelligere, vel mente concipere difficile est, eloquio profari impossibile.* But long before *Iustine*, or *Christ* was borne, *Plato* had resolved in the very same words, whereby it is evident he had read *Hermes*, at least learned it from his Scholars, the Priests of Egypt, from whence he had his doctrine, *de Ideis in mente divina*, though not rightly by him understood. It is said, that whereas *Pœmander* styles himselfe *mentem* or νοῦν, this is taken out of *Platoes* Schoole, idly, and with forgery: for whence then had *Anaxagoras* the same, who is elder then *Plato?* Certes both one, and other, had it from *Hermes* out of Egypt: from whom the Stoicks also took that Axiom of theirs, that God did ὁδῷ καθήκει δὴ τῇ γενέσει τὸ κόσμιον, orderly proceed, as he did, in the creation of the world. And whereas he mentioneth λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the Word of God*, why might not the holy Euangelist use that word so taken and used by *Hermes*, to intimate that he taught no new doctrine, but that which God had revealed formerly, as well as the holy Ghost hath not disdained to apply unto sacred purposes, words of art, as it were, used by Pagan Writers, as *Paradisus, Hades, Apostolus, Clerus*, and the like? As for that exception about speaking so plaine and in evolved termes, I shall say more of it anon when I come to objections made against the Sibyls. For this I conclude: Whatsoever hath been quarrelled, or can be objected, *Non incongruè creditur*, saith S. *Augustine, fuisse & in aliis Gentibus homines, quibus hoc mysterium revelatum est, & qui hoc etiam prædicere impulsi sunt:* It is no incongruity to beleeve, that amongst the Gentiles some men have been, to whom this mysterie was revealed, who also were compelled to speak of it. Amongst whom this *Trismegistus* was of speciall account, from whose Schoole the Greek Philosophers borrowed much concerning God: which for feare of like measure that *Socrates* had meted unto him, they durst not deliver otherwise then in obscured terms. So I passe from *Hermes*.

In Time.

De Civ. Dei, lib. 18. c. 47.

The Sibyls Prophecies most famous among the Pagans.

29. Much more famous and renowned were the Sibyls, their Prophetical

phetical predictions more plaine, and framed to popular eares and underſtandings. Upon them eſpecially, and not without good cauſe doth *Baronius* inſiſt, for Prophets ſent by God, to, and amongſt the Gentiles, to manifeſt unto them, ſome at leaſt, in ſome ſort, himſelfe, his will, his diſpenſation with Mankind, in thoſe times of darkneſſe, concerning Chriſt, his Kingdome, and the ſtate of Grace. The Prophecies and Predictions of theſe Sibyls were ever in great and high eſteeme amongſt the Ancients, both Chriſtians and Pagans, relyed much upon, cited and uſed by them both. Their credit in the world abroad hath ever every where been *great*, their authority held *ſacred*, themſelves preferred before all the *Bacides*, *Branchidæ*, *Dodonean Columbæ*, before the *Telmiſſian*, *Theſprotian*, *Beotian*, *Chaldean*, Wizards. No *Tireſias*, *Manto*, *Metis*, *Themis*, *Phemonoe*, *Hippo*, *Bæo*, *Phaennis*, though held in reputation in their ſeverall ages, were held for skill and certainty in predictions like theſe. *Iupiter Ammon*, *Dodonæus*, *Tyrius*; *Apollo Clarius*, *Delphicus*, *Iſmenius*, *Meliſſus*, *Sarpedonius*, *Colophonius*; *Æſculapius*, *Serapis*, or whoſoever were anciently famous for Oracles, came not in credit, or deſert and worth neare unto them. They have not after the faſhion and manner of the Oracles, to trouble and perplex their Readers, involved themſelves in miſts, in mirkſome and dark Riddles, ambiguous ſpeeches, or doubtfull ſayings, but ſpeak out diſtinctly and plainly that which they are to ſay and deliver. So farre, that ſometimes they in perſpicuity go beyond moſt of the Jewiſh Prophets concerning the Reſurrection, Judgement, End of the World, Life everlaſting, Glory and Reward of the righteous: Concerning Chriſt in his Perſon, his Acts, his Righteouſneſſe, both Active and Paſſive, as they call it: Concerning Chriſtians, Chriſtian Faith and Religion. In which as in other particulars, they have given the Gentiles, with whom and amongſt whom they lived, a full and large view of things to be fulfilled afterwards; ſo farre, and in ſo plain revealed ſort, that the cleare evidence which comes from them, is by ſome brought as an argument, and perſwading motive, to have them eſteemed counterfeits, and *Poſtnatæ*, unto Chriſtian Religion, to eſteeme their writings and predictions to have been anciently obtruded upon the world by Chriſtians, for approbation, credit, and recommendation of their own Religion amongſt the Gentiles. For otherwiſe they could not poſſibly have delivered the things of God in ſuch plain terms as they have done. But more of this in convenient place.

30. To follow *Baronius* in that which he ſaith of them in his *Apparatus*, we will begin with their perſons, who, and whence they were, how conditioned, and wherefore they were called Sibylls. *Sibyllæ dictæ*, ſaith he, *quaſi* Θεοβύλαι, *nimirum quòd Deo putarentur eſſe quaſi à Conſiliis, qui ſolebat hiſce arcana ſua, &* ἄῤῥητα *revelare*. Sibylls they were called as *Theobylæ* becauſe they were held as of counſell with God, unto whom he uſed to impart and reveale his hidden ſecrets. When he tells us they were women of counſell, as

Their denomination, condition, and ſtyle.

it were with God Almighty, by himſelfe made acquainted beforehand with his ſecret deſignes, and purpoſes, to manifeſt and intimate them unto men: which is true and right, for the thing, but miſtaken ſomewhat in the word; he ſhould not have ſaid *Theobulæ*, but *Siobulæ*, which origination is neare to their name of *Sibyllæ*. *Sios* in the *Æolican dialect*, is as much as *Theos*, in the common Greek tongue, that is, God. Now the Latin was for the moſt part derived from the *Æolick* and *Dorick* Dialects, as neareſt unto them that ſpake the languages. *Bule*, is Adviſe or Counſell, ſo *Siobulæ*, and by *Synalœphe*, *Sibyllæ*, are ſuch as be adviſed by, or are of counſell with God. Whence one of this name and Nation in *Virgil* ſaith of her ſelfe, that ſhe was *Interpres Divûm. Mulieres*, ſaith *Arnobius* of them, *Deo plenæ*, *Deorum interpretes*; And *Servius* ſaith that *Sibylla*, *dicitur omnis puella, cujus pectus numen recipit. Nam Æoles Sios vocant Deos. Bule eſt ſententia. Ergo Sibyllæ quaſi Siobulæ.* It is therefore a name appellative, and not proper; not *peculiar* to *one*, but *common* to *many*. *Lactantius* diſſenteth herefrom, and holds opinion that *Sibylla* was the *proper name* of that woman, who firſt of all amongſt the Gentiles, was Prophetically enſpired; from whom, afterward, whoſoever did participate of ſuch Propheticall Spirit, in any ſort, was ſtyled by the name of *Sibylla*: And to him conſenteth *Euſtathius* the Grammarian, and Chriſtian Biſhop, in his Commentaries upon *Homer*. But in effect *Lactantius* diſſents not from *Servius*, *Varro*, and *Arnobius*. For howſoever it might be her peculiar proper name, yet ſeeing he confeſſeth ſhe had another, namely *Delphis*, it might be given unto her, either with ſpeciall intention unto what ſhe ſhould be, (for names being *notæ rerum*, originally were *Indices* of natures, and were often Prophetically impoſed, as *Iacob* (ſaith *Eſau*) was rightly ſo called, a *Supplanter*) or in proceſſe impoſed properly upon her *ex eventu*, as *Iacob* was named *Iſrael*, *Prevailing with God*. Nor is it ſo meant, that every one ſo indowed, was ſo ſtyled, for that is not ſo. *Caſſandra*, though ſhe did ζιβυλλιᾶν, *Bacchari*, as they are ſaid to do, was never named *Sibylla*. Nor was *Themis*, *Manto*, *Metis*, or others. But *Lactantius* meaning is, that with good reaſon and congruity, they might be ſtyled ſo. Otherwiſe *Pauſanias* will oppoſe; for, ſaith he, *Phaennis daughter unto a certaine Prince, or King in Chaonia, was a Propheteſſe. So were the Columba Dodonæ, & yet no man did ever ſtyle them Sibyls, no more then Manto, Caſſandra and ſundry others of like indowment and condition, were ſo called.* *Suidas* as a Grecian, and not underſtanding the Latine tongue, ſpake ignorantly when he ſaid it was a Latin word. *The Latins called ſuch women Carmentas*, from *Carmina* verſes; or rather *Carmina* verſes were ſo named from them, who moſt an end delivered their Oracles in verſe; and themſelves were ſtyled *Carmentæ*, *à carendo mente*, becauſe, being *Deo plenæ*, and *acceptitiæ*, their deportment

Τὶν δ Καρμένταν εἶναι, Εὐάνδρου μητέρα λέγουσιν ὅσοι ἐνδόξοις Ἰταλίαν, ὀνομαζομένην Θέμιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νικοστράτη, ἐμμέτρους δὲ χρησμοὺς ἀδοῦσαν, ἀπὸ τῆς λατίνων Καρμένταν ὀνομασθεῖσαν· τὰ δὲ ἔπη κάρμινα καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαντεύεσθαι φασὶ, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τοῦ Εὐάνδρου τὰς θεοφορήτους. ὅθεν τὰ κάρμινα τῇ Καρμέντῃ τύχαι παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἐκτεῖσθαι τὰ μέτρα ἀνδισταμένων ἄδειν. Sic Plutarch in Q. Rom.

was

was, as if they had been mad and diſtracted, as he ſaith, *Bacchatur Vates, Phœbi nondum patiens. Iſidore* in his *Etymologicon* goeth right: *Sibyllæ, generaliter dicuntur omnes fœminæ Vates, Linguâ Græca:* (not *Romana*) *Nam Sion, Æolica Dialecto Deum: Bulen Græci, mentem & conſilium nuncupant; quaſi Dei mentem. Proinde igitur quaſi divinam mentem hominibus ſolebant interpretari, Sibyllæ nominatæ ſunt. Sicut enim omnis vir prophetans, Vates dicitur, vel Propheta; ita omnis fœmina prophetans, Sibylla dicitur. Quod nomen ex officio, non ex proprietate vocabuli eſt.* All women generally be called Sibyls, who are Prophets, in the Greek Tongue. For in the Æolick Dialect, *Sios* is God, and generally in Greek, *Bule* is Counſel, Minde, or Underſtanding: And ſo were they ſtyled Sibyls, as Reporters of Gods counſell and purpoſes to men. As every man who prophecyeth is *Vates* or *Propheta*, ſo alſo every prophecying woman is *Sibylla*, a name derived from, as denoting their office and function, and not from any property of the phraſe. Which reconcileth all foregoing ſeeming diſſentions; ſo that the name appeareth to be given with reſpect unto the office, and not ſo much out of reference unto the word. It was not therefore the private fancie of *Heraclitus*, but the generally received opinion of all, that the Sibyls were not taught the art of prophecying, there being no art to be grounded upon extraordinary notions or paſſions; but were θεοπνεύσεις, and ἐκφερόμενοι, or φοιβολήπτοι, as they phraſed it: They ſpake as they were directed, or moved, or inforced, ſometime with underſtanding and apprehenſion, and ſometime not knowing what or how they ſpake.

Their number.

31. Thus much of their ſtyle, name, and denomination. We proceed to their perſons, number, quality, and condition of life, where they lived, died, and were brought up. *Decem numero, ut aiunt*, ſaith *Baronius* of them, *Ten in number*; but according to report, or *ut aiunt*, as it is ſuppoſed: for he was not certain how many they were, nor could he be, ſuch difference is thereabout. Some ſay there were not ſo many by nine: One there was, and no moe; which may be true, thus underſtood, *One whoſe proper and peculiar name was Sibyl*; the reſt being Relatively ſtyled ſo, as called Sibyls, in reſemblance unto that one. If we enlarge the name unto all, or any that have been *Arreptitiæ*, or *Deo plenæ*, then we ſhall have more then twice ten Sibyls prophecying, remembred in the writings of Antiquity. *Marcianus Capella* reckons but two: *Plinius* and *Solinus* talk of three. *Ælian in variis* goeth up to foure, but tels us, that other adde ſixe more unto thoſe foure, and ſo make them ten. *Clemens Alexandrinus* tels us of τὸ πλῆθος, a multitude of Sibyls; and having named divers, falls upon that generall, that *Any prophecying woman was ſtyled ſo.* But the moſt common opinion is that which *M. Varro*, the beſt learned Roman that ever lived, did deliver *in Libris Rerum Divinarum*, dedicated to *Julius Cæſar*, that they were *ten in number*, and in particular, theſe that follow, as *Lactantius* hath delivered

vered it out of him, thoſe his workes being now loſt.

Sibylla Delphica the firſt, her hiſtorie.

32. The firſt and eldeſt of them all, ſaith that great Antiquary *Varro*, was *Sibylla Delphica*, whoſe proper name was *Artemis*, as *Chryſippus* delivered it in his Books *de Divinatione*, which is the common name of *Diana* in all Grecian writings whatſoever. *Pauſanias* in *Phocis* relateth, that the Delians called her *Herophile*, that the Africans named her *Sibylla*, that her ſelfe in her Verſes ſtyles herſelf *Artemis*, that ſhe was held to be the firſt and moſt ancient of the Sibyls, daughter of *Lamia* and *Iupiter*, which *Lamia* was daughter unto *Neptune*, or as *Clemens* ſaith, of *Zidon*: which I take to be ſo meant, that ſhe was native there, a Syrophenician by birth, borne at Sidon, a coaſt towne; and therefore ſaid to be daughter of *Neptune*, or borne neere the Sea. She foretold the rape of *Helen*, the war and ſack of Troy, being elder then that war. It is ſaid, that *Homer* took much out of her Verſes, which ſhe foreſaw, and foreſaid he ſhould doe. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Lib.* 5. ſaith, that her proper name was not *Artemis*, nor *Herophile*, nor *Sibylla*, but *Daphne*, and that ſhe was daughter to *Tireſias* the Theban Wizard: that the *Epigoni*, or children of thoſe ſeven, that with *Adraſtus* made the Theban voyage, having taken *Thebes*, ſent her, being a Propheteſſe, to Delphos to performe a ſolemne vow which they had made, that ſhe made her aboad and reſidence at Delphos, became Propheteſſe of the Oracle there, having formerly learned the Art of Divination from her father. But if ſhe were daughter to *Tireſias*, then did ſhe not live before the war of Troy; but at moſt, at that time: for *Sthenelus* and *Diomedes*, two of the Epigoni, were Captaines and Commanders at the ſiege of Troy: nor could ſhe be, as indeed ſhe was not, the firſt and eldeſt of the Sibyls.

Sibylla Erythræa the ſecond, her hiſtorie.

33. A ſecond, as *Varro* diſpoſeth them, was *Sibylla Erythræa*, ſo denominated from the place of her birth or aboad: Erythræ was a City in Aſia *minor*, a Greek Colony, builded by the Athenians in the reigne of *Codrus*: which if it were ſo, then could ſhe not live at the ſiege of Troy, as *Apollodorus Erythræus* related in his Chronicles: for *Codrus* who builded the City, was many years younger then the warre of Troy. *Marcianus Capella* ſaith, Her right name was *Herophile*, but that ſhe was called *Erythræa*, becauſe ſhe was borne there: as alſo *Cumæa*, becauſe ſhe made her chiefe reſidence at Cumæ, another famous Towne and Colony in Aſia the leſſe. *Lactantius* ſaith, ſhe was borne at Babylon, but that ſhe dwelt at Erythræ. *Strabo* in his fourteenth Book ſaith, there were two Sibyls of that ſtyle, both borne in that Towne of Erythræ, and abiding there, but one farre elder then the other. The firſt and eldeſt of the two was this *Erythræa*, of whom we ſpeak; the other much younger, lived in the time of *Alexander* the Great, and had to name *Athenais*, which ambiguity in the name *Erythræa*, deceived that great Antiquarie, *Lilius Gyraldus*, who telleth us that *Sibylla Erythræa* was the youngeſt of the Sibyls, and

and lived in *Alexanders* time, which is true of *Athenais*, but not of *Herophile*, who lived long before *Alexander* of *Macedon* was borne; of whom more anon, when we come to speak of her predictions.

Εκ δὲ ἱερωσύνης Σίβυλλα ἦν αὕτη ἡ μαντικὴ γυνὴ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τις, ἀπ' Αλέξανδρου ἢ ἀλλά τις ὧν τὸ αὐτὸν ἔθνος μαντικὴν, ἐπιχωρίων Αθηναίοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς πόλει. Lib. 14. & Lib. 18. ἀπὸ τῆς Αλεξάνδρου διγονίας, ἡ δὲ Αθηναΐδα φασὶν αὐτὴν εἶναι· ἡ γὰρ ἡ ταύτην ὁμοίαν τῇ τῆς παλαιᾶς Σιβύλλης.

34. Another was *Sibylla Samia*, whose proper name was *Phyto*, of whom *Erato* thence is said to have collected many memorialls, out of the Chronicles and Records of *Samos*, which, together with those collections, are lost irrecoverably. She lived saith *Eusebius*, when *Numa Pompilius* reigned in Rome, about six hundred yeares before the birth of Jesus Christ. A fourth was *Cumana Sibylla*, not *Cumæa*: for they were two, and different every way; in birth, time, place, predictions. *Baronius* confounds them, but he is deceived; *Cumæa, quæ novissima omnium Sibyllarum fuisse memoratur, vixit Olympiade quinquagesima, Solino authore.* Which is not so, *Solinus* speaks of *Cumana*, not *Cumæa*. *Cumanam, tertio fuisse, post istos, loco, ipsa ævi series narrat.* Her name is said to have been *Amalthæa*, or as others have it, *Demophile*. This is she whose Books and Oracles be so often mentioned by *Livius*, *Halicarnasseus*, and other Romane Authors. She it was that presented herselfe unto *Tarquinius Superbus*, or rather I take it to *Tarquinius Priscus*, with nine Books of Oracles, written in verse in three Tomes; which she offered to him to sell, but at so dear a rate, that he refused to buy them; upon which deniall she cast three of them into the fire, and asked if he would buy the six remaining at the same rate; *Tarquinius* taking her to be some frantick Beldame, laughed her to scorne, whereupon she burnt three more of them, and againe demanded if he would give the first summe for them three, otherwise she said she would burn them also, whereof he would repent him; *Tarquinius* much marvailing at this constant resolution of the Beldame, thought there might be somewhat more in those books then he conceived at first, gave her what she asked, as much for those three, as she had demanded for the nine. Having bought them of her, she told him what was the contents of them, bad him lay them up safe, and keep them charily, and so vanishing suddenly out of sight, was never seene nor heard of dead or alive afterward; what became of her, whence or who she was, it was never known. These books so bought, were according to her directions carefully laid up in the Capitol, under *Iupiters* Shrine, in a Chest of stone, committed to the custody of two men first, then of ten, and last of fifteene, who onely had power and authority upon commission from the Senate, and afterward from the Prince in State, not otherwise, to view, peruse, and search them upon urgent exigences, and in apparent dangers of the State. *After the ejectment of the Kings*, saith *Halicarnasseus*, *the State took speciall order and care for Sibylls Oracles, appointing men of honour and reputation, to take the charge and care of them, who for and in respect of attending on that office, were discharged from all service in warres, and other publique functions*

Sibylla Samia the third, the fourth *Cumæa*, her history.

functions in the State. They were not to admit any of what condition, quality, or degree soever, to reade, search, or view them. Their servants and attendants, were all payed out of the common Treasury; nor did the Romanes so charily preserve, or looke unto any thing, held any thing so sacred, sanctified and unprophanable, as Sibylls Oracles. To them those Officers used to make addresse, upon intestine seditions, commotions, generall plagues, pestilence, publique calamities, prodigious apparitions, and such like: Thence seeking help and counsell what to doe, what course to take for releeving or repairing those publique calamities and dysasters. These Books were so preserved, and repaired unto upon such occasions, untill the Marsik or Socrall warre, the yeare sixe hundred seventy one, when the Capitol being set on fire, whether casually, or purposedly, it was not knowne, Sibylls Oracles were also burnt and consumed; which is truly noted by *Baronius. Donec exusto Capitolio sub belli Marsici sive Socialis tempore, sive fraude id factum, sive consulto consilio, Sibyllina etiam carmina conflagrarunt. Tautus* saith it was done, *Fraude privatâ; Cassiodore, custodum negligentiâ*; others that *Sylla* purposely did it, to make way for his own ambitious designe. *Appian* saith no man knew how it came to passe. *Cujus librum, ad Cornelium usq; Sullam*, saith *Solinus, Pontifices nostri consulebant. Tunc enim, una cum Capitolio, igne consumptus est. Nam priores duos, Tarquinio superbo parcius pretium offerente, quàm postulabatur, ipsa exusserat.* These were afterward repaired, as they could, not the same, but others of that kinde, of which anon.

The fift *Cumæa*, or *Cimmeria*, her history.

35. *Sibylla Cumæa* was much elder then this *Cumana. Cumana* lived with *Tarquinius*, *Cumæa* was contemporary to the warre of Troy. It was she to whom *Æneas* in his Travels had accesse, who dwelt at Cumæ in Italy, and happily came from Cumæ in Asia. *Iustin Martyr* makes mention of her, and relates withall, that her Cell, Oratory, or Chappell, cut out of the maine rock, in a Cave or Vault of the earth, remained untill his time: that himselfe had visited, and diligently viewed the same at Cumæ, not far from Baiæ. *Onufrius Panvinius* writes, that it continued to be seene many hundred yeares after *Iustin Martyr*, untill the yeare of Christ, 1539. In which yeare, saith he, all Campania was terribly shaken, rent, and defaced with an Earthquake. At Puteoli huge mountaines of sand, gravel, and slime were belched forth, and cast up from the bottome of the sea, with which *Sibylla's* Cell, and Chappell was totally overwhelmed, utterly ruined and abolished. I my selfe, saith he, being in those parts, in the yeare 1548. did diligently and with curiosity enquire of the Inhabitants and natives there, and was by them enformed concerning the situation, frame and fabrique of that Oratory, agreeing in all points with the relation of *Iustin Martyr*. Thus much *Onufrius*. Now the relation of *Iustin Martyr* is this: When I was at Cumæ in Campania, about sixe miles from Baiæ, I viewed very diligently, and curiously, a certain place there, wherein stood a large

and

and a ſpacious Chappel, or Oratory, which was hewne out of the maine rock, being all but one great ſtone. An admirable and ſtrange piece of workmanſhip it was. In which Oratory, as the Inhabitants made report unto me, and they had it by ancient Tradition from their Fathers, *Sibylla* gave forth her Oracles. In the middeſt of the Oratory, they ſhewed me three hollow places, hewne alſo out of the ſame rock; in which, as they related, ſhe uſed to bathe and waſh her ſelfe: which being done, ſhe caſt her mantle about her, and ſo retyred into the inmoſt Cell, and Reveſtry of that Chappel. This, as the former, was alſo hewne out of the rock. There, when ſhe had compoſed her ſelfe upon an high advanced ſeat, ſhe uttered and gave forth Oracles. Thus *Juſtin Martyr*. To which narration much agreeth that which is by *Virgil* related concerning this ſame *Sibylla*, in the interview betwixt *Æneas* and her. This *Sibylla* was likewiſe ſtyled *Cimmeria*, of the Cimmerians, inhabiting betwixt Baiæ and Cumæ. *Ea regione in qua convallis ſatis eminenti jugo circumdata eſt, quæ neq; matutino, neq; veſpertino ſole contegitur.* *Iſidor* makes mention of this *Cimmeria Sibylla*, but makes her different from *Cumæa*, whom he will have to be all one with *Cumana*. In which aſſertion he was deceived with *Baronius*, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew. *Giraldus*, who ſaith he laughed at ſome body, whom he doth not name, for making *Cimmeria* and *Cumæa* to be all one, deſerves himſelfe to be laughed at.

36. The ſixt was *Helleſpontiaca*, or *Trojana*. For Troy was not farre from the Helleſpont. Her proper name is ſaid to have been *Symmachia*; born ſhe is ſaid to have been at Marmeſſus, a towne not farre from Troy, and to have dwelt at Gergythos, a towne not farre off, where in the Temple of *Apollo* Gergythius ſhe gave forth her Oracles. She is ſaid to have lived in the time of *Cyrus* and *Solon*, about the fifty ſeventh Olympiade, as *Heraclides Ponticus* delivered it. The ſeventh Sibyll, was *Lesbiaca*, or rather *Libyca*, remembred by *Euripides* the Tragick Poet, as *Lactantius* writeth; for that Tragedy of *Euripides*, *Lamia*, is not extant. Therefore ſhe muſt needs be elder then the eighrieth Olympiade, about which time *Euripides* lived and wrote his Tragedies. The eighth was *Sibylla Phrygia*, of whom, what ſhe was, whence ſhe came, or were ſhe dwelt, the great Antiquary *Pauvinius* hath not to ſay; onely that, as the name importeth, ſhe was native, or inhabitant of Phrygia, and ſo peradventure was the ſame with *Trojana*. *Lactantius* ſaith ſhe was of Ancyra, the chief town of Galatia. The ninth was *Tiburtina*, who lived at Tibur in Italy, ſeated upon the River Anio; in which River, according to *Varroes* report, her ſtatue was found holding in her hand a book: ſhe was called *Albunea*, or *Leucothea*, the white Goddeſſe: of whom and her Oracles *Tibullus* is ſaid to make mention,

Quæſq; Anieno ſacris Tiburs per flumina ſortes
Portarit ſicco, pertulerit q; ſinu.

The tenth and laſt, as ſhe is by our Antiquaries diſpoſed, was *Sibylla Perſica*,

The ſixt *Helleſpontiaca* or *Trojana*, the ſeventh *Lesbiaca*, the eighth *Phrygia*, the ninth *Tiburtina*, the tenth *Perſica*, or *Chaldaica*: to which many others are added.

Perſica, or *Chaldæa*, who is in truth the firſt and eldeſt of them all; of whom, more anon. Beſides theſe, others are remembred diſperſedly in Authors here and there, as *Europæa*, *Agrippina*, *Colophoniaca*, *Lucana*, *Rhodia*, *Sicula*, *Sardica*, *Ægyptiaca*, *Melachræna*, and perhaps others. The reaſon may be, becauſe in common courſe of ſpeech, and acceptance, every Prophecying Woman, every Wizard, Witch, &c. had or deſired to have that name and title given unto them of Sibyllaes.

Concerning *Sibylla Cumæa* and her Prophecies.

37. But amongſt them all, were they twice ſo many, not any one ſo much beholding to *Baronius*, as *Sibylla Cumæa*, or *Cumana* is; concerning whom, his firſt reſolution is, that ſhe was the laſt of the Sibylls, living about the fiftieth Olympiade, ſome twenty years before *Cyrus* the Perſian; wherein he is miſtaken many wayes. For *Sibylla Helleſpontiaca* who lived with *Cyrus* and *Solon*, muſt needs be younger. Secondly, the *Sibylla* remembred by *Solinus*, whom he voucheth, is not *Cumæa*, but *Cumana*. *Cumæa* was as old as the warre of Troy, in the time of *Samuel* Judge of Iſrael. From whence, unto the firſt Olympiad, *Euſebius* reckoneth foure hundred and ſixe yeares, and from thence unto the fiftieth Olympiad, in which *Baronius* ſaith *Cumana* lived, are two hundred yeares more. So that betwixt *Cumæa*, and *Cumana*, are at leaſt ſix hundred and ſix yeares. *Sixtus Senenſis* ſaith *Sibylla Cumana* was born at *Cuma*, and from the place of her birth was ſo ſtyled; but *Cumæa*, and not *Cumana*, is the derivation of *Cuma*, as *Stephanus* teacheth: and therefore *Virgil*, who ſpeaks *properly*, as he writes moſt *learnedly*, ſtyles her ever *Cumæam*, never *Cumanam*, yet would *Cumana* have fitted his verſe, as well and fully if not more then *Cumæa*. Again, if *Cumana Sibylla* were that Beldame who preſented *Tarquinius* with thoſe nine Books of Oracles, it is not likely that ſhe had lived from the dayes of *Æneas* to *Tarquinius*, at leaſt ſix hundred yeares, though the Poet ſtyles her, *Vivacem Sibyllam*. Unleſſe with *Lucian*, who tells of his Voyage made into thoſe parts, that ſhe was tranſlated into the land of the Moone, and there gave Oracles unto the dwellers of thoſe Countries, from whence ſhee might come downe to preſent *Tarquinius* with thoſe Oracles. The rather becauſe he tells a moſt ſerious tale, that one *Theſpeſius* upon a time, heard a ſhrill loud womans voyce, as it had been in the ayre, which delivered many things in Greek Hexameter verſe, and amongſt the reſt foretold him of his death. This voyce, he was told was the voyce of *Sibylla*, in the land of the Moone. But becauſe of the ſwift courſe and motion of the Moone, he could underſtand but little of what ſhe ſaid. So hereafter we muſt not talk of the Man, but the Woman in the Moone. But let *Lucian* paſſe with his lying Legend; *Virgil* is ſaid to have held them for the ſame, for intending the predictions of *Sibylla*, out of the Oracles by her delivered, and remaining in the Capitol, amongſt the *Cimelia* of Rome, he ſaith,

Vltima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas.

The

The laſt age, remembred by *Cumæa Sibylla* in her verſes is now come. *Cicero* alſo alludeth unto the ſame, in the ſecond Book *De Divinatione*; *Sibyllæ verſus obſervamus, quos illa furens fudiſſe dicitur. Quorum interpres nuper, falsâ quadam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, eum quem revera Regem habebamus, appellandum quoq; eſſe Regem, ſi ſalvi eſſe velimus.* We further make obſervation of Sibylls verſes, which ſhe in a frantick fury poured out; one of the keepers of thoſe verſes, and interpreters of them, was lately, but falſly reported, to have had a purpoſe to put a grace up in Senate, that he, who in effect was King, in name and title might be ſtyled King. This Interpreter he ſpeaks of, was *L. Cotta*, one of the eighteenth, that had the charge and cuſtody of Sibyls Oracles; of him *Suetonius* writeth thus in the life of *Iulius Cæſar*: *Proximo Senatu percrebuerat fama, L. Cottam, quindecemvirum, ſententiam dicturum, ut quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur, Parthos, niſi à Rege, non poſſe vinci, Cæſar Rex appellaretur*: The report went, that at the next Senate day, *Lucius Cotta*, one of the fifteen, intended to preferre a bill, that *Iulius Cæſar* might have the title of King, becauſe it was ſaid in the fatall books, that the Parthians were not conquerable but by a King. So the Cæſarian Paraſites and Factioniſts then in Rome, intended that to *Iulius Cæſar*, which *Sibylla* meant and uttered of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, borne a King, of the Royall houſe of *David*, and to reigne as a King, upon the houſe of *Iacob* for ever. *Tautus* relates, that over all the Eaſt, the common report was, that out of Judæa ſhould come a King; which he applies unto *Veſpaſian*. Thus, as their fancies ſerved them, ſo did thoſe Pagans apply that which they underſtood not, concerning the ſending of a King into the world, according to the purpoſe and eternall counſell of God. This paſſage, or not much unlike it, is yet extant in the third book of Sibyls Oracles, printed at *Paris*, *pag.* 269.

38. *Baronius* would infer, that becauſe the Oracles, from whence *Cotta* and others had this, were laid up in the Capitoll, and are by *Virgil* ſtyled *Cumæas* verſes, that therefore *Cumæa* was the Sibyll who preſented thoſe bookes unto *Tarquinius*; which is a grand *Aniſtoreſia* in ſo great a Maſter of Hiſtory. For, as himſelfe acknowledgeth, the Oracles ſold unto *Tarquinius* had been conſumed with fire, at the conflagration of the Capitoll in the Sociall Warre. And thoſe Prophecies remaining in the Capitoll, in *Ciceroes*, and *Cæſars* time, were ſuch as had been collected together, out of ſundry places, to ſupply the former. For upon that dyſaſter, the Senate employed three honourable perſonages of their own rank and order, Embaſſadors, and Agents, with commiſſion to goe into Aſia to Cumæ, Erythræ, and other places, wherein formerly any of the Sibylls had lived or dwelt, and where any of their Oracles and Prophecies could be found or heard of, and to procure the originalls or tranſcripts thence: indeavouring thereby, as farre as humane care and induſtry would goe, or diſcretion compaſſe it, to repaire the loſſe ſuſtained

Sibylla Cumæa lived not in Tarquins time.

by burning of the former books. *P. Gabinius*, *M. Otacilius*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, Senators, were the parties imployed: who collected together, and brought home with them about a thousand Oracles in verſe, as *Plinius* and *Varro* did relate it. Theſe Prophecies were thoſe that were laid up in the Capitol, new builded under the charge of ten men firſt, then fifteen afterward. Theſe were not Prophecies of any one Sibyl as the former three books were, but of ſundry Sibyls, as they could collect them here and there, eſpecially of two, *Erythraea* and *Cumaea*; if yet they two were diſtinct, and not rather one and the ſame, as I conceive it; one perſon called by two ſeverall names, from two places of abode.

The Oracles preſerved in the Capitol, not the ſame which were preſented to *Tarquin.*

39. *Baronius* then was deceived concerning thoſe verſes in the Capitol, in *Virgils*, *Caſars*, *Ciceroes* time. The books burned in the Sociall warre, were never repaired, or tranſcribed anew. It was not poſſible after they were burnt. There were no other copies extant of them in the world. She that brought them, gave intimation of that to *Tarquinius* who bought them; and formerly they were not tranſcribed. It was capitall, their life went for it, to write them out, or ſuffer any man to reade or peruſe them. *Attilius*, one of the firſt two, to whoſe care and cuſtody they were committed, for permitting a copy to be taken of them, was by *Tarquinius* doomed to be put into a ſack, and drowned in the Sea as a parricide. The copy tranſcribed was taken away and burnt, and care had, that never after any ſuch like act ſhould be committed. Thus relates *Halicarnaſſeus*, nor is there any contrary aſſertion made by any. Onely *Baronius* talks ignorantly in this, as in the former paſſage, his words being directly *ad oppoſitum* to all Stories. *Non ſic accipias, ut ea penitus interierint, nec illorum remanſerit aliquod expreſſum veſtigium*; Take it not ſo, that thoſe Oracles totally periſhed, ſo that no memoriall, or part of them remained. Yes, if we will give credit to all Stories, we muſt take it ſo, not as he conceits; elſe, what needed the Senate have ſent ſo into Aſia, if nearer home, there had been copies or tranſcripts extant? doubtleſſe there were none, and *Baronius* was much therein deceived. But the Prophecies and Predictions of the other Sibyls, being ſcatteringly diſpoſed and diſperſed up and downe, here and there, in ſundry mens hands, though the Romanes by Embaſſadors did procure and collect together what they could, yet could not they poſſibly compaſſe all, nor procure into their hands all copies and tranſcripts in the world, but many remained with their former owners, whereof the Romanes had no notice at all. For all Aſia was not then under the Romanes, nor were all men willing to part with ſuch goods: and the Oracles which they did procure, were but *Apographa*, Tranſcripts for the moſt part, many copies remained behinde ſtill, which as other books and writings of men, paſſed from hand to hand, by Tranſcription; which in proceſſe of time were read, uſed, and commended by the learned Fathers of the Church, as well as the works of other Writers.

40. Yet

40. Yet in this act of State, God himſelf, (howſoever the Romans had no ſuch intent) in wiſdome and goodneſſe, had a ſpeciall hand as in many other paſſages amongſt Pagans, to procure and give credit by publique teſtimony, unto thoſe Predictions, which in future ages, the Chriſtians would vouch againſt Pagans, for juſtifying of that diſpenſation of grace, which in and by Chriſt, God would impart unto the world, as being no new Doctrine, as oppoſites termed it, which ſo long before had been manifeſted unto thoſe women, and left by them upon Record unto Poſterity. And ſecondly, again the ſame Wiſdome and Providence of God renued the ſame act, for the ſame end, when the Saviour was born, though not publiſhed, inſtantly before the manifeſting of him unto the world. For *Tiberius Cæſar*, in whoſe dayes Chriſt was baptized by *Iohn* in Jordan, and ſuffered death upon the Croſſe, under *Pontius Pilate*, cauſed a ſecond review to be taken of thoſe Oracles, (becauſe after the ſupply made out of Aſia, many other had been tendred, accepted and laid up) and all other beſide, that were abroad in mens hands, to be recogniſed as much as could be, that the true Sibyls Oracles might be diſtinguiſhed from falſe and counterfait. Afterward there was a grace put up unto the Fathers of the Senate, ſaith *Tacitus*, by *Quintilianus* Tribune of the people, concerning adding of another volume of Sibyls Oracles, which *Caninius Gallus*, one of the *quindecim viri*, who had the charge and cuſtody of thoſe Oracles, made ſuit to have received and admitted with the former books and writings of that Propheteſſe, and deſired that a Decree might thereof be paſſed in Senate; which was ſo done by dividing of the houſe. *Cæſar* hereupon by Letters gently blamed *Quintilianus* the Tribune, who as a young man, and therefore ignorant of the ancient uſe and cuſtome, had overſhot himſelf, and committed an error: but he deeply taxed *Gallus*, that being a man of experience, and verſed in the point, skilfull in thoſe Rites and Ceremonies, had cauſed a grace to paſſe in a very thin houſe, many being abſent, without conſent or privity of his colleagues, without peruſing the work, whoſe author was unknown, and uncertaine, without eſtimating the verſes, whether they were true or falſe. And withall he put them in minde, that *Auguſtus* had formerly ordered it, that within a certain ſet day, after any ſuch Prophecies came to any mans hand, they who had them, ſhould exhibite them to the Prætor of the City, and not keep them privately in their own hands, becauſe many vain and fooliſh things paſſed up and downe under that glorious title of Sibyls Oracles; which courſe had likewiſe formerly been obſerved, when, upon burning of the Capitol in the Sociall warre, the Senate ſent and made ſearch at Samos, Troy, Erythræ, in Libya, Sicilia, Italy for Sibyls verſes, whether the Authors were *one* or *many*, and gave expreſſe charge unto the Colledge of Prieſts, to diſcerne and diſtinguiſh betwixt *true* and *falſe*, as farre as poſſibly mans wit could reach unto: which evidences of *Tacitus* and others is ſuch, as the mouthes of Pagans muſt be ſtopped there-

God's providence in the collection of theſe Oracles, which could not be forged by Chriſtians.

by, from challenging the Christians for forgery or subornation, as some Christian Novellers of late have done, which God foreseeing, did prevent any just exception from being taken.

Why the Fathers used them; Gods and the Romans end in them.

41. The ancient Fathers in the first ages of the Church, who had principally to doe with Pagan opposites, and enemies, did highly esteem, and make great account of Sibyls Oracles. They often cite, and instance in, and from them, against Infidels, and misbeleevers, and that to very good purpose. For it is the forest canvase that can be given an opposite, to beat him at his owne weapon; to wrest his weapon out of his hands, and turne it upon himselfe. The Romans in these remembred passages intended onely reason of State and their private interests, for such their exact care and diligence about Sibyls Prophecies. But God had a further intent and purpose, to confound oppositions and exceptions against those pregnant testimonies, which were to be procured out of their writings concerning himselfe, his Being, his Attributes, his Works of nature and grace, his Providence, Protection, his Church and Kingdome; the finall end and consummation of the world; the Resurrection of the body from the dust of death; the immortall state and essence of the soul; Judgement, and Retribution after judgement; Life eternall and everlasting death. Against Pagan opposition, these predictions have had publique countenance and assertion, from the wisest State that ever was in the world; against Christian opposers, that respect which Antiquity did generally carry unto them, may be countenance sufficient for their value and worth, and warrant enough for any to use them in any argument against Infidels and Atheists. *Iustin Martyr, Clemens, Theophilus, Lactantius, Eusebius, Augustine*, are full of testimonies to this purpose, whereof more anon in the exceptions taken against them, and their writings, by *Scaliger* and others.

The difference betweene the Oracles burnt in the Capitol, and those cited by *Cicero* and *Virgil*.

42. In those former Oracles of *Sibylla Cumana*, consumed by fire in the conflagration of the Capitol, it is probable enough, and so I conceive it, that there were no such predictions of heaven and holy things; Nothing touching Christ, God, Religion, Piety, or any inducement thereunto; but onely impious, profane, unholy Rites and Ceremonies, to appease the fury, forsooth, of their angry poppet Deities, to avert evils impendent, cease and asswage plagues and maladies urgent, to cure diseases epidemiall, to appease angry prodigious monsters, aspects, apparitions, by such and such Sacrifices, Supplications, Orisons, Processions, *Lectisternia*, Ceremonies, and Devotions, performed, done, and offered not to the true God of heaven and earth, but to Idols, Devils, at their Temples. In all which, the Author of those Oracles was a direct Agent for the Devill, not an Instrument for God or his service. And therefore it is also more then probable, that those Oracles, were, if not composed, yet enspired by and from the Devil; no act of God or his holy Spirit, not so much as *Impellendo, ne dum Illuminando*, or *Infidendo*, but onely *Permittendo*, or *non Prohibendo*, as all wickednesse is. In those Supplies, collected

collected from Erythræ, Samos, Troy, and other places, it may be there were many things of like aſſiſe unto the former, but much other matter beſide of more divine allay, touching God and goodneſſe; God and his Kingdome. Theſe Prophecies though later knowne in Rome, were much elder, moſt of them, then the former. For ſome of theſe Sibyls, lived before many, nay moſt of the Prophets, but thoſe of *Cumana*, and *Helleſpontiaca Sibylla*, were later then almoſt all the Prophets. Out of theſe ſupplied Oracles and not from thoſe ſold unto *Tarquinius*, did *Cicero* and *Virgil* write thoſe paſſages ſo often remembred by Antiquity, touching a new world, a reſtauration of all things, a King to come from heaven, and the like. It is not improbable but that ſome ſuch paſſages were extant in the writings of ſome of the other later Sibyls, either becauſe they were alike directed as *Cumæa*, and *Erythræa* were, God renuing his courſes with man, forgetfull of things done long agoe. Or becauſe thoſe later ones might have ſeene and read ſome of the Prophets, or if they were not θεοπνευστοι, enſpired by God, but ενθουσιαζοι, by ſome other Spirit, yet their Patriarch and Suggeſtor might know them from and by the Prophets. Or laſtly, they might have tranſcribed them from the writings of more ancient Sibyls, who being of reverend and ancient reſpect, all Oracles whatſoever, or whereſoever extant, might paſſe under their names, as in thoſe eight books at this day extant. The Romane Commiſſioners into Aſia collected all of any ſort, what they could meet with, and after that diſpoſed them as they in diſcretion thought fitteſt. And men *Philobibloi*, that were ſtudious in collecting the works of the ancients, might doe the like, gathering whatſoever they could come by, and diſpoſing them ſo collected into Tomes and Volumes, as they pleaſed, from whence the Fathers had, and we have the Oracles yet extant.

43. *Iuſtin Martyr* mentioneth another of the Sibyls, younger then all the reſt, even then *Athenaïs*; for ſhe lived after *Alexanders* time, being the daughter, as his copies repreſent it, of *Beroſus* the Chaldean Hiſtoriographer, who dedicated his Hiſtory to *Antiochus Soter*, ſon of *Seleucus Nicator*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines and Succeſſors, and therefore younger then *Alexander* by ſome yeares. *What you ought to beleeve concerning God*, ſaith *Iuſtin* in his Apology to the Romane Emperours, *you may learne from that ancient Sibyl, who by Divine inſpiration, delivered thoſe things, which come neare unto the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles. It is commonly ſaid that ſhee was borne at Babylon, daughter to Beroſus, who wrote the Chaldean Hiſtory, and that from thence ſhe came, but how it is not known, unto the parts of Italy which are about Cumæ in Campania.* This narration of *Iuſtin Martyr*, which pronounceth that ſhe was daughter to *Beroſus* the Chaldean, cannot ſtand with truth of ſtory, nor with courſe of times. *Antiqua Sibylla*, as ſhe is ſtyled, could not be daughter unto that *Beroſus* who lived, and wrote after *Alexanders* dayes. Secondly, if ſhe came into Italy, and lived there, it could not be leſſe

Sibylla Antiqua in Iuſt. Mart. was not Beroſus his daughter

then about eighty years after *Alexanders* death, which will fall out within the time of the firſt Carthaginian warre, which began in the four hundred ninety ſeventh year of Rome. It is not poſſible nor credible, that ſuch a Propheteſſe ſhould then live ſo near Rome in Italy, and the Romanes take no notice of her. Their Arms and Armies, had before that pierced into, and ranged over all Campania, about *Cumæ*, and elſewhere. They had many and often occaſion, in their ſuperſtitious devotions, to conſult Wizards, Diviners, Soothſayers; to ſend to the Oracle of Delphos for direction and adviſe; to conſult the Oracles in the Capitol. Had Sibyl of Babylon, ſo renowned in the world, been then alive in Italy, ſo near their doores, ſhe might have ſtood them in ſtead of all the reſt. Thirdly if ſhe that is cited by *Iuſtin Martyr*, who wrote ſo plainly concerning God, Religion, Chriſt his Kingdome, and other appurtenances unto pietty, had been of ſo late date and ſtanding in the world, as *Beroſus* the Chaldeans daughter, her Prophecies could not well have been recited againſt Pagans by Chriſtians to any purpoſe. They might have objected, and not without good reaſon, that thoſe Oracles were meere forgeries, tranſcribed out of the Prophets, and Jewiſh Monuments, which both her Father and her ſelf, living after all the Prophets, might have read, and ſo the Oracles pretended were meere Jewiſh Prophecies. Fourthly, the relation as it lies in *Iuſtin*, doth croſſe *Iuſtin* himſelf. For beſides that he ſtyles her, *Antiquam Sibyllam*, which ſhe could not be, being the youngeſt of all, he addeth, which is true, that many ancient Greek Writers had made mention of *Sibylla* in their writings, and he names, to purpoſe, *Plato* in his *Phædrus*, who both in that Book, and in *Theage*, doth remember her; but if ſhe were daughter to *Beroſus* the Chaldean, *Plato* could make no mention of her, or her works, unleſſe it were by illumination and Propheticall inſpiration. For *Plato* died in the firſt yeare of the hundred eighth Olympiade, aged eighty two years, current about twenty ſixe yeares before the death of *Alexander*. And *Antiochus Soter*, unto whom *Beroſus*, her pretended Father, did dedicate his Chaldean Hiſtory, began to reigne in the fourth yeare of the hundred twenty fourth Olympiade, about ſixty nine yeares after the death of *Plato*. He then could not mention the works of *Sibylla*, who lived ſo many ſcore yeares after his death. I much marvaile, that not *Billius*, nor *Perianius*, nor *Sylburgius*, nor any of our Moderne Criticks, and great Maſters of Philology, who let nothing paſſe untouched or unanſwered, did not conſider ſo great an errour, and Parachroniſme in *Iuſtins* Text: But much more, that *Torniellus* the Annaliſt beleeved it, and cites it for truth.

Laert. in vita Platonis.

Iuſt. Mart. corrupted. Who that Sibyl was.

44. The truth is, the Copies of *Iuſtin Martyr* are faulty, and muſt be amended: For that learned Father never wrote more then Βηρώσσης θυγατέρα ἦσαν, *being the daughter of Beroſſus*, indefinitely, without naming what *Beroſus*, whence he was, or of what time and ſtanding.

Some

Some ignorant and ill employed Reader, who had heard of *Beroſus* the Hiſtorian, but of none other bearing that name, added of his owne head in the margin, Τῷ τῶν χαλδαίκων ἱστοριαν συγγραφεῖ, conſigning him that was indefinitely named, unto the party that wrote the Chaldean Story; and as ignorant a Tranſcriber of that Copie, put it into the Text: which kind of intruſions, the learned know, are frequent in the writings of the Ancient. Whereas beſide that Chaldean *Beroſus*, there was another of that name, *Cecrope antiquior*, not onely proverbially, but *indeed*. This ancient *Beroſus*, by his wife *Sambetho*, had a daughter named *Sabe*, the Perſian or Chaldean Sibyl, eldeſt of them all: *Pauſanias* in *Phocicis* calls her *Sambetho*, or *Sabe*, the daughter of *Beroſus* and *Erymanthe*: To whom accordeth *Suidas* in his Collections, but with ſome fabulous additions of his own. That learned Antiquary *Pauvinius* runs along with the common error, and puts it downe, that *Beroſus* the Hiſtorian was her Father, but *Gyraldus* ſaith nothing of that Hiſtorian; and yet he citeth *Iuſtin Martyr*: A ſigne he had ſeen a perfect Copy, in which that addition was not. *Pauvinius* addes, that ſhe was wife unto the Patriarch *Noah*. This he took up out of *Suidas*, who collected whatſoever came to hand; and I ſuppoſe he followed, but with ſome miſtaking, thoſe Verſes which long ſince were inſerted into, and at this day are extant in the end of the third Book of *Sibyls* Oracles: where ſhe declareth that ſhe was native at Babylon; that ſhe came after into Greece, ſent thither to declare unto all men the will of God revealed unto her Prophetically; that the Greeks in proceſſe of time would make report, that ſhe was borne at Erythræ, that *Circe* was her mother, and her father of *Cnoſſus* in Creta; that ſhe was a diſtracted Beldame, and told many leaſings in her Oracles. And becauſe in that place ſhe ſpeaketh of the generall Deluge, and of *Noahs* Arke ſomewhat ambiguouſly, they have made her one of that little company, and wife unto *Noah*. So *Suidas* dreamed, miſtaking the word νύμφη, which ſignifies a *Woman*, a *Lady*, a *Maid*, as well as a *Wife*. It hath been miſtaken, that ſhe ſaid ſhe was his *wife*; who ſaith no more, but that ſhe was a *maiden* deſcended from him, of his bloud. If ſhe had been his wife, ſhe could not have been ἀφ' αἵματος, of his bloud. If that had been her meaning, ſhe might well have been challenged for a mad Beldame. The conſtruction is not, Τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ νύμφη, *I was his wife*, but Τῷ μὲν ἀφ' αἵματος, ἐγὼ νύμφη, *of his blond or kindred am I a maiden*. That is, in ſome ſpeciall ſort, as neere allyed unto him; not as all women generally are deſcended of *Noah*, but borne of ſome of his Nephewes, in the parts about Babylon, long before the death of *Sem*, who out-lived *Abraham* the Hebrew. From *Sem* ſhe might receive many of her predictions, as ſhe had them from his father *Noah*.

Ταῦτά τοι Λατοῦος Βαζυλῶνος τοι γένος εἰμί,
Ὅς σεσωμένης ἀγγελίην ἐς Ἑλλάδα τιμήσουσιν
Τῦρ Παῖν ἀφορτόδυσα διὰ μαντήματα θνητοῖς.
Καὶ καλέσουσι βροτοὶ με καθ' Ἑλλάδα παγκλύτως
Αἶσα Ἐξ ἱρυθρῆς γεγαῖαν δέμε Κίρκης Μαγρὸς
Ἠδὲ Κνώσου πατρὸς ἔφυσαν Σίβυλλαν.

Οτι γὰρ κατακλύζει κόσμον, Ὕδατι κὴ τὶς οἶνος
μόνος εὐδοκίμησε ἐλεύσεται Νῶεμον ἐπὶ οἶκον
ἐπτάλωσας ὑδάτεσσι· Τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ, νύμφη δ' αἵματος, αὐτὴ ἐτύχθην·
Τῷ τὰ μὲν ἐγὼ ἐγίνετο, τὰδ' ἔκατα πάντ' ἀπεδείχθη.

Noah. So ſhe means, *who knew things done before the floud*, and foreſaw things to come to paſſe long time afterward. I would ſuppoſe ſhe might live about the time of *Abraham*, and why not ſhe, ſo ancient as famous in Pagan monuments, as *Semiramis*, elder then *Abraham*. Amongſt the very poore Remains of Gods true ſervants, ſhe might well be one, when Idololatry and Paganiſme had much inlarged in the world: And partly by divine inſpiration, partly by converſing with, and Information from thoſe holy Patriarchs *Sem*, *Heber*, *Abraham*, ſhe learned that which ſhe delivered, and left unto poſterity: to which many additions have been made, much alteration hath accrued in proceſſe of time. And thus much for the number, kinds, and ſeverall ages of theſe Sibyls.

The Sibyls no Virgins; they were inſpired by God.

45. *Baronius* in his paſſages concerning them, hath a ſingular conceit, yet not of his owne, but of *Hieroms* deviſing, that *They were all Virgins*, and in reward of their Virginity, for the excellent worth and merit of it, God beſtowed upon them the gift of Prophecy. A pretty tale, if it were true. *Hierome*, who moſt commonly in commending or diſcommending any man, or thing, in reproofe or contradiction, obſerves no mediocrity or moderation, but is *in extremis* every way; writing againſt *Iovinian*, a Chriſtian Epicure, as he ſtyles him, who too much undervalued and detracted from Virginity, and the worth thereof, ſtraineth as much almoſt upon the other ſide, to the prejudice and diſgrace of marriage, and in that heat of oppoſition, ever and anon falleth out into ſuch termes, as if ſome men did talk ſo wildly, as he ſometime doth, he ſhould be conſorted with *Encratiles*, or ſome worſe then they. Amongſt many other paradoxall aſſertions of *Hierome* concerning *Virginity*, this is one, here mentioned by *Baronius*, *That all the Sibyls in generall were Virgins: that in reward of their virginity, they received from God that gift of Prophecying.* *Quid referam Sibyllas*, ſaith he, *Erythræam*, *Cumanam*, *& octo reliquas? nam Varro decem fuiſſe autumat, quarum inſigne Virginitas eſt*, *& Divinatio præmium virginitatis.* Which might very well have befitted *Caſſandra* and her diſpoſition, if as ſhe was a Propheteſſe, and truely affected to *virginitie*, ſo ſhe had alſo been one of the Sibyls. For Grammar boyes know, that ſhe in love to *virginitie*, deceived *Apollo* her Suiter, who intended Divination to her, not as *præmium virginitatis*, but as *proſtitutæ pudicitiæ*. Setting her aſide, and few of the Sibyls were ſuch Veſtalls as *Hierome* talks of. The very Beldame of all Fortune-telling wenches amongſt the Pagans, *Themis*, was mother, they ſay, of many children, but how begotten, let *Baronius* looke; and *Apollo* their Patriarch had his Drabs in every corner. As all Diviners were not *Virgins*, ſo all *Virgins* were not Diviners, as of right they ſhould have been, did *Hieromes* aſſertion hold ſtaunch. And if Sybil may be beleeved in her owne cauſe, *Hierome* could not much bragge of her Virginity. Firſt ſhe profeſſeth that ſhe was *married*, and ſo in all probability no virgin. Secondly, one of them, I know not which, ingenuouſly

ingenuouſly confeſſeth her owne imperfections, and tels us, ſhe had been of the *dealing trade*, denied no commers, but admitted all. For which lewdneſſe, ſhe was afraid of Gods judgement, and became heartily ſorry for it. But admit that all of them had preſerved their honeſty untainted, Were they better maids then hundreds or thouſands, who never did, nor yet ever could read riddles, or tell fortunes? I cannot conceive how onely thoſe ten, of all Virgins that ever have been, ſhould be ſo *ſacred*, ſo rewarded, for that in particular, in which ſo many beſide themſelves, deſerved as well, and yet went without reward. If it were *Præmium Virginitatis*, then why was it not indifferent *Virginibus*? So to diſpenſe of his graces partially, ſtands not with the juſtice of God, howſoever convenient enough for gratuitall diſpenſation; where *Præmium* is as a Reward, there *Meritum* Deſert, *ex congruo*, or *condigno* goes before. If Deſert be equall, why is Reward diſproportionable? *Hierome* ſaith it not, and by them it appeareth not, that they in affection to Virginity exceeded all Virgins that ever were. It is not by him conceived, that Divination, the Reward, was conferred upon them as ſuch, ſo paramount, and eminent above all other Virgins, but onely as being Virgins. *Baronius* may dote as he pleaſeth upon *Hieromes* aſſertion, and meere affection, but certainly, if for any thing Prophecy was conferred upon them, it was becauſe they were ὅσιαι holy, and δίκαιαι righteous, as *Theophilus Antiochenus* ſaid of ſome, in his ſecond book to *Autolycus*, who were therefore θεοδίδακτοι inſtructed by God, and ſo θεοπνεῦσται enſpired by God, and ſo made inſtruments for God, which was an honour conferred, as *Hierome* knew, upon many, no Virgins. Many in their old age have ſerved God in much chaſtity, ſobriety, temperance, who yet had been wantons in their younger dayes, and happily *Hierome* was one of them. Theſe *Gratiæ gratis datæ*, being meere *Chariſmata*, are meerly *Beneplacita*, as God will and pleaſeth, without promiſe, reward, or due debt, to beſtow them. Prophets they were, and ſo are ſtyled Prophets by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus* and others. *Mulieres Deo plenæ, interpreteſq́*, ſaith *Arnobius*: and that by warrant, as it ſeemeth, of S. *Paul*, who ſtyleth *Epimenides* the Cretian (for him he meaneth) a Prophet, whom he might have named a Philoſopher, and not a Prophet, becauſe he, as the Sibyls, foretold things to come, as we read in *Plato*; and wrote περὶ χρησμῶν, concerning Oracles or Prophecies, as *Laertius* remembreth. Prophets amongſt the Jews, ſuch as *David*, *Eſay*, *Ieremy*, &c. were θεοφορούμενοι, carried by God, and πνεύματοφόροι, bearing his ſpirit in them. *Clemens*, for the active cauſe of their predictions, ſeemeth to incline unto that opinion, which holds that they were moved by the Spirit of God, and ſo doe commonly the Greek Fathers ſpeak of them, but *Ambroſe* thinks it was the Devil, and not Gods Spirit which ſpake by them. *This is he who both deceiveth, and is deceived by ſeeming ſhewes of truth. This is he that ſpake by the mouth*

Μυρία ἰδὼν μοι λέκτρα, γάμῳ δ' οὐ συνῆλθον,
Δουλοσύνης ἀπύλεστος, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ πάντ' ἔκοσμα
Ἐκεῖνον εἰς ἀνλῶνα θεὸς φαίην κε τρόπωσε.

In 2. cap. 2 ad Corinth.

of

of Sibylla, following the minde and meaning of our writers the Prophets, as desiring to be held, as yet, an inhabitant of heaven, and neare unto God. *Hierome*, who will have them indowed with Divination, as a reward of their Virginity, must needs be of the Greek Fathers minde, against *Ambrose*. For otherwise there could be no reward so allotted and set out unto them. It were a strange reward to give them up to the power of Satan, to make them actuall slaves to Satan, to make them the Devils pack-horses, to suffer him to possesse, and really inhabite them, or by obsession to move, actuate, and enspire them. This had been a sorry reward, for so great a vertue, as in *Hieromes* opinion, was perpetuall Virginity; and therefore I cannot see that he would consent with *Ambrose*, that they were activated by the Devill.

S. *Austins* opinion concerning Pagan Prophets.

46. To the same opinion of the Greek Fathers did S. *Augustine* incline in all probability, as may be collected from his eighteenth Book *De Civitate Dei*, and forty eighth Chapter. It is true which he observeth in that fore-remembred place, that God was then known in Jury, and no where else but in Jury, ordinarily, by appropinquation, approximation, familiar and usuall revelation, according to the *purpose*, and *promise* of grace, yet not with such restraint, as if in those reserved times, no man in any Nation, had appertained unto God; for then, as he instanceth, What say we to *Iob*, that holy man, and Prophet, and his friends? *Christian verity doth teach and assure us, that those righteous and just men of old could not possibly have been made so righteous, so just, by being cleansed from their sinnes, without faith, resolved in and upon the Incarnation, Death, and Resurrection of Christ, through the grace of God made manifest unto them; whether we speak of those righteous ones remembred in holy Scripture; or of such as be not spoken of there, but yet assuredly were and lived, either before the Floud, or after it, untill the giving of the Law by Moses: Not only such as lived in Israel, and for instance, the Prophets; but such also, as were without the pale of Israel, for instance, holy Iob.* And why may we not suppose and say the like of some other amongst the Gentiles; *Trismegistus, Hystaspes, Orpheus*, after his Recantation, and Repentance, for being an abettor of Idololatry? *Etenim ipsorum corda*, saith the same Father, *eâdem mundabantur fide Mediatoris, & diffundebatur charitas in iis per Spiritum sanctum.* For their hearrs by the same faith in the same Mediator were made cleane, and charity was therein diffused by the holy Ghost. Ask not how this was done: for God is various, strange, and admirable in his wayes, and wonderfull in his works. His mercies are a bottomelesse depth, and who can search into the secrets of his goodnesse? God hath moe wayes then one to save men by, as S. *Augustine* hath it in the above remembred place, alluding to that saying of our Saviour, *The winde bloweth where it will; Thou hearest the sound of it, but knowest not whence it comes, nor whither it goeth.* In all which, *Non merita sequitur, sed facit merita.* God doth not follow, and second

To. 7. c. Pelag. & Celest. Lib. 2. cap. 24.

ſecond deſert by his holy Spirit; but by his holy Spirit worketh deſert.

47. But admit that out of Iſrael there had been no ſalvation, and therefore theſe Sibyls, as Gentiles, had no part or portion in God at all; yet I ſee no reaſon, why S. *Ambroſe* ſhould ſo reſolve, that *All their predictions were of and from the Devill.* They might be activated, as inſtruments, by God, though in regard of eternall ſtate, they did not belong unto him. God is paramount to all, commandeth over all, may uſe all as his creatures, to what he pleaſeth. As there is nothing ſo bad, but hath ſome good; ſo nothing ſo falſe, but hath ſome truth. God hath often ſpoke, concerning the great myſteries of our moſt holy faith, by the mouthes of Pagans, Reprobates, wicked caſtawayes, Devills. *Poteſt enim*, ſaith the Schoole, *Prophetia haberi, ſine charitate, & Gratia gratum faciente. The Devills beleeve and tremble.* The Devils they were, who ſpake thoſe words of truth, *We know who thou art, even the Chriſt, the Son of God.* *Balaam* was no Iſraelite, none of the beſt men; for he loved the wayes of iniquity; he taught *Balac* to make Iſrael to ſin, and ſo to fall before their enemies: And yet he prophecied not by the Devill, with whom otherwiſe he wrought, and whom he ſerved, but but by God. God ſpeaks by the mouthes of all his holy Prophets; ſo doth he by the mouthes of beaſts, or worſe then beaſts: by all, truth; for true it is what comes from God. All true, but not what comes from the Devill. For *Loquitur è propriis*, even then when he ſpeaks not *Propria*; and ſo he ſpeaks lies intermingled with truth, either in the matter, or the manner, or in the end. The Devill of himſelfe can foretell, and ſo can inſpire, and ſuggeſt unto his owne, things to come, which in reſpect of us, not of him, nor themſelves be predictions. For as a Spirit, and ſo in experimentall, naturall, intellectuall knowledge, above the underſtanding of men, he ſees that preſentially which we doe not, which we cannot doe, and ſo can *informe*, and *adviſe* concerning that: but the things of God, the ſecrets of his counſells, he cannot ſee; they muſt be revealed to him, as to us, or he cannot know them, not foretell them. God may, and doth ſometime reveale ſuch things unto him, and his, as he doth unto thoſe bleſſed Spirits of Eternity, and to men choſen out for that purpoſe, and fitted by him to that end. But in a different ſort. The Prophets have by him Illumination, and Inſeſſion. He takes poſſeſſion of their ſoule, dwelling in them, as in a conſecrated Temple. From thence, as from heaven, he gives his Oracles, and ſpeaks by them intelligibly. *Spiritus Domini, qui in me, & verbum, quod loquutus per os meum.* Others are moved, impelled, driven to utter what they ſay, and ſo doe not ever underſtand the things they ſpeak. He makes them ſpeak truth againſt their wills, and give evidence to that which they would not doe; what God will have them ſay, they cannot but ſpeak. *God put a word in the mouth of Balaam*, and himſelfe profeſſeth he could not *goe beyond it.* It was no act of Satan, that *Balaam* ſpake as he did.

God ſpake by the Sibyls though wicked, and not the Devill.

And

And though the Sibyls were as bad as ſpight can make them, yet why ſhould it be held an act of Satan, that they foretold ſo many things of Chriſt, and Chriſtianity. The Devill was not ſo ill affected to his own cauſe and State, as to foretell the ruine of it, to ſeek to draw men unto virtuous and honeſt courſes, to the knowledge of God, of Chriſt, of Heaven and heavenly things; which S. *Ambroſe* cannot deny the Sibyls have done. Secondly, the Devill could not teach them, more then he knew himſelfe. In generall he might know much, as having been acquainted with revelations to the Patriarchs, with that which the Prophets had delivered. But in particular he could not know very much. He might know that Chriſt was to come; to be born of *Iudah*, of the houſe of *David*: but that he ſhould be borne of the Virgin *Mary*, daughter to *Anna*, wife to *Ioſeph*, that his name ſhould be *Ieſus*, and many ſuch like, he could not tell, untill he ſaw it verified in event. Much leſſe could he ſuggeſt it to his Prophets. Theſe and many ſuch paſſages are in Sibyls Oracles, not any way diſcernable, but by revelation, ſo punctuall and to purpoſe, that many of our Philologers have concluded, and would perſwade us, that they were counterfaits, and Poſtnates, forged by Chriſtians, becauſe they ſpeak ſo plainly of the myſteries of our faith: of which more anon in ſatisfying the objections made againſt them.

What a Prophet is. The Jewiſh Prophets.

48. For the better clearing of this premiſed inſtance, whether the Sibyls were the inſtruments of God or the Devill, we muſt awhile make a ſtand, and take ſome view of Prophets, and Propheticall indowments and Oracles, both amongſt Gods people and the Pagans, that ſo we may the better diſcerne, to which part in more likelihood the Sibyls did appertain. *God, at ſundry times, and in different manner*, ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, *ſpake unto the Fathers by the Prophets*, who ſpake as they were directed by him that ſent them; περὶ θεοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῶν θείων, *concerning God, and the things of God*, ſaith *Athenagoras*, being to that end and purpoſe inſpired by God, and admitted to the knowledge of his will, taught and inſtructed by his Spirit, what to ſay, which wholly poſſeſſing them, moved and directed them in their function: who ſpake of things done long agoe, whereof was no *conſtat* or memory amongſt men, as *Moſes* did of the Creation, and thoſe hiſtories related in *Geneſis*, done before he was borne; or of things preſent, but not known, or knowable ordinarily, as *Elizeus* diſcovered the ſecret counſels of the Syrians to the King of Iſrael; or of things contingent, to come to paſſe hereafter: which is their proper function according to their title. For a Prophet is but a foreteller of what is not yet, but will come to paſſe afterward; and ſo we take it, when we ſay of the Sibyls that they were Prophets. Such were the Prophets amongſt the Jews all of them. Though not onely ſo, but Preachers of Righteouſneſſe, Guides unto the people, Reformers of

Τῷ θείῳ βουλήματι καὶ θεοπνεύστῳ, Baſil. Κινούμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι. *Athenagoras.* Δωρεᾷ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπιπνοίᾳ, *Clem: Alex.* Ἐπιβουλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ, *Ioſephus.* *Inundati Divino Spiritu, Tertul.* θεοπνευστεῖ θεοφορεῖ θεοφορήμενοι.

of manners amisse in either State: of whom *Nazianzen* saith therefore that they were Νομοθέται καὶ ἡγεμόνες. Captaines, Law-givers unto the people; of whom *Iustin Martyr* hath this *Elogium*. *Beati, justi, Deo dilecti. In Divino Spiritu loquentes, & futura predicentes. Soli isti inter omnes veritatem cum viderent, & intelligerent, ad eum modum enunciarunt, ut neminem metuerent, nullius verecundia retardarentur, nec inani gloriæ & ambitioni succumberent.* *Moses* was not the first, saith *Clemens Alexandrinus*, but from the very beginning there were Prophets, before the Floud, after the Floud, before the Law, under the Law, untill *Iohn* the *Baptist*, as the Gospel avoweth, *The Law, and the Prophets were untill Iohn*; and concerning those before *Moses*, the ancient Patriarchs and friends of God, the Psalmist said, *Touch not mine anointed, and doe my Prophets no harme.* Whereof there was a continued succession in the people of God, though with interruption and intercision, sometime fewer, sometime moe, sometime none at all for a certain space; especially after the Captivity of Babylon, though, as it is related by *Iosephus*, some of the Jewish sectaries, Pharisees and Esseni, pretended unto it, though either falsly, or as Magicians, or as *Caiaphas* and *Balaam*; some things they might fore-speak by addresse from God, but not as Prophets, as Divines, but as Diviners rather. For as it was said of *Caiaphas*, *They knew not what they said*, or that they did Prophecy. Which having so failed for a long time amongst the Jews, began to be revived, with some frequency, with some eminency, when the time of the promise to the Fathers drew nigh, and salvation was even at their doores. Then we read of *Zachary*, *Elisabeth*, *Simeon*, *Anna*, the blessed Virgin, *Iohn Baptist*, and happily others, who expected and waited for Redemption in Israel. And so it was transfused unto the Church, by the Apostles, Disciples, Deacons, and others; in a greater measure then before, according to that Prophecy of *Ioel*, when God *poured out of his Spirit*, in more abundant manner, which came to passe in the day of Pentecost. *Iustin Martyr* hence inferres against the Jews, that seeing that which was their proper and ordinary indowment, was taken from them, and transfused into the Church, it was a signe evident, that God had rejected them, and called in the Gentiles into their inheritance. *Apud nos in hodiernum usq; diem, Prophetici Spiritus, & charismata sunt; Vnde & vos Iudæi, intelligere potestis, quòd quæ olim apud vos inveniebantur, ea jam translata sunt ad nos.*

Apol. 1.

Pag. 36.

Παρὰ Ἑβραίοις ἦν, οἱ μεχρῖτινος Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ μεχρὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ χωνικῷ, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ ζῶντος ἀνομοπαθείας μεθεστῶτος ἐν Νῶε μετάνοιαν κηρύξας· Ἀβραὰμ τε, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακὼβ, φίλους τε ἰδίᾳ τοῦ μεθίντων καὶ ἄλλα τινὰς ἀνδρῶν μεσιτεύοντες.

49. All these spake as they were enspired, but how were they enspired and taught to speak? Not by the *will of man*, or from any indowment of nature, or inherent quality, or condition in the soule. *Prophecies came not in old time*, saith S. *Peter*, *by the will of man*; They could not by any meanes inherent or acquired, foresee things simply contingent; as they can discerne, for instance, the Eclipses of the

How God inspired Prophets S. *Austins* opinion concerning it, defended.

2 Pet. 1. 21.

Sun and Moone, long before, which depend upon certaine, and unalterable causes in nature. And yet it is true, which *Plato* conceited, and S. *Augustine* aimeth at, where he saith, *Quidam voluerunt animam humanam habere quandam vim Divinationis in seipsâ.* For the soule of man being made and infused immediately by God, an intellectuall essence, subsisting alone, hath *ipso ortu, reflexion, respect, inclination* to God, and the things of God, more near *approximation* unto him, and his emissions, and communications, then other more concreted substances have; is *apta nata*, & *apta disposita* of it self, *in suo genere*, to receive effluxes, and effusions from that great light, which diffuseth it self variously over all. They did not intend, that actually the soule, as such, might, could, or did, divine, foresee, apprehend things to come, but had *Vim quandam Divinationis*, a power, possibility and inclination therewithall to be indowed, was capable of it, whensoever, or howsoever, God was pleased to impart it, which other creatures of inferiour ranks, are not, had not, nor could have. By no meanes or wayes can the *soule* of man it selfe, of it self, by any power inherent or issuing from it self, attain unto the knowledge of future contingencies, or declare them unto others; but the power it hath to performe that act, must be θέρθεν, from abroad, is supernaturall, above course of kinde, by speciall, extraordinary dispensation from God: as S. *Peter* addeth in the remembred place, *Holy men spake, as they were moved by the holy Ghost*; and so, as our Saviour said to his Apostles, *It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of God that speaketh in you:* And therefore, not like unto acquired or experimentall knowledge, which he that hath, can use, or not use, as, when, and where he pleaseth; but when the Spirit of God comes upon him, as it was said of *Saul*, then he Prophecies, and not otherwise. And therefore *Elizeus* could not tell, as he professeth, that the son of the Shunamite was dead, when the mother in heavinesse came unto him. *Her soul is vexed within her, and the Lord hath hid it from mee, and not told it me.* As the gift of tongues, though from grace poured out, in the time of the Apostles, was not promiscuous at all *times*, in all *places*, upon all *occasions* to be used; no more was Prophecy allway at hand; but when God was pleased to impart it supernaturally, for his own ends. *All are not Apostles, all are not Prophets*, but onely such to whom God imparts it as he will. As God imparts it not to all, so not to all alike; πολυμερῶς, καὶ πολυτρόπως, the distributions of his extraordinary graces, are in *divers sorts*, and *different fashions*: not so much as he can indow, that is without restraint, any way, as by, or according to our capacities, fitnesse of times, and congruencies of occasions. God hath two wayes to impart himself and his counsels to man: either immediately by himselfe; or else *Mediantibus*, other assistents, and concurrents. So he spake to *Moses face to face*. Himself called *Adam*, *Where art thou?* He talked with *Abraham* as with a friend. But sometime he useth intervention of mediation, informing by

De Gen. ad Lit. Lib. 12. cap. 13.

3 Reg. 4. 27.

by Angels, what he would have done, what he will do. So an Angel told *Manoah* concerning *Sampſon*; *Daniel* had his revelations from an Angel; and *Ioſeph* was inſtructed by an Angel what to doe, when he went downe and came out of Egypt. The Jews knew this to be a courſe uſed by God: therefore they ſay in S. *Pauls* caſe, *Act.* 23. 7. *If a Spirit or an Angel have ſpoken unto him, let us not fight againſt God.* Both one way and other are diverſified. That is, God immediately by himſelfe, or intermediately by holy Angels, doth reveale things to come moe wayes then one: *vivâ voce*, by perſonall ſhape and apparition, as *Gabriel* did informe *Daniel* appearing to him; by mentall infuſion, ſuggeſtion, illumination; ſpeaking internally to the mind without voice; ſuggeſting preſently, as thoughts, what muſt be; or repreſenting *ſhapes, figures, motions*, by wayes not expreſſible by any, but onely participants of thoſe wayes. Better I cannot expreſſe or deliver it, then S. *Auguſtine* hath done in his 2. Book and 1. Queſt. to *Simplicianus*. *Afficit enim omnes, ſed non eodem modo: alios per informationem ſpiritus, eorundem hominum, ubi rerum demonſtrantur imagines; alios per fructum mentis ad intelligentiam; alios utraq; inſpiratione; alios etiam neſcientes. Sed per informationem ſpiritus, duobus modis: Aut per ſomnium, ſicut non ſolum pleriq; ſenuli, ſed & Pharaoh, & Nabuchodonoſor rex vidit, quod nemo eorum intelligere valebat, ſed tamen uterq; videre poterat: aut per demonſtrationem, in extaſi, quod nonnulli Latini ſtuporem interpretantur, mirum ſi propriè, ſed tamen vicinè, cum ſit mentis alienatio à ſenſibus corporis, ut ſpiritus hominis divino ſpiritu aſſumptus capiendis atq; intuendis imaginibus vacet, ſicut Danieli demonſtratum eſt, quod non intelligebat; & Petro illud vas ſubmiſſum de cœlo quatuor linteis; nam & ipſe quid illa demonſtratio figuraret, intellexit poſtea. Per fructum autem mentis ad intelligentiam uno modo, cum hæc ipſa, quæ demonſtrantur imaginibus quid ſignificent, & quò pertineant, revelantur, quæ certior Prophetia eſt: Nam magis ipſam vocat Apoſtolus Prophetiam, ſicut Ioſephi mernit intelligere, quod Pharaoh non potuit niſi videre; & Daniel exponit Regi, quod ille cernit, & neſcit. Cùm verò ita mens afficitur, ut non rerum imagines conjecturali examinatione intelligat, ſed res ipſas intueatur, ſicut intelligitur ſapientia, juſtitia, omniſq; incommutabilis & divina ſpecies, ad Prophetiam de qua nunc agimus, non pertinet. Vtroq; autem munere Prophetiæ donantur hi, qui & rerum imagines in ſpiritu vident, & quid valeant, ſimul intelligant, aut certè manifeſtis demonſtrationibus, in ipſa elocutione informantur, ſicut in Apocalypſi quædam exponuntur. Neſcientes autem afficit Prophetiæ ſpiritus, ſicut Caiaphas, cum eſſet Pontifex, prophetavit de Domino, quòd expediret unum mori pro totâ Gente, cùm in verbis quæ dicebat, aliud attenderet, quæ non ſe, à ſeipſo dicere neſciebat.* Thus far S. *Auguſtine* in his owne words concerning ſundry wayes and meanes whereby God doth reveale Prophetically, as much as needs, or can well be ſaid. For it is not poſſible for man, ſaith S. *Baſil*, to expreſſe thoſe many and ſundry kinds, whereby Gods holy

1 Cor. 13. 2.

Ανέκλειπτον μὲν, τῇ ἀληθοπρεπεῖ φύσει, τὸ πνεῦμα· ἀλλὰ λόγου τὴν διαφορὰν ἐκφυγεῖν πᾶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγχωρήσει. Basil in Esa. pa. 804.

Spirit worketh in ſuch as be worthy to receive him. *Deus autem principem animæ facultatem amplexu apprehendens, eorum qui digni ſunt, ſui conſilii cognitionem ipſis inſpirat.*

50. Which words of S. *Baſil* ſeeme to confine Propheticall illumination, unto ſuch onely, as be worthy of it: that is, as he expounds himſelfe, Such as live unblameably in converſation, and meditate in the law of the Lord; for ſo be his words, Χρεὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸ καθαρεύειν τὸν βίον, καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις διατρίβειν. And to the ſame purpoſe, ſomewhat before, *Neq; verò ſolùm requiritur* παθῶν κατάσχεσις, *affectuum ſedatio, ad ſuſcipiendum Spiritum dignè, verum etiam & menſura quædam habitus fidei:* acquieting of all paſſion, that ſo condignely the Spirit may be entertained; nor onely ſo, but with ſome meaſure and proportion of faith, which he ſtyleth, *Fit diſpoſition to prophecie.* Which will not onely call into queſtion, but decide againſt the beeing of any, at leaſt moſt of the Sibyls Prophets; and farther diſavow infallible Scripture, that *Balaam, Saul, Caiaphas* did prophecie. *Opus eſt igitur, ad ſolvendam iſtam quæſtionem,* ſaith S. *Auguſtine, ut oſtendamus aliquem reprobum, hoc donum habuiſſe Prophetiæ:* and not onely ſo, for then we oppoſe onely *Baſil*, and *Auguſtine*, but farther it muſt be reſolved, how it is true, that Prophecy cannot conſiſt but with an honeſt life. And firſt, S. *Auguſt.* proveth his aſſertion, by inſtance of *Saul* and *Balaam*, who both prophecied, and yet were both Reprobates from God, and the ſpirit of his grace: and not onely ſo, but out of *Mat.* 22. 7. where our Saviour diſcourſeth, that at the later day, amongſt thoſe, unto whom he ſhal ſay, *Depart from me you curſed into everlaſting fire*, ſome ſhould anſwer, *Have we not prophecied in thy name? Ex quo intelligitur fieri poſſe, ut quidam etiam indigni vitâ æternâ, regnoq; cælorum, aſpergantur quibuſdam Spiritus ſancti muneribus.* Amongſt which *munera Spiritus ſancti*, Prophecie was one. And becauſe it might be objected, that *Balaam*, when he prophecied, was the child of God, according to *preſent ſtate of grace*, as it hath been ſaid by *Chryſoſtome* and others, *a true Prophet*, inſpired by God, though he afterward fel away; S. *Auguſtine* inſtanceth, that *Saul*, even then when the Spirit of God came upon him, and he did prophecie, was actually in the ſtate of ſin, and gall of bitterneſſe. *Cum Saul perſequeretur David innocentem, plenus invidia, & livore inſanus, factus eſt ſuper eum Spiritus Dei, & ambulabat ingrediens, & prophetabat.* So that holineſſe of life, ſtate of grace, portion with God, intereſt in his holy Spirit, are not neceſſarily and indiſpenſably ſigns of, or concomitants with Prophecie.

S. *Baſils* opinion reconciled to that of S. *Auſtin.*

51. To which we reſolve, that Prophets are of two ſorts, as Scripture repreſenteth, True or Falſe; and that alſo differently, in regard of the end, or of the matter. Truth may be uttered to *deceive*, and ſo the Devill tells troth: ſo might *Balaam*, as his effect declared it, deliver what he ſaid with no good intent. Or lies may be tendred wittingly in lieu of truth, as by him who ſaid, He would goe and be a falſe ſpirit in the mouthes of *Ahabs* Prophets, diſpoſe and addreſſe them

them to deceive. The Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of righteouſneſſe and truth, dwels not with ſuch, ſpeaks not by them, though he may uſe and diſpoſe of them to his own glory, and their ſhame, as he uſed *Balaam* and *Ahabs* Prophets. Secondly, Truth is twofold, either compleat in all parts, or in ſome parts onely, not in all. A true Prophet, according to all compleat conditions, is he that *Baſil* intends and ſpeaks of. A true Prophet in part, and ſome reſpects, is he whom S. *Auguſtine* conceiteth in *Balaam* and *Saul*. S. *Baſil* denies not, but wicked men may Prophecy, as he inſtanceth in *Pharaoh*, and in *Nabuchodonoſor*, to whom God revealed before-hand, things to come to paſſe afterward, for the common good of all, though themſelves were men diſtaſtfull and not pleaſing to him, according to that courſe of diſpenſation, whereby he ordereth private things for publique ends; which in effect is no otherwiſe then that God uſeth them as inſtruments to doe his will, and declare his power, which he may doe, and yet they not appertaine unto him, or his Church. *Cum verò anima alicujus, quæ ſe omni quidem ope atq; opera virtutis ſtudio dedidit & accõmodavit, & ex amore vehementi, impreſſam ſibi Dei memoriam perpetuo cuſtodit, atq; ita Deum, velut inhabitantem, hoſpitio præparato ſuſcepit, ex illa vehementer intentâ in Deum affectione, & amore arcano, inſpirata, dignam ſe dono & chariſmate Prophetandi reddit, Deo Divinam vim & virtutem impertiente, animiq; oculos aperiente, ad intelligendas quaſcunq; velit ſpeculationes.* When the ſoule of a man, which hath carefully and to purpoſe imployed vertuous courſes, and which conſerveth indelibly, the memoriall of God imprinted through affectionate love, and ſo in a ſort, hath God an inhabiting continued inmate, from and by that vehement and bent affection upon God, as alſo with ſecret and hidden love inſpired, (the ſoule) preſents it ſelfe diſpoſed and fitted to receive the gift of Prophecy, God imparting power and faculty, and opening the eyes of the minde, to ſee and behold what he will reveale. Wherein he came home unto that difference, that ſome are ſo *acted* by the Spirit of God, that he enſpireth them; others ſo *directed* that he ruleth them, and ſo it is inſinuated concerning *Saul*: *Et inſiluit Spiritus ſuper Saul*, The Spirit ruſhed upon *Saul*, which implies an externall, and a violent motion; whereas the Prophets talk otherwiſe of themſelves: *Spiritus Domini, qui in me*, The Spirit of the Lord which is in me; And, *Verbum Domini, quod per os meum*, The Word of God by my mouth. And ſo, *Viros juſtitia, & innocentia dignos, Deum noſſe & oſtendere à primordio, in ſeculum, emiſit Spiritu Divino inundatos, quò prædicarent Deum unicum eſſe, &c.* as *Tertullian* ſpeaketh of them. As for that tranſitory action of God, upon thoſe wicked ones, ſuch as *Balaam*, S. *Auguſtines* concluſion is, that it doth not inveſt them with the name or ſtyle of Prophets deſervedly, but there is as great

Πῶς ὃν καὶ Φαραὼ, καὶ Ναβυχοδονόσορ ἔτι τὰ τῆς κοσμικῶν κατασκιῶν τέκνα πρατίοντας εἰδέναι προβλέπειν ἵνα πιστεύσωσι τοῖς δὲ καὶ Βαλαὰμ προφητεύειν καὶ Καϊάφας ὅτι καλλίνικοι τῶν πυθομένων ἔσχον· καὶ ὁ μὲν ὡς ἀρχιερεύς, ὁ δὲ ὡς μάντις· ἀ γὰρ ψυχῆς κοινὰ ἀγαθὰ ὄντα ἐνταῦθα, ἀδιὰ διανοίας ἐκ ἐνόρασιν θεὸν, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν δωρεῶν ἀπαπῶντα· ἀλλ' οἰκονομικὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ λόγος, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον.

Apol. cap. 18.

difference betwixt the one and other, as betwixt that which a man ſpeaketh, and that which is delivered by a beaſt. *Tantum diſtat inter Prophetiam Prophetarum, ſicut Eſaias, ſicut Icremias, & cæteri hujuſmodi fuerunt, atq; iſtã tranſitoriam quæ in Saul apparuit, quantum diſtat inter loquelam humanam, cum loquuntur homines, & cum eadem loquelâ humanâ, propter prodigium neceſſarium, Aſina loquuta eſt, in qua ſedebat Propheta Balaam. Accepit enim hoc ad tempus illud jumentum, ut Deus, quod ſtatuerat, demonſtraret, non ut habitu perpetuo inter homines beſtia loqueretur.* And therefore, *Minus mirandum eſt, homini reprobo datam fuiſſe, ad momentum temporis, affectu tranſitorio Prophetiam, quando ille dederit, qui & aſinam, cum voluit, loqui fecit,* who yet underſtood not what ſhe did, or ſaid.

Concerning Seers. The difference of Prophecies.

52. Hence reſulteth another difference in Propheticall predictions, conſequent to the ſtate and condition of thoſe who utter them, which referres to the delivery, both for the manner of delivering, and apprehenſion of what is ſaid and delivered by themſelves. Προφητεία πρόγνωσις, ſaith *Clemens*, *Prophecy is foreſight*, and *foreknowledge*, which cannot be where ignorance is predominant. Thoſe that ſay they know not what, are no better then *Balaams* Aſſe. Prophets they are not, who doe not underſtand what they utter, or deliver, when they ſpeak it. *Pharaoh* was no Prophet, when in a dream he foreſaw the ſeven yeares of plenty, and of famine. *Ioſeph* was a Prophet, though he dreamed it not, becauſe he underſtood the meaning and revealed it. *In illo erat lingua, in iſto Prophetia. Proinde,* ſaith S. *Auguſtine, quibus ſigna per aliquas rerum corporalium ſimilitudines demonſtrabantur, in Spiritu, niſi acceßiſſet mentis officium ut etiam intelligerentur, nondum erant Propheta: magiſq; Propheta erat qui interpretabatur quod alius vidiſſet, quàm ipſe qui vidiſſet. Sed maximè Propheta, qui utroq; excellit, ut & videat in Spiritu rerum corporalium ſignificationes, & eas vivacitate mentis intelligat: ut Danielis excellentia probata eſt, qui Regi, & ſomnium quod viderat dixit, & quid ſignificaret aperuit.* Therefore they unto whom by corporeall repreſentations, ſignes were revealed by the Spirit, without the mentall action to underſtand them, were no Prophets; rather he was the Prophet, who expounded what any other ſaw, then he who ſaw it: Truly a Prophet is indued with both, who ſeeth and underſtandeth: ſo *Daniel* both told the King his dreame and expounded it. Such were the holy Prophets amongſt the Jews, therefore called *Seers*, ſometime in Iſrael, for the plain evidence of thoſe things which God repreſented unto their illumined underſtanding, with that perſpicuity, as they *ſaw* them ſo clearly, many ages before they came to paſſe, as we doe ſee and know the things which perſonally in preſence we behold, when they are come to paſſe. Sight of all our ſenſes is moſt active, penetrative, diſcerning, and evidentiall. And for that cleare, intuitive, expreſſe, and comprehenſive knowledge, which God hath of all things that have been, are, ſhall be, or be in any poſſibility to be, though actually they never ſhall or can be; It is Gods title, *Videns*, the

De Gen. ad Lit. Lib. 12. cap. 9.

the Seer: Of which his naturall and ordinary indowment, Prophets partaking in an extraordinary ſort above other men, have the name and title aſcribed, as they enjoyed the thing, according to capacity and collation, as God will conferre, and themſelves can receive. In *1 Chron.* 29. mention is made of *Samuel* the *Seer*, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Gad* the Seer, of things preſent, and to come, with greateſt evidence and aſſurance that may be: and therfore true Prophets cannot in their predictions be deceived. Their revealed predictions were infallible: their predictions ſeconded by event, as in that known *Epiphonema* of many paſſages in the Goſpel, *This was done, that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken of the Lord, by the Prophet.* Though the things which they foreſaw, and which were repreſented unto them, were not all of one aſſiſe, but repreſentations of what actually hath been, is, ſhall be; or of ſuch, which though they nor have been, nor are, nor ſhall be, are poſſible to be; or laſtly, of ſuch things as nor were, nor can be. Inſtances for the firſt ſort, are every where in Scripture, as *Zachar.* 3. 20. Inſtances of the ſecond, in *Nabuchodonoſors* Tree, *Pharaohs* Kine, *Daniels* Ram and Goat. Inſtance of the third be thoſe monſtrous beaſts which *Daniel* beheld, repreſenting the Roman Empire: and that ſeven headed monſter in the Revelation. In all ſorts, the repreſentation of the thing, and ſignification repreſented, is called *Seeing*, or *Viſion*, if it be foretold or fore-repreſented ſuch.

Viſio eſt, quæ in noſtris ſenſuum organis, efficaciſſimam habet apprehenſionem. Tenuiſſima non tam auditu, quàm viſu percipiuntur. Quotiescunq; rerum ſenſibilium ſpeculatio, propter veritatem, efficaciam, & indubiam apprehenſionem, viſio dicitur. Unde & Propheta Videns dicitur, & in ante ſpeculans. In quantum in re habitur quæ venturæ erant, Ante videntes ferebantur. In quantum divinam voluntatem contemplabantur, Videntes ſimpliciter nominabantur. *Lapide in Eſaiam.*

How Gods Prophets propheciedand how the devils.

53. But howſoever, or whatſoever the ſigns, characters, and repreſentations are, the evidence of our Aſſertion is cleered, the things ſo perſpicuouſly repreſented, that *non poteſt ſubeſſe falſum.* Aſſured they are, that they ſee and underſtand what is revealed unto them, the forme of things as they are, the ſtate of things in event, as in beeing, and ſo in beeing; as for God, who revealeth, is not deceived, nor doth deceive: Matter and Manner, Forme, Acouſtrements be unto him preſentially preſent, and παραχρησιμώτατα, as bare and naked as a mans neck. Therefore they remember afterward, when the motion and illumination of the ſpirit is paſt; they can, as they doe and have done, report, relate, ſet them downe to poſterity, not forgetting what they ſaid *in exceſſu mentis*, as did the ἐνθουσιαστοὶ, the *Arreptitii*, and Enthuſiaſts amongſt the Pagans. As ſhe in the Poet, who when the Fit, or Fury came upon her, wrote her Oracles in leaves, and laid them up in order within her Reveſtrie; but when the fit was over, had no farther care or apprehenſion of them. Which is a ſpeciall difference betwixt the Oracles or Enthuſiaſmes of the Pagan, and Divine Oracles. The manner of delivering Propheeies and Predictions

Inſanam Vatem aſpicies, quæ rupe ſubima
Fata canit, foliisq; notas & nomina mandat.
Quæcunq; in foliis deſcripſit carmina virgo,
Digerit in numerum, atq; antro ſeclusa relinquit
Illa manent immota locis, neq; ab ordine cedùt.
Verum eadem verſo, tenuis cum cardine ventus
Impulit, & teneras turbavit janua frondes,
Nunquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere ſaxo,
Nec revocare ſitus, aut jungere carmina curat;
Inconſulta abeunt, ſedemq; odere Sibyllæ.

Predictions by the poſſeſſed of unclean ſpirits, and the true Prophets of God, who were not diſtracted, enraged, violently carried, haled, diſtorted in body or mind, but ſpake the words of knowledge and underſtanding, uſed the geſture of modeſty, gravity, ſobriety, and quiet behaviour. For, ſaith *Baſil*, The reaſonable and intellectuall ſoule hath ears to heare and apprehend: to them are conveyed, without voice, the notions of things intended to be revealed: This is wrought upon them, the beams and irradiation of intellectuall light conveying themſelves into the commanding powers of the ſoule, and diffuſing light to the underſtanding of the Prophets.

Proved by S. *Baſil* and S. *Chryſoſt.* that Gods Prophets were not enraged.

54. And yet, as ſaith the ſame Father, there be ſome of opinion that the Prophets were beſide themſelves, and out of their wits, when they Prophecied; ſurpriſed utterly and overwhelmed in their underſtanding part, by the Spirit; which is not conſonant with the intent of God, or his promiſe, to come and converſe with them: It is not agreeing with Gods diſpenſation, to put a man out of his wits when he hath taken poſſeſſion of him; to make him abſolutely forget himſelfe, not to be his owne man, when he is repleniſhed with Divine Inſpiration, and informed at large and fully of Gods will. It cannot be, that then a man ſhould be indiſpoſed to reap any benefit by that grace afforded, or inſtructions put unto him, who is to that purpoſe ſo indowed for the benefit of others, and of himſelfe. Certainly it cannot ſtand with reaſon, that the holy Spirit of Wiſdome ſhould make a man mad or frantick, or that any man directed by the ſpirit of underſtanding ſhould utterly be deveſted of underſtanding. Light is not that which makes a man blind, but light properly gives active power and ability to naturall faculty of ſeeing. Much leſſe doth Gods Spirit infuſe, or cauſe darkneſſe in the mind, but gives light and luſtre unto excellent formes, inabling man to diſcern and ſee the things of God. To this diſcourſe of *Baſil*, other Fathers agree. The Prophets, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, upon the 44. *Pſal.* were not ſo diſpoſed as the Pagan Diviners. The devill having ſeiſed upon their intellectuall parts, maymeth and obſcureth them, over-haleth thereon palpable darkneſſe. Hence it is they underſtand not any thing which they utter; they ſpeak they cannot tell what: not otherwiſe ſerving then as Conduit-pipes, which have no life, nor yet ſenſe of what they convey. One of the Philoſophers knew, and ſaid as much. As they who ſpeak Oracles, or ſuch as be poſſeſſed, utter many things, but underſtand nothing that they ſpeak. The holy Ghoſt worketh not in this wiſe; He is content they underſtand with the heart, and conceive with the minde thoſe things which they deliver. Which *Baſil* upon *Eſay* declareth yet further thus; Improbable it is not, but that the Devill who hath power, and beares malice enough to man, layeth ſnares to entangle, and ſo oppreſſeth nature, and diſturbs the mind. But if any dare ſay that Gods Spirit doth ſo, I dare ſay, it is impiouſly ſaid of him ſo.

S. *Baſils* opinion proſecuted.

55. That the Pagan Oracle Prophets were thus affected, poſſeſſed,

ſed, enraged, it is apparent of it ſelf, and not denied; but whether that deportment, habit, geſture, were peculiar to them, and no way comportable with the Prophets, may be queſtioned, is denied by ſome, but not doubted of by others. S. *Baſils* judgement hath been related already. I adde yet further concerning that; *It is moſt evidently cleare, that the holy Prophets did not Prophecy in or by Ecſtaſi, that is, their reaſon and underſtanding being deprived and taken from them*; but they who are poſſeſſed by reprobate Spirits, have their reaſon depraved, be tranſported at the Devils pleaſure, they by ſuggeſted phantaſies, and infuſed imaginations into them by Satan, doe, I cannot ſay, ſee, but in ſeeming, behold ſtrange apparitions. Such arreptitious ones faſhion to themſelves rivers, mountaines, beaſts, monſters; conceit they behold the faces, and talk with ſuch and ſuch men, whom yet they never ſaw, nor ever were in their company: which proceed meerly from diſturbance of the brain, the minde and reaſon being blemiſhed and removed. No ſuch thing happens to holy men of God. If God conferre on any man Viſion freely, he diſpoſeth firſt his minde to be thereof capable; and having ſo diſpoſed him for that grace, is ſo farre from darkning his underſtanding, that he infuſeth abundance of clear light and illumination thereto, and by the acceſſe of his holy Spirit, much farther enlargeth the naturall light, and indowments thereof. By which it appeares, that *Baſil*, abſolutely and thoroughly for Gods Prophets, holds cloſe unto ἔφασις, actuall ſeeing, or Viſion, and unto ἔκπληξις, Illumination; and that neither, in his opinion, can ſubſiſt or comply, with ὄνειρος, emotion, or παράκρουσις, violent diſtortion and tranſpoſition, of Body, Minde, Reaſon, Senſe.

56. But *Tertullian* was of another minde. *Hoc poſteà*, ſaith he, *obvenit cum in illum* (*Adamum*) *Deus amentiam immiſit, Spiritalem vim, qua conſtat Prophetia.* Prophecy therefore is a Divine madneſſe; for ſo he calleth it, *Amentiam*: and whoſoever is a Prophet, in the act of Prophecy is beſide himſelfe, out of his wits. But *Tertullian* in that Book hath many ſtrange paſſages, not juſtifiable in true Divinity, and was *plenus Montano* when he wrote it; whoſe women Propheteſſes were ſuch indeed, lying drabbes, coozening queanes, acted by the Devill, and his pack-horſes; therefore it ſtood *Tertullian* upon to ſay ſo. But the *Spirit of Prophets*, ſaith the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 14. 32. *is ſubject to the Prophets.* They can hold their peace, when they pleaſe, which *Arreptitii* cannot doe. So *Theophylact*, *Vates apud Gracos omnes, &c.* All the Prophets amongſt the Pagans, when the Devil once entred into them, could not hold their peace although they would. But amongſt Chriſtians the caſe is otherwiſe with holy Prophets, it is in their power to ſpeak or hold their peace when they pleaſe. It may farther be ſaid that *Abraham*, *Gen.* 15. 10. when God Prophetically revealed unto him, by ſigns, and lively repreſentations, the terrors and tribulations of the laſt times, and

De Anima, c. 21.

Bacchatur vates, magnum ſi pectore poſſit
Excuſſiſſe Deum, tanto magis ille fatiget,
Os rabidum fera corda domans.

and withall foretold him, as accordingly it came to passe, that his seed should be a Wanderer, or Stranger in a forrain Land foure hundred yeares; it is said he was in an extasie or trance, and that an horror exceeding great, and darknesse fell upon him, as it useth to Prophets, *Adventante Deo.* To which I answer, that is holy Text, but this, *as it useth*, is an addition unto holy text; an extraordinary course it was at present, not as it ever useth to be. Secondly, it is apparent, that in this Vision, so it is called, he knew what he did; he saw what he imagined actually; he talked with God; he understood him; he remembred what was done afterward. So likewise when *Saul* prophecied, *Irruit Spiritus Domini super Saul*, The Spirit of the Lord came violently upon *Saul:* which put him as it were out of his wits, made him forgetfull of himself, for he fell down naked, all that day and all that night. And yet, as if it had been a generall Character, and discerning signe of Prophets, when one of the Disciples of *Elisæus* was sent to anoint *Iehu*, the Captaines demand, *What said this mad fellow unto thee?* And in sacred Scripture, be reported many uncouth passages, of Propheticall deportments, in exercising of that art of Prophecy, as going barefoot, lying upon one side, besieging a City made of clay, and the like. So that it may seeme no essentiall difference, betwixt Enthusiasts, or Arreptitious, and the Prophets of God, for their deportment, habit, disposition.

The question stated by *Philo's* distinction of Ecstasies.

57. *Philo Iudæus* observeth upon that passage of *Abraham*, that there is a fourfold *Ecstasis*, or *emotio mentis*. One, *afferens delirium, & insaniam*, bringing madnesse with it, and fury; which may proceed from naturall causes, Age, Melancholy, or some such infirmity, or disease. Amongst the maledictions of the wicked, *Deut.*28. this is one, *Blindnesse and madnesse shall lay hold upon them, so that they shall grope at noone day.* A second comes from sudden and impetuous feare, or astonishment, upon some strange news; as when *Iacob* heard that *Ioseph* his son whom he deemed dead and lost, was Lord of Egypt. A third, is without trouble, disquiet, perturbation, which as in a dream, or sleep, the soul suspended, sequestred from worldly, carnall, customable distractions, retires it selfe home, and in sweet contemplation beholds the things of God. The fourth is that which is peculiar to Divine Infusion, Insession, Illumination, in Propheticall operation. When Gods Spirit deprives not the body of sense, nor the soule of reason, nor the minde of judgement and understanding, but elevates all unto an higher pitch, enableth all unto endowments and performents beyond nature, ordereth all, in most sweet and comfortable sort, that no humane power or faculty is empaired, by that totall subjection unto God, no more then when in the state of innocency, in that sweetest harmony of grace and nature, God was all in all. And *Tertullian* himself was of no other minde, *cap.* 45. *De Anima. This must be the property of this Amentia, or madnesse. It proceedeth not from corruption of any good state, but from a naturall ground. It doth not amolish, but call up, or out the mind; it is one thing to move, and another*

another thing to ſhake in pieces; one thing to over-turne or undoe, another thing to ſhake or exagitate. For as much as memory can and doth ſuggeſt, it argues the mind is in right ſtate, and yet that the mind, ſound and whole, is ſtupified, the memory preſerved and not loſt, it is a kind of madneſſe, or beſide ones ſelfe. We ſay not therefore ſuch men are franticks, but they dreame; and ſo far, that we may hold the title of wiſe men. Our faculty to underſtand, though it be obſcured, is not yet extinct; onely at that preſent it may ſeeme to be gone. This deficiencie he elſewhere names *Irrationem*, by a name, not of Privation, but Suſpenſion. *In ſpiritu enim homo conſtitutus, præſertim cum gloriam Dei conſpicit, vel cum per ipſum Deus loquitur, neceſſe eſt excidat ſenſu, obumbratus ſcilicet virtute Dei. Cont. Marcion* 44. For it is not poſſible, but in the acceſſe of ſo great, glorious, operative irradiation, the mind be affected more then ordinarily; which is far from μεταφορὰ, that tranſlation of which *Baſil* ſpake.

58. Thus the true ſtate limited and conſidered, there is no difference, much leſſe contradictions betwixt deniers and affirmers of the ſame, of *Amentia* and *Exceſſus mentis* in the Prophet, if we obſerve what kind of Extaſie is affirmed, and what denied. Though more or leſſe vary not the kind, yet end, manner, conditions may put a diſtinction of Authors and of kind. The ſame things in different ſort, to divers purpoſes, may be the acts of God and man, God and the devill. *Neſcit tarda molimina Spiritus ſancti gratia:* Where Gods Spirit works, it is to purpoſe. It cannot be otherwiſe, but if the heart endite of a good matter, the tongue will ſpeak the praiſes of the King, and become the pen of a ready writer. In ſo free, ſo large, ſo abundant, and therefore awfull acceſſe of the Spirit of God, as was in, unto, and upon the Prophets, when they delivered Revelations above the reach of man, infuſed by that light, which giveth lively motions to ſuch as receive it, it could not be otherwiſe, but the powers and faculties of ſoule and body, muſt needs be affected extraordinarily, and above common courſe of kind; yet ſo, as no unſeeming, undecent, or monſtrous act or geſture proceed from them: For the God of Order cannot be Author of Confuſion, nor croſſe his will and good pleaſure in his immediate actions. And ſo I ſay with *Baſil*, *It abhors from the nature of Divine preſence, that he ſhould become mad, whom God hath taken poſſeſſion of.* But it is not thereto repugnant, that God tranſport him beyond his aſſiſe, and wholly poſſede him, repleniſhing his ſoule with thoſe internall affections, which cannot but produce outward remonſtrances. And from this diſpoſition it was, not any frantick fury, that ſometime they be ſtyled *mad men.* And from expreſſion and in imitation hereof it was, that Wizards acted by uncleane ſpirits were indeed *mad men.*

Tertullian and S. *Baſil* reconciled in this point.

59. The Devill, ſaith one, is *Gods ape*, for he apiſhly imitates the things of God, his works, wonders, orders, inſtitutions, and transfers them to the ſervice of Idols, that ſo he may ſeeme to be the friend and familiar of God, or rather indeed to be God, unto whom ſuch ſervice

The Devil imitates the rites of Gods ſervice.

ſervice is due and appertaines. To this purpoſe *Tertullian* hath obſerved in his Preſcriptions, *Cap.* 11. *He emulates and repreſents in Idololatricall myſteries, the materialls of Sacraments in Gods ſervice. He baptizeth ſomewhere ſome, ſuch as be his Beleevers and Affiers in him. He promiſeth forgiveneſſe of ſins by waſhings, and in this ſort, as yet he ſacreth men to Mithres, where he ſigneth his ſoldiers in the forehead. And further he celebrates an oblation of bread: He preſents them with a ſhew of the Reſarrection: and under the ſword* (entending Martyrdome) *with him the Crowne is acquired. It is further obſerveable that the Devils High-prieſt muſt not marry twice. Virgins he hath, and ſuch as profeſſe to live chaſt and ſingle lives.* A moſt expreſſe inſtanced teſtimony of *Tertullian*, for Paganiſh and Idololatricall rites, imitating the ſervice and ſacrifice of Gods Church, of that which was performed in honour of God, to avow his dominion paramount over all, to recogniſe their hold from him, their ſubſiſting by him, after and according to their ſeverall kinds, to expreſſe their thankfulneſſe for benefits received. Which all, at firſt were repreſented, as a leading precedent for poſterity, in that ſervice performed by the ſons of *Adam*: Sacrifice, Oblations, Firſt-fruits, and Tithes: due and payable ever ſince, or immediately to God, by being ſpent in his ſacrifice, as whole Burnt-offerings were; or mediately, being given to his his Prieſts, and employed for the maintenance of ſuch as did him Church-ſervice. In imitation hereof afterward, when *Cain* divided aright, but offered not aright, not to God, but to Puppets, Idols, Devils, ſuch ſervices, ſacrifices, tithes, oblations, were brought into the ſervice of Pagan Deities, and duly performed with great devotion, much greater in all times generally by Gentiles, then by Jews of old, or Chriſtians ſince, in the ſervice of the true God. And out of like reſpect, in emulation, becauſe that in the ſervice of God, no perſon uncleane, common, unſacred, muſt approach unto Gods Altar, appeare before God in his Tabernacle, Temple, or holy place; the Devil had his like obſervations. *Procul, ô procul eſte prophani*, as it were his, *Ite, miſſa eſt.* He had amongſt the Druides, Excommunications, his Separations, Expiations, Luſtrations, Sanctifications, often waſhings and cleanſings, without which, nothing was well, orderly, or truely done, or performed in their ſervice. And this is as plainly as the former noted by *Tertullian*. *Caterùm ſi Numæ Pompilii ſuperſtitiones revolvamus, ſi ſacerdotalia officia, inſignia, privilegia, ſi ſacrificalia miniſteria & inſtrumenta, ſi vaſa ipſorum ſacrificiorum, & piaculorum, & votorum curioſitates conſideremus, nonne manifeſtè Diabolus moroſitatem illam Iudaicæ legis imitatus eſt?*

He imitates likewiſe his Prophets.

60. Anſwerable to this the Devils practiſe elſewhere, in Oracles, in Prophecies and Predictions hath he demeaned himſelfe by his Inſtruments, as God uſed to deale with, and in his holy Prophets; which the ſame *Tertullian* againe obſerveth thus: *Concerning other Oracles, beſide the fore remembred, where no man is aſleep, what can I*

De Anim. 46. & 48.

ſay

ſay otherwiſe, but that it is a diabolicall courſe, practiſed by ſpirits, which then poſſeſſed men, or infected their braines, the fitter for their pageants of impiety which they meant to play by them: In which kind of carriage they pretended Divinity, and out of like intent they deceived poore ſouls in doing good, in cures, in admonitions, in forewarnings. And in proſecution, to like purpoſe he reciteth, how they preſcribed to ſuch as ſought unto them, Faſting, *Adlenocinium Divinitatis*, forſooth to draw on and intice their Godſhips to be good unto them; becauſe they knew it was a cuſtome in Gods ſervice, that *Daniel* and others in exigencies, had uſed it to good purpoſe to appeaſe God.

61. Out of this prepoſterous imitation of the ſervice and things of God, came thoſe Geſticulations, Enthuſiaſmes, Expiations, Afflations, and other not uſuall, but ſtrange deportment of Oracle Prieſts and Prophets, amongſt Pagans. *Iuſtin Martyr* relates it of *Cumana Sibylla*, having rinſed her ſelfe all over in pure running water, ſome certain times, ſhe uſed to caſt her mantell about her, and ſo retiring her ſelfe into her private cloſet, where none might ſee her, whither none came but her ſelfe, there ſhee compoſed her ſelfe upon a golden Trifet, and πίνει & ἐκ χρυσλάτου, uttered what by Inſpiration was ſuggeſted to her. Amongſt the Jews, it was by God commanded, and accordingly put in practiſe, that the Prieſts, ſo often as they came to ſacrifice, ſhould waſh themſelves with water, the Prieſt who offered incenſe in his courſe by lot, to doe the like. But eſpecially the high Prieſt attired in his holy veſtments, and ſacred robes, went into the *Moſt holy place, not without bloud*: So at the Oracle of Delphos, as reports *Pauſanias in Corinthiacis*, a Lambe of a yeare old being killed, (as if it had beene a Paſchall Lambe) γεύσαμένη τ αἵματ & ἡ γυνὴ, κάτοχ & ἐν τῷ θεῷ γίνεται, the Propheteſſe taſted of the Lambs bloud, and inſtantly entred the ſpirit into her. And becauſe ſuch as Almighty God did in ſo gracious extraordinary ſort viſit and repleniſh, by preſentiall infuſion and operation of his Spirit, in *Loco ſancto, actione ſacra*, could not but jubilate, tripudiate, feele extraordinary motions and affections of joy; *For in his preſence is the fulneſſe of joy, and at his right hand there is pleaſure for evermore*; ὥσθ ἅπαντες καὶ γυναῖκες, as *Dio Chryſoſtome* obſerves, men and women enſpired and acted by Divine Power, ſtare, look wildly, ſhake, toſſe their hands and heads, puffe, blow, and the like.

Mugit & inſano penitus ſecluſus in antro, Statius:

Which comes to that in *Virgil*,

Sed Phœbi nondum patiens immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates——

The more to breed aſtoniſhment, admiration, reverence, and ſuperſtitious aw of their *Orgia*, in thoſe who came to conſult the Oracles, and the ſooner to draw concourſe and ſuiters to their Deities, which made their Kitchins the warmer, as in ſome ages, after the like was, and is at ſhrines of Saints.

62. But as the Devils ends differ from Gods intents, ſo are his courſes

In 1. de virg.

Οὐ χάσκων & κραζων, ἐλαύνει δὲ τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸλον σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἄπωθεν τὴν χεῖρα προτείνει ἡσύχη, διαστέλλων φωνὴν ἐν λεπτῷ στόματι. Lycophron.

The difference between Gods, and the Devils Propoſes.

courſes in the deportment of his Agents, though addreſſed and framed to imitation of another ſort, then ſuch as be uſed and put in practiſe by God, in his diſpenſation with his ſervants, holy men and women. *In ecſtaſi & cordis amentia, deliramenta ſua venditabant*, ſaith *Hierome* of *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla*, Propheteſſes in the ſect of *Montanus*; which is not denied to have been their geſture, by *Tertullian*, when he was of their ſect. And hence he, to colour and give countenance to their cozenages, maintained, that all Gods Prophets were in the ſame caſe, ſo tranſported as they. Againſt which aſſertion it is juſtly and truly excepted by *Baſil*, and *Hierome*, and others concerning them, eſpecially by *Epiphanius*, who profeſſeth it, that they ſpake they knew not what, that being inſeſſed and acted by the Devill, they babled many lies, which were convinced for ſuch by experience. To palliate their ignorance, they purpoſedly and affectedly delivered dark, obſcure and mirkſome riddles, in intricate and involved termes. Such as were the Pagan Oracles, which might be taken two wayes, as

Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe. and

Cræſus Halym ſuperans magnam pervertet opum vim.

Such was that wicked riddle of *Adam D' Orleton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, concerning the murthering of *Edward* the ſecond, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt.* And what thoſe Propheteſſes of *Montanus* ſpake out, and in plaine termes, were falſe, as that the world ſhould end when *Maximilla* died, or, ſhe ſhould not dye, till the worlds end.

The Sibyls Propheeies no fictions.

63. Such being the difference of Propheticall habits, and diſpoſitions, amongſt Jews, Gentiles, true, falſe, according to Hiſtoricall truth concerning the Sibyls, we may reſolve that they were ſometimes actually living amongſt men, not faigned fabulous women, as the Lady of the Lake, *Vrganda* the unknown, or the like imagined Beldams, never in exiſtence; they have been, they were ſuch as they are ſaid to be; Prophetically enſpired, ſome way or other, foretelling of things to come. God out of goodneſſe, in mercy and love to mankinde, diſpoſing ſo, that even the Gentiles in thoſe dayes of darkneſſe, and walking in their owne wayes, might enjoy ſome meanes, not onely to know him, the onely true God, and Father of all, but to be known to have had ſome part in him, to have belonged unto him as their God, and even in thoſe cloſe, reſerved, hungry times, to have had admittance to gather crums under the childrens table: which might give them intereſt in him, though a far off, aſſurance of no finall rejection from him; but hope and comfort, that at ſome time or other, by ſome meanes or other, he would in mercy inlarge himſelf unto them, for their ſalvation, whom he did not utterly abandon, no not in the dayes of ſtrangeneſſe and departure. Bleſſed *Iob* is an inſtance of what I ſay. He was a Prophet as well as an holy man. Now as *Iob* in Mount Seir, if he were of *Eſau*, or whereſoever that Land of Huz was, did propheey, ſo certainly he was not of carnall

nall Iſrael, but a ſtranger from the thigh of *Iacob*, and yet a Prophet actiuated by Gods Spirit. What hinders, but it might and did ſo ſtand with the Sibyls, though not of Iſrael, ſome of them at leaſt, though not all, though women, and not men: For ſex makes no difference in the love of God, or diſtinction in his extraordinary indowments of Grace, which *Debora*, *Hulda* and others have manifeſted in their times. Secondly, that when the acceptable time of reſtoring all, and full revelation of the great things of God was come, it might appeare unto all, that it was mercy of old, and not a particular diſpenſation then firſt intended or ſet on foot; becauſe Seers had ſeen it, and Prophets foretold it ſo long time before, whereby oppoſition, ever like enough to be made when it was put in practiſe, ought be quaſhed by pregnant evidence, ſuch as could not be refuſed by the Jews, who admitted of Prophets, enſpired, directed, raiſed up by God: nor be rejected and ſcorned of the Gentiles, as forged by the Jews, to get credit and reputation to their Law or Nation. The Jew could not probably be ſaid to have had an hand in any negotiation with them, of whom if yet he had ever heard, he could have no commerce, nor would if he could, with their Language, Religion, Polity, Armes.

64. And for their condition I conclude it poſitively, they were Prophets, all, or ſome of them, both for manner of conceiving what they delivered, and for deliverance of what they had conceived, or were inſpired withall. It was not bred at home, nor borne of themſelves; not inherent, as acquired arts and learning is. From abroad they had it, infuſed, ſuggeſted, taught unto them by ſome intellectuall ſuperiour power, whoſe skill extended farther then their owne knowledge or apprehenſion. It muſt needs be of God, or from the Devill; by meanes immediate, or mediation of ſome ſecond cauſes. Things to come they fore-told, and therefore fore-ſaw, before they came to paſſe. Things paſt they could relate of, though never ſeen. Done they had been, but were forgotten, out of ſight, out of mind, no memoriall remaining of them: as what *Moſes* hath told concerning the Creation, *Cain*, *Abel*, and the like. Things paſt, done long agone, even from the beginning might be told and repreſented by the Devill, who then was in beeing, an actor in many of them: but things ſimply to come, and independent upon ſecond cauſes in ſight, though neceſſary, yet not knowne nor diſcernable by any created underſtanding, could not be foreſeen or foretold, without divine Revelation. No Devil could tell that a child ſhould be borne unto the houſe of *David*, *Ioſias* by name, three hundred yeares before the child was borne. Nor could any Devil tell in *Hezekiahs* time, that *Cyrus* a Perſian King, ſhould returne the Captivity, which then was not. Nor could any devill, or all the devils in hell ſay, that the Seed of the woman ſhould be the ſeed of *Abraham*, the ſon of *David*, of *Mary*, that he ſhould be called *Ieſus*, one, two, three thouſand years before it came to paſſe. God who preſentially worketh, and intui-

That they prophecied by divine inſpiration.

tively ſeeth, can alone doe this, and he muſt reveale it, or it cannot be knowne. Now many ſuch paſſages of things undiſcerneable were and are in the Oracles of *Sibylla*, and therefore needs muſt, mediately or immediately, come from God.

Which of them inſpired by God, and which not.

65. And yet I will not ſay, for it is not juſtifiable, that the Sibyls were all of that one aſſiſe, enſpired by God; nor did all of them deliver the things of God; and they which did deliver ſtrange things concerning God and Chriſt, were not *eo nomine* in the number of Gods choſen and elect. The Devil himſelfe may Prophecie, if God will have him, and deliver his truth unto him. Charity and Prophecie, life everlaſting, and foretelling things to come, be not inſeparable companions. That Sibyl, *quæcunq;*, that ſold the three books to *Tarquin*, was the inſtrument of the Devil, not of God: Addreſſed all the Oracles which ſhe in them delivered, not to Gods honour, glory, ſervice, ſo far as we can conceive by what we know of her: Nor delivered ſhe any things in her Oracles, but what might well proceed from the ſpirit of lying and deception; and ſuch were the Prieſts and Propheteſſes of *Delphos*, *Claros*, and other Oracle-places, poſſeſſed, enformed, acted by the devill, who yet might be forced and diſpoſed of ſometime, beyond their common courſe and practiſe, either ignorantly, or againſt their wills, to ſerve Gods purpoſe in not theirs but his determinations; who becauſe they had not divine inſpiration, and ſo neceſſary Infallibility in their predictions, ſpake ambiguouſly, faſt and looſe in ambiguities, as hath been touched, to be taken either way. But without all doubt, ſome of the Sibyls, as they ſpake out, and plainly, what they conceived, ſo alſo did they ſpeak the words of ſoberneſſe and of truth, and delivered things in ſuch ſort, as but from God could not be knowne: and therefore were θεοπνεῦσται, enſpired by God, and θεοφορούμεναι, carried, acted, moved by God. *Non eſt illud carmen furentis:* That Poem, ſaith *Cicero*, and he ſpeaks of the Acroſtick, came not from a mad diſtracted head. The verſe it ſelfe manifeſteth it; there is more art and diligence in the diſpoſition of it, then fury, rapture, or incitation. And therefore *Sibylla Erythræa*, the moſt eſteemed of them, put her owne name unto the Prophecies which ſhe ſpake, as owning them for hers, which ſober Authors uſe to doe, and as underſtanding and apprehenſive of what ſhe wrote and ſaid. Nor was any thing found in her works which tended to further or promote Idololatry, as in *Cumana's*, but all ſavoured of piety, honeſty, and ſobriety. So S. *Auguſtine* obſerveth, *Hæc autem Sibylla, nihil in toto ſuo carmine habet, quod ad deorum falſorum & fictorum cultum pertinet. Quinimò, ita etiam contra eos & eorum cultores loquitur, ut in eorum numero deputanda putetur, quæ pertinent ad Civitatem Dei.* Whoſe judgement I ſee no cauſe to refuſe.

2. *De Divinat.*

De Civ. Dei, lib. 18. 23.

Why the Fathers uſed the Sibyls authority.

66. Therefore the ancient Fathers of the firſt and Primitive times of the Church, *Iuſtin*, *Clemens*, *Theophilus*, *Athenagoras*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Lactantius*, having great concertations with oppoſite Jews and Pagans, in caſe of Chriſtian Religion, the Verity, Purity, Antiquity

Antiquity thereof, as in caſe againſt the Jews they appealed unto, and inſiſted upon *Moſes* and the Prophets, ſo in caſe againſt the Gentiles, they vouched evidence of *Triſmegiſtus*, *Hyſtaſpes*, and eſpecially the Sibyls, whom Pagans received and reſpected, as the Jews did the Prophets, for *ſent of God*. So farre, that for their fequent teſtimonies from them, the Pagans commonly ſtyled Chriſtians, *Sibyllianiſts*, as *Baronius* rightly noteth out of *Origen* againſt *Celſus*; which courſe was not ſo held by thoſe ancient Fathers, with intent and purpoſe to prove dogmatically by them, or their teſtimonies, any point of our moſt holy faith, as wanting other proofes, as ſome Novellers, though great Clerks otherwiſe, have miſdeemed; but to convince them for point of fact, by ſuch proofe and evidence which they could not deny, and would yeeld unto. A courſe moſt prevalent, taking from themſelves, that which ſo ſerved to confute themſelves, and convince their oppoſitions.

S. *Pauls* not mentioning of them, make them no fictions.

67. It is ſaid, that S. *Paul* in preaching Chriſt unto the Gentiles, did never uſe the teſtimony or authority of the Sibyls, but other arguments: which is a looſe and lame argument, to prove that none ſuch were, ſpake no ſuch things as be fathered upon the Sibyls, may not be vouched for proofe of Chriſtianity. But who can ſay S. *Paul* never vouched them, or uſed their teſtimony in his preaching? S. *Paul* ſpake much, diſputed much, more in his travels, then is written in his Epiſtles, which occaſionally he ſent, not unto Pagans to be converted, but to Chriſtian Churches and men, already converted, who needed no ſuch proofe to convince, induce, or perſwade them. As to a Pagan, teſtimony of Scripture is not fit to be alledged, becauſe he receiveth not Scripture: So to a Chriſtian, externall authority is impertinent, unleſſe for illuſtration ſake; in which ſort S. *Paul* hath more then once vouched the ſayings of Heathen Poets; our Saviour dealing with Sadduces in a maine point of our moſt holy faith, directed us to this diſcretion. To prove the Reſurrection which the Sadduces denied, he voucheth not the Prophets whom they received not, but inſtanceth in *Moſes*, whom they admitted. As S. *Paul* preached much which he never wrote, and in his preachings might vouch the Sibyls, which no man living can prove he did not: ſo he wrote alſo much more than we have, and in ſome of what is loſt, might inſiſt upon teſtimonies of the Sibyls. It is probable he did, nay more then ſo, it is morally true, becauſe hiſtorically ſo avowed. For *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who lived neare unto S. *Pauls* time, and heard, ſaw, read much, which future ages never came to ſee or know, bringeth in a certain paſſage of S. *Paul*, diſputing againſt Pagans, touching Chriſtian Religion, the ground and ſtate thereof, in which he ſends them for direction and inſtruction, unto *Hydaſpes* and to Sibyls Oracles. This was the Tradition, at leaſt, in generall, of the Church in thoſe Primitive times. And in thoſe dayes, were extant many books and writings of S. *Paul*, and others, which ſince for many ages have been loſt. It is in the ſixth Book of his Stromats.

As God would ſave the Iews by ſending to them his Prophets, men of their owne Nation: So did he ſeparate the beſt and worthieſt amongſt the Gentiles, from the common ſort, and promiſcuous multitude according as they were of apprehenſion, and capacity to receive that great bleſſing intended to them, from Almighty God. Which thing, beſide the preaching of Peter, (it was a book then extant, bearing at leaſt his name) *the Apoſtle Paul hath likewiſe ſpoken of, thus; Take and peruſe the Greek Authors, conſider how Sibylla ſpeaks of one God, and delivereth many things to come. Goe take, and reade Hydaſpes, and you ſhall finde in him, that he makes evident and expreſſe mention of the Son of God, that kings of the earth ſhall band againſt Chriſt, that they ſhall hate him and all ſuch as beare his name.*

All that Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſpake is not written, and many things are loſt which were written.

68. This teſtimony of S. *Paul*, is not extant in any of his Epiſtles now extant, it might have been in ſome that are now loſt. For to be of opinion peremptory, as ſome are, that no Scripture or writing ſuggeſted and dictated by Gods holy Spirit, unto holy men, is now loſt, that nothing more was ever ſuggeſted then what we now have, is fooliſh and ridiculous; why might not things written be loſt and gone, as well as things ſpoken be never written? the ſame Spirit being Author of both, and directing both to the ſame end; nor were all things done or ſaid by our Saviour, written. S. *Iohn* is punctuall in that point. And S. *Paul* himſelfe, *Acts* 20.23. cites a ſaying or Apophthegme of Chriſt Jeſus, no where remembred by the Euangeliſts, *It is a more bleſſed thing to give, then to receive:* Yet was it commonly known in thoſe dayes to have been the ſaying of our Saviour. Such might that paſſage, remembred by *Clemens*, have been, commonly known, though not written by S. *Paul*, as I think it was in ſome loſt work of his. And the rather, becauſe we are ſure S. *Paul* uſed the teſtimony of divers Pagans, no better, if not worſe then the Sibyls; of *Menander*, *Aratus*, *Epimenides*, Poets and Prophets, Idololaters we are ſure amongſt the Grecians. He uſed alſo in point of Conviction, and Information, not to prove *dogmatically*, one only God; but *declaratorily*, that he delivered no other God unto them, but whom themſelves ignorantly acknowledged and beleeved to be. But S. *Paul* having firſt brought and uſed convincing arguments, by way of enlargement and acceſſe, aſſumeth another argument fit for his purpoſe againſt them, and ſo might he have aſſumed, and uſed, why not, the allegations of *Sibylla*, in Fundamentalls of our Faith.

Baronius vindicated. How Pagan teſtimonies may be uſed in matters of faith.

69. It is therefore a needleſſe exception made againſt *Baronius*. *Vbi de fide & doctrinâ cælitus revelata agitur, nunquam humanis Teſtimoniis Apoſtolus utitur:* The Apoſtle never uſeth any humane teſtimonies, where he intreats of doctrinall points of faith. It is falſe. That point inſiſted on *Acts* 17. was of faith, of Doctrinall faith, of Fundamentall faith, ſo was that where *Aratus* is vouched, ſo that where *Menander*, onely that of *Epimenides*, or *Callimachus*, or both, was in point of fact and morality. Secondly, it drawes nigh, which I doe

doe not marvaile at, upon the Lees of that Puritane aſſertion, *Profane Authors muſt not be cited in Sermons or Divine paſſages*. Thirdly, it is a frivolous exception, as many be, againſt the Annals. It is not denyed, it was never otherwiſe ſo much as dreamed by *Baronius*, that to make good, Divine fundamentall points dogmatically, and ſo fully to ſetle and conclude them, humane authority is not firſt or principally to be uſed, but Divine. Yet being ſo ſetled or grounded, to illuſtrate ſuch truths the more, to convince gainſayers the ſooner, and more powerfully to beat them down, to gaine reputation to the ſide, with very Pagans themſelves, there is good uſe to be made of naturall reaſon, humane teſtimonies, parabolicall or obvious enforcements. Which courſe the Prophets, the Apoſtles, none more frequently then our Saviour, have uſed: For in effect, what elſe be his Parables? Were ſuch upſtart Exceptors to deale with Atheiſts or with men, ſtrong brained enough, who will admit of nothing but Morality, but Naturaliſmes, and humane reaſon, if they were put to prove the Monarchie, Unity, Eternity of God, the not Eternity of the world, the Immortality of the ſoule, Reſurrection, Judgement, Life, Death everlaſting, all of them *de fide & doctrina cælitus revelata*, which is the Exceptors aſſiſe, how ſhould a man proceed? Certainly by ſome other way and means then meere, plaine, downright Scripture, or he ſhall be rejected and ſcorned with his Scripture. Proofs muſt be fit for, and diſpoſed to the thing to be proved, and correſponding with him to whom it muſt be proved. And therefore in a generall, indefinite, large ſenſe it is falſe, the Apoſtle never uſed humane teſtimony in any point of divine, revealed, truth.

Clemens defended againſt *Scaliger*. Antiquity extolled.

70. Againſt the teſtimony of *Sibyl*, vouched by *Clemens*, it is objected, Sibyls were all counterfait. Objected indeed, but not proved. Some great Philologers be ſo far in love with their own long ſhadows, that the verticall Sun ſhines not ſo cleere as Truth muſt be taken which they ſay, though it have nor head, nor taile, nor foot, nor foot-ſtep oftentimes of reaſon or common ſenſe. Sibyls are counterfaits, becauſe *Obſopæus*, *Scaliger* and ſome other thought ſo, who will ſweare any thing that *Scaliger* ſaid. Thoſe that beleeve their *Ipſe dixit*, may make themſelves merry therewith. I rather beleeve one *Clemens*, *Auſtin*, *Lactantius*, &c. then twenty of the beſt of them. Theſe deny what they affirme: I may caſt it off as freely, and ſo I doe, as they ſay it. I had rather peradventure erre with Antiquity, then tittle tattle it with Novelty. Secondly, they ſhould or may know, that every evidence vouched in point of Divine Truth, is not ever Categoricall, nor really ſubſiſtent as pretended, unleſſe in the times when Trees could ſpeak: much is delivered, *è datis, non conceſſis*; much upon ſuppoſition and hypotheſis, much as yeelded unto by ſuch as muſt be inſtructed or convinced, howſoever deceived in the maine; and much by way of narration, not conceſſion: So might the Sibyls be *Scindapſes*, Counterfaits, *Entiarationis*, no ſuch creatures; at leaſt, not ſuch wiſe Wenches as is pretended and beleeved.

beleeved; never any ſuch Prophecies peradventure dropped from them. And yet ſo long as Pagans took them for ſuch, the Apoſtle in his preaching to the Gentiles, might uſe, cite, preſſe, remit the Gentiles to their writings, becauſe howſoever they took them for ſuch. This is to diſpute *è conceſſis*. But the truth is, I aver it, any man prove the contrary that can, *Gratis dicitur*, it is ſaid, not proved, nor can be, that never any ſuch were. And here againſt exceptors I muſt make a long ſtand, becauſe it toucheth neer, and calls into queſtion the honeſty, truth, ſincerity, wiſdome, and diſcretion of the moſt ancient Fathers, and Worthies of Gods Church: Men, with whom *Scaliger*, and his followers or admirers, the beſt of them, all of them, are not to be named the ſame day.

Scaligers objection of old confuted by *Lactantius.*

71. The objection is not of yeſterdayes hatching; it was then brought in thoſe dayes when thoſe ancient Fathers lived, wrote, cited them againſt Pagans, brought by ſome Pagans in heat of oppoſition, who would ſeeme more diſcreet and learned then their neighbours: they then charged Chriſtians, as our Novellers now doe, to have invented, forged, publiſhed and obtruded upon the world, thoſe mock-Oracles under *Sibyls* name; they ſaid it, that ſome learned Chriſtian, skilfull in Poetry, did compoſe them in Verſe, and ſent them abroad to procure credit and countenance to his cauſe and profeſſion. Some men, ſaith *Lactantius*, convinced by, and having not what to ſay unto theſe teſtimonies, fly to this, that they were not the Verſes or Works of *Sibylla*, but forged, compoſed, and obtruded by ſome of our Religion. And before *Lactantius*, who lived in the time of *Conſtantine* the firſt, it was objected to Chriſtians by the Pagan *Celſus*, as appeares by *Origen*; who directeth againſt him, thus: *Celſus* (ſo *Scaliger* and ſome others) ſaith ſo: and therefore you muſt take it upon his ſaying, to be ſo. He gives no inſtance of any one particular thing ſo foyſted in or counterfaited: but were his imputation true, it would be no hard thing for him to prove it, and convince us plainly of ſuch forgery. If he could produce but one ancient Copy, (which is a ſpeeding argument in *Scaligers* and *Caſaubons* Grammar learning) of which ſort there be many yet extant, written before Chriſt was borne, wherein our allegations be not found and contained, then queſtionleſſe he might charge us that we had forged them: but we are ſure, and he knows he cannot doe it. So *Origen* convincingly againſt that ſcurrile Calumniator: And *Lactantius* upon another ground to the ſame purpoſe. Certes no man can juſtly imagine that we have forged them, who hath read *Cicero*, *Varro*, and other ancient Writers that make mention of them before Chriſt, of *Sibylla Erythræa* and the reſt. From their writings we take thoſe teſtimonies: And they all were dead and buried before Chriſt came.

A Critick cenſured, whoſe name is ſuppreſſed.

72. Thus theſe ancient and learned Fathers fully and ſatisfactorily to thoſe Pagan outworne cavills: which yet, though unanſwerable in their own learning, cannot hold in our Criticks, Philologers, and Polymathiſts, from renuing, reviving, and bringing in again into play

play to be laughed at, and hiſſed out, that outcaſt forlorn objection of *Celſus*, The Oracles of Sibyl produced and inſiſted upon by Chriſtians in teſtification of God, of Chriſt, of his Kingdome, and the maineſt points of our faith, were forged by Chriſtians, obtruded upon the world by Chriſtians, as officious lies, as bounteous leaſings, to make way for, and give countenance unto the Goſpel, againſt Paganiſme, and Idololatry, becauſe, forſooth, as is pretended, many ſuch fables, forgeries, and Apocryphall writings were ſo compoſed, and expoſed, or ſent abroad. *Me id vehementer movet*, I am much emmoved, ſaith a great Factioniſt this way againſt the Father, when I conſider that at the very firſt beginning and infant dayes of the Church, there were exceeding many who held it to be an act of worth, deſerving great commendation, with lies and forgeries to promote and advance Divine truth; with an intent, that ſo that new doctrine might finde eaſier paſſage with the wiſe Pagans. In plaine termes he ſhould have charged, for ſo he meant, his words will beare no other qualification, the whole Church, the Apoſtles with ſuch forgery, ſuch practiſe againſt their own rule, *Not to doe evill, that good may come of it.* As if truth could not ſubſiſt, but by aſſiſtance of lies. This had been ſharp enough, but our Cenſurer runs on further, not onely belying, but undervaluing of Antiquity. *Iudicia illorum Patrum ſatis mirari non poſſumus, qui ejuſmodi ſcripta tanta facilitate receperunt, & ad fulciendam cæleſtis veritatis authoritatem teſtimonia ex illis proferre non dubitarunt*: I cannot ſufficiently wonder at the judgement of thoſe Fathers who have given ſuch eaſie entertainment unto ſuch writings, and have made no ſcruple to take from them teſtimonies to confirme Divine Authority of heavenly truth. I cannot but much more admire, that ſuch abſurd Puritanicall paralogiſmes ſhould paſſe with countenance where they have been admired, and that men of excellent parts of learning, I cannot ſay judgement, I would I could, ſo verſed in Antiquity, ſo ſeeming devoted to the Ancients, ſhould ſo fiercely, indiſcreetly, with ſuch harſh impetuouſneſſe, inſult upon them; but true it is,

Quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens, ſervabit odorem
Teſta diu: ——

That which is bred in the bone will not ſoone out of the fleſh. That reaſon of *Origen*, and that of *Lactantius*, being in their owne Elementary learning, ſhould firſt have been anſwered, and then they might have wondred, which are ſo pregnant and convincing, that all the Philologers in the world cannot anſwer them, with reaſon, though vilifie them with impudency, which is their common courſe, they may: For our Imputer, loth I am, conſidering his worth otherwiſe, but needs I muſt avow, it is a falſe, ſurly, ſcandalizing, calumnious, and indiſcreet imputation upon the beſt men, near unto, nay in the Apoſtles time, nay caſt upon the Apoſtles themſelves, at leaſt, if it were not purpoſedly intended againſt them, yet it reacheth home unto them, caſting an aſperſion upon thē thus far, as of toleration, holding

it

it convenient to put it in practiſe, as a work of piety, a meritorious act, to promote the Goſpel, and propagate the faith. Theſe Imputors, or gave no credit unto, or had forgotten thoſe proteſtations which the Writers of thoſe times make ſeriouſly and ſtand much upon for themſelves and their religion, in their Supplications, Apologies, addreſſes for Chriſtians, and Chriſtian practiſed Religion. *Nunquam veritas ſectata eſt fucum. Suis illa contenta eſt viribus. Veritas propriis fundamentis nititur.* That learned and vehement Writer, *Tertullian*, whoſe phraſes theſe are, would have been in the face of him, that had in his dayes ſo profanely charged the Chriſtians with lies and forgeries to maintain or propagate their religion: a zealous Advocate he was, I call him ſo, for originally a Lawyer he was, for the truth and honeſty of Chriſtan Profeſſion, their true meaning and dealing in thoſe dayes. Such falſe, inhumane, irreligious charges, or ſhould be ſpunged out of ſome mens writings, or the writings ſent to feed Salamanders in the fire. I love their learning, but preferre Antiquity.

Heretiques fictions condemned of old; but not ſo the Sibyls Oracles.

73. It is true, as hath been confeſſed, and I will not deny, it was not by the Apologiſts of thoſe times gainſaid, many lewd, lying, impious and blaſphemous forgeries were then hatched, accurſed egs of accurſed birds, and ſent abroad, thruſt upon thoſe Primitive times of the Church, but not by the Church, with adviſe, deliberation, direction of the Church in generall, not by any Orthodoxe Chriſtian, much leſſe with common conſent, which is our charge; but by hereticall and counterfait Chriſtians, Menandrians, Hebionites, Gnoſticks, Marcioniſts, and ſuch like monſters of faith, who to make current paſſe for, and get countenance to their many hideous practiſes and blaſphemous hereticall impieties, put forth into the world many ſuch impoſturing lewd Libels, counterfaited under the names of the Apoſtles, but the Church nor uſed, nor approved them, the Church ever cenſured and condemned them and their Authors; but with Sibyls Oracles they never dealt in that faſhion. It is a ſpeeding anſwer, Before Chriſtianity or Chriſt came into the world, there were copies produceable, which were elder, and written before the Incarnation, wherein all the cenſured paſſages were; which could not poſſibly then be the forgery of any Chriſtian. To colour impiety by the practiſe of the Church, or impute impiety to the generall practiſe of the Church, is unpardonable. To avow that the whole Church allowed ſuch forgery of Hereticks, is inexcuſable. Both Imputations, by our Philologers, daring men, and opiniative, are charged upon the beſt times of the Church, in the foregoing, and then producing to the world, officious lying writings, Sibyls Oracles to promote the cauſe of the Goſpel, by obtruding them upon the world; good Doctrine, in *Ordine ad Deum*, as ſome men phraſe it, in addreſſe unto God, to maintain any practiſe of the Devill.

Theſe Oracls could not bee forged but by the Apoſtles or their Diſciples, if by any Chriſtians

74. It hath been inſtanced out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, what S. *Paul* thought of them, when he wiſhed the Gentiles to take and reade

reade them. *Clemens Romanus*, elder then he, ſucceſſor, as ſome hold, unto S. *Peter* in the Sea of Rome, but certainly Scholar, which all muſt hold, unto S. *Paul*, who lived and died in the Apoſtles time, and converſed with them, wrote an Epiſtle, in the name of the Romane Church, to the Church of Corinth, as *Euſebius* teſtifieth, which as he alſo writeth, was accounted of, and held in ſo high reputation, that they undervalued it only to the ſacred Canon of holy Scripture, and reade it publiquely, as we doe *Eccleſiaſticus*, *&c.* in the Churches unto the people at Divine ſervice. In this Epiſtle of *Clemens*, lately found and publiſhed, thoſe two ancient Writers, *Euſebius* and the Author of the Queſtions under *Iuſtin Martyrs* name and title, doe ſay that Sibyls Oracles were cited to prove the generall Judgement and life to come, not to be unknown or unheard of amongſt the Gentiles. But in the Epiſtle lately found and extant, no mention is of *Sibyl*, or any ſuch thing. A certaine ſigne, that there is much wanting of that Epiſtle, the Copy being ſingular, and none extant any where elſe. *Euſebius* ſaith it was μεγάλη, a very long Epiſtle: It is reaſonable long, but not ſo, but that much of it may be loſt: for ſomewhat elſe is wanting which ſhould be there. *Epiphanius* againſt the Ebionites, ſaith, *Clemens* in that Epiſtle commended *Helias*, *David*, and *Sampſon*: The two firſt he doth, *Sampſon* is fled, not there; but that paſſage of *Sibyl*, which they ſay was cited by *Clemens*, is yet extant in the end of the ſecond Book of *Sibyls* Oracles, whereof I have three Editions in Greek. This teſtimony of *Clemens* vouched by them, muſt needs put our Imputers upon this jump, that if Sibyls Oracles were counterfaited by Chriſtians, it was done in the Apoſtles times, by ſome of them or their Diſciples, with their privity and conſent.

S. *Auguſtines* cenſure of all kind of lies.

75. It is a common by-word amongſt men, that of lyes, ſome be very lyes, and ſome merry lyes. It is as ordinary a diſtinction in Schooles, that ſome are merry lyes, ſome officious lyes, ſome beneficiall, ſome pernitious lyes, ſo diſtinguiſhed from the end and purpoſe of the lye teller. It cannot be denyed, but there is a difference *inter* lyes, all are not alike oppoſite unto truth, nor in like diſtance from God. Antiquity I am ſure deteſted the courſe, *by doing evill to promote good. Mē laciorū multa genera ſunt*, ſaith *Auguſt. qua quidē univerſaliter odiſſe debemus*: His reaſon why we ſhould in generall hate all lying, is, becauſe *Nullū eſt mendaciū, quod non ſit contrariū veritati*; and no otherwiſe then light & darknes, Religion and impiety, Juſtice and iniquity, is truth oppoſite unto a lie, and a lie to truth. Hence it follows, we muſt hate the one as much as we love the other. And he is ſo ſtrict, that he will not allow a man the telling of a lie, for the ſaving of his owne or anothers life. *Quiſquis dicit pro periclitantis hominis ſalute corporali vel ſpirituali eſſe mentiendum, monſtratur à veritate exorbitare. Quòd ſi furto noſtro, vel adulterio, poſſet aliquis de morte liberari, idcò furandum eſt vel mœchandum.* Why ſhould any man deſtroy his owne ſoule, to ſave the corporall life of another?

And

And he gives a ſolid reaſon, A man muſt love his neighbour but as himſelfe, not above himſelfe: the love of one muſt refer unto the love of the other. Now how can I love another as my ſelfe, if to ſave his life I loſe my ſoule? This is to love him more then my ſelf, which is againſt wholeſome doctrine, and kils the rule thereof.

Juſt. Martyr, and the old Churches cenſure of lies.

76. Concurrent is the judgement of other Fathers. *He that profeſſeth love unto the truth* (*Iuſtin Martyrs* words they are in his Apologie) *muſt both ſay and doe what is right and juſt, and hold himſelfe cloſe thereto, though with hazard of his life.* This was not his private fancie, but the doctrine, judgement, practiſe of the Church. *We deny not*, ſaith *Tertullian*, *our profeſsion, that we are Chriſtians, if the queſtion be put unto us:* Though, as he delivereth more then once, upon denyall, if they would but ſay nay, they might eſcape. *Impium enim*, ſaith *Iuſtin Martyr* again, *arbitramur eſſe, non in omnibus & per omnia veritatem proferre, quam ſcimus Deo ipſi adeò complacere.* I grant *pia fraudes* have been much practiſed, and that παραλογία, which *Lucian* remembers; but of later times, not ſuch Antiquity as we be put upon for the Sibyls. Thoſe Worthies in the Church of Chriſt were not idle ſuperſtitious fabling Monkes and Friers that ſucceeded afterwards.

The expreſnes of the Sibyls Oracles doth not prove them to be forgeries.

77. A maine exception againſt the Sibyls is, becauſe they ſpeak ſo plain out, and directly home; which the Excepters hold for a character of counterfeiſance, a ſure proofe they were Poſt-nates, forged by Chriſtians after the Incarnation. It is not likely the Sibyls could, or ſhould ſpeak more diſtinctly to Gentiles, then the Prophets to the Jews. *Caſaubon* and *Baker*, or *Obſopæus*, preſſe this argument much: of which two, the later plaid the foole then, who take a great deale of paines, as he hath done, to no purpoſe, in ſetting forth Sibyls Oracles at Paris, in Greek and Latine, very faire, if they were but Romancies, ſuch as *Don Quixote*, or the Books of *Amadis de Gaul*. But let him play the foole in print; to the argument. They doe not talke in Riddles of the *Seed of the woman*, the *Seed of Abraham*, the *Starre of Iacob*, the *root of Ieſſe*, but they name him *Ieſus* the Sonne of *Mary*. Nor doe they ſay, *Behold, a Virgin ſhall conceive and beare a Sonne*, but *The Virgin Mary* ſhall beare *Ieſus* at Bethlehem. No Prophet foretold that *Ieſus* ſhould be baptized in Jordan, as *Sibyl* hath: None, that the holy Ghoſt ſhould come downe upon him like a Dove, and the like: which all tend to make this good, The Sibyls have ſpoken more plainly then Prophets, therefore counterfaits. To which I anſwer, firſt generally, it is falſe. The Prophets have ſpoken out as plaine as they, for particularizing, as a child ſhall be borne to the houſe of *David*, *Ioſias* by name; *Cyrus* is not deſigned with circumlocutions, but by name. And in particular, Bethlehem is aſſigned for Chriſts birth, his hands and feet to be nayled, his ſide to be pierced, gall and vinegar to be given him, to riſe againe upon the third day, and other ſuch deſignments, are to my apprehenſion, as plain, home, evolved, as can be. But ſay they, It is contrary to the Word of God,

to

to hold that ſuch myſteries ſhould be propoſed to the Gentiles in more evident manner then to the Jews. It is; but οὐ τέτακται; Can you tell where it is ſo contrary? Where hath God ſaid itin termes, he would deliver, or all, or part of his will unto the Jews, in plainer terms then to the Gentiles? There is no word, nor yet warrant from practiſe, as if it were an indiſpenſable courſe; the contrary rather. The Prophecy of *Balaam* a Gentile, to *Balac* a Gentile; of *Daniel* a Jew, but to the Gentiles; of *Eſay* and others of the Gentiles, are, for ought I know, as plain as any Prophecies to the Jews. *Iob* was a Gentile, yet not any Prophet frõ *Moſes* to *Malachy* hath ſpoken ſo plainly of the Reſurrection as he, *Iob* 19.25. *Iſ.* 44.28. & 45.1. *Ieroboam* was little better then a Pagan: Nothing ſo good, as many Kings of Judah; yet God ſpake more plainly to him, 3 *Reg.* 13. then unto any of the Kings of Judah.

78. But plainneſſe and evidence is not ſo much ſubjectively to be conſidered for and in the thing ſpoken, as it is objectively, in reference to him, of whom, or to whom it is ſpoken: that which is moſt evident unto one, may be moſt obſcure to another; it ſufficeth ſome, to have things delivered unto them in a generality, which others muſt have dimenſed out unto them κατὰ μέρος, peece after peece. That which now is plain and revealed to us, was not ſo of old unto the Jews, no not, though delivered in plaineſt terms, who yet had then Gods Oracles, the holy Scriptures for direction. God ever did, doth, and will comport himſelfe, and his diſpenſations with men, anſwerable unto capacity, as they can receive, not as he could impart; with relation to collaterall occurrencies and conſiderations. In common courſe and reaſon, where greater knowledge and apprehenſion is, there needs leſſe plainneſſe, as to babes not Giants ſpoon-meat; Iſrael, in Indowments to underſtand the things of God, exceeded Babylon, and therefore needed not ſo much, ſo plain information, or revelation. The Gentiles for the *Chariſmata* of grace, were of duller capacities then the Jews; and therefore ſtood in more need of plainneſſe then the Jews. But in reſpect of the things to be revealed, conſidering the courſe of thoſe times, wherein all things were to be in types and ſhadowes, it was not appointed, that Prophets ſhould ſpeak out; but no ſuch limitation was ſet unto the Gentiles, the rather becauſe of their ſtate and condition preſent, as eſpecially, that when the time of viſitation and refreſhing ſhould be, they might be the more accommodated, and more fitly diſpoſed to receive grace, and no impeachment thereto, though ſuch inſtruments as he uſed, were Idololaters, and otherwiſe wicked men, who durſt not, or would not profeſſe and adhere unto the true God. I conclude, ſmall cauſe there was, upon ſo ſlender grounds, for ſome learned men, to call into queſtion the Oracles of Sibyls generally: To traduce and ſcandalize the truth, honeſty, and diſcretion of the moſt learned and religious Fathers of the Church, for attributing much unto, and producing often their teſtimonies for evidence to convict Pagans, as knowing them counterfaits, or as forged by themſelves.

The Gentiles Propheſies more expreſſe then the Jewiſh.

Iuſt. Martyrs teſtimony of the Sibyls, vindicated.

79. It is farther ſaid by the Ancients, that reflecting upon ſuch often citing them, the Pagans ſtyled Chriſtians Sibyllianiſts in deriſion, therein conſorting with our Imputers, and by authority forbad the reading of them; which, ſaith *Iuſtin Martyr*, was done, and done by the Devils procurement; which prohibition was upon pain of death, leſt by reading of them, men ſhould convert to Chriſtianity, or converted, be therein confirmed, and leave off to walk in wicked wayes: which drift and project of the Devil, he ſaith, took no effect. For Chriſtians refrained not the reading of them, and perſwaded others to reade them. This report of *Iuſtin* is queſtioned, rejected, and ſcorned of our Novellers, as falſe, but without other proofe or argument, then their owne magiſteriall words. Strange Confidents! what opinion have they of themſelves, that we are preſſed to take their *nay*, againſt *Iuſtins yea*; in a point of Fact, of his own time, 1600 years almoſt elder then they, not gainſayed by any of thoſe times? as if in effect, *Iohn Stowe*, *Iohn Howe*, *Harding*, *Holliuſhead*, or ſome late Chronicler, would oppoſe their Negative for *Factum* in the Conquerors time, or of his ſon *William* the Atheiſt, to *Ingulf*, *Gemeticenſis*, *Malmsbury*, *Ordericus Vitalis*, who lived then, or neare then. Though there be no other *conſtat* of that prohibition, but onely *Iuſtins* affirmation, yet we know, that many ſingular facts be related by ſome ſingular men, not ſeconded by others, and yet not queſtioned, nor queſtionable; none more, then with our Grammarians, Philologers, Criticks, ſuch as our exceptors be. Where is any mention now extant, beſide in S. *Matthew*, of that execrable Murther and Maſſacre of the babes of Bethlehem; or of that Taxation of the whole world by *Auguſtus Caſar?* yet mention ſomewhere, ſometimes, there was of both, as appeares by *Suidas* and *Macrobius*, though now the evidence be loſt, and *Tertullian* for it appeales, *Ad tabulas cenſuales, & acta magiſtratuum.* So that Law which *Iuſtin* ſpeaks of, is not in the Pandects. What then, *Iuſtinian* had no cauſe to put it in. He is a ſimple Philologer, that will hold all *Senatus conſulta*; *Edicta Prætorum*; *Reſcripta principum*, be in the Digeſts. As *Iuſtin* might know, ſee, and read much, which our ſupercilious Polymathiſts never heard of: ſo it muſt be ſuppoſed, he would not openly and lowdly lie, in ſuch an argument as he handled, to ſuch perſons as he directed it, the Prince and State, in ſuch a point as touched them ſo neare. And after all, it is not neceſſary as they doe goe upon, and would enforce, that ſuch a Law in particular was lately made, but he might reflect upon the courſe held in the Free State, and re-enforced in the Empire, of having or uſing ſuch Prophecies commonly, out of meere reaſon of State, which afterward Pagans enforced, for penalty againſt Chriſtians: under that publick act of State, for reaſon of State, the Devil might inferre and mannage, another

Opera & inſtinctu malorum Dæmonum mortis ſupplicium, adverſus librorum Hydaſpis, Sibyllæ ac Prophetarum lectores conſtituta eſt, ut per timorem, homines ab illis, quò minus ſcripta legentes rerum bonarum notitiam percipiant, ſed in ſervitute eorum detineantur, poſſent abſterreri. Quod certè perficere, ac ad finem ſuum perducere nequiverunt. Non enim abſq; timore ullo, hujuſmodi ſcripta legimus; verum etiam vobis ad inſpiciendum, quæ in iis traduntur, ſicut videtis, offerimus. *Iuſt. Mart. in Apol.* 1.

other piece of ſervice for himſelfe, to keepe men in ignorance, from taking notice of thoſe Divine Truths and Diſpenſations of God, for the good of Man kind, which were extant directly, or interſperſed in thoſe Oracles.

80. And yet they goe on to play the further fooles in print. In thoſe Oracles cited by the Fathers, much good learning and inſtruction is contained, which I grant; but in the true Oracles, no ſuch matter was tendred or to be found, but inducements, incitements to Idololatry, and all manner of impiety. Strang proceſſe again; What ſuch true Sibyls meant they? whoſe works of that nature have they ſeen or read? She that ſold her three Books unto *Tarquin*, had many ſuch advancements, as appeareth by Roman Stories: But ſhe was but one of ten Sibyls; Her works peradventure had ſome good ſtuffe amongſt much bad; or if none, it is not materiall: whatſoever they contained, was burnt to aſhes in the conflagration of the Capitoll. No Chriſtian, or Pagan ever ſaw, or read Verſe therein, but ſuch as had the keeping of them, when they were under lock and key: But after Chriſt, and ſcores of yeares before him, they were not; no ancient Father did ever ſee, or read Verſe in them. But what a ridiculous Argument is this, The works of ſome Hiſtorians may be full of lies and leaſings, therefore there is no truth in any Story; therefore thoſe Fablers are onely true Hiſtorians, and ſuch as tell truth be meere counterfaits: ſo ſay our Dictators of Learning in this caſe of Sibyls. If they mean by true Sibyls, thoſe collections made by the State of Rome, digeſted into one Volume, and laid up for ſupply in the Capitol re-builded, as if all other Copies and Tranſcripts remaining in any hands abroad, were falſe, it is as baubiſh a diſcourſe as the former. *Iuſtine* nor *Lactantius* happily never ſaw that Copy, but that was not the Originall, as the three former Books were, but ſundry collections out of ſeverall places, here a piece, there a piece, as they could procure them for love, feare or money; for as then command them generally they could not, nor did they carry all, any with them, but onely Tranſcripts of what they met withall, and could procure. And yet even thoſe laid up in the Capitol, it ſeems, were not ſo charily kept, nor incommunicable, as the three former Books; for *Cotta*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, and others before Chriſt, had read them, or heard relations from them.

The learning and piety of theſe Oracles, are no argument that they are forged.

81. Their greateſt ſtitch and exception is againſt that part and piece of *Sibylla Erythræa's* Oracles, which is named of old the Acroſtichis, from the diſpoſition of the Poeme, conſiſting of ſo many verſes as there be letters in theſe words, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτὴρ Jeſus Chriſt, Son of God, Saviour: the firſt verſe beginning with an ι the firſt letter, the ſecond with an η the ſecond letter, and ſo the reſt throughout, the initiall letters of every verſe making up that recited totall of *Ieſus Chriſt, Son of God, Saviour*. A curious and adviſed piece of work, ſaith *Cicero*, and not the iſſue of a mad or frantick braine. This was meant by S. *Auguſtine* in his 18. Book of the City

Sibylla Erythræa's Oracle.

of God, cap. 23. *Hæc ſanè Erythræa Sibylla, quædam de Chriſto manifeſta conſcripſit, quæ etiam nos, in Latina linguâ, verſibus malè Latinis, & non ſtantibus, legimus, per neſcio cujus interpretis imperitiam, ſicut poſtea cognovimus. Nam vir clariſſimus Flacianus, qui etiam Preconſul fuit, homo facillimæ facundiæ, multæq; doctrinæ, cum de Chriſto colloqueremur, Græcum nobis codicem protulit, carmina eſſe dicens Sibyllæ Erythreæ, ubi oſtendit quodam loco, in capitibus verſuum, ordinem literarum ita ſe habentem, ut hæc in eo verba legerentur,* Ιησῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτὴρ· *quod eſt Latinè, Ieſus Chriſtus, Dei Filius, Salvator.* This *Sibylla Erythræa* hath delivered ſome things concerning Chriſt in very plaine termes, which I have read in Latine, but no good Latine tranſlation, having no conſiſtence in the Verſe, which proceeded from the ignorance of the Interpreter, as afterward I underſtood. For that honourable man *Flacianus*, Proconſul, a man of ready and eloquent ſpeech, and of profound learning, when as it happened we conferred touching Chriſt, produced a Greek Copy, as he affirmed, of *Sibyl Erythræa's* Oracles, and ſhewed me the place in which theſe words, Ιησῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς, σωτὴρ, were diſpoſed ſo in order, that they were initially the beginning of the Verſes. Whereunto, in *Euſebius*, and elſewhere, the word σταυρὸς, *Croſſe*, is added. The whole Poeme or Paſſage of that Acroſtichis, is a deſcription of the generall Judgement, to be held by our Saviour, to whom the Father hath given all Judgement, and put all things in ſubjection under him. The Emperour *Conſtantine*, in *Euſebius*, had a better perſwaſion of it then our Grammarians: He ſaith it was enſpired by God, that ſhe might publiſh it to the world. And I account her bleſſed, whom our Saviour made choice of to be a Preacher of his great care and providence over Man-kinde.

The ſumme of that Oracle, by *Lactantius.*

82. The ſumme of this Acroſtichis and other Prophecies of Chriſt, by *Sibylla*, is by S. *Auguſtine* in the forecited place abridged out of *Lactantius* thus: *Lactantius hath inſerted into his Works, certain Predictions concerning Chriſt deliveredby Sibylla: Which being by him diſperſedly remembred, I will lay and ſumme up together, making it a more enlarged totall, which in briefe parts and portions he diſtoſed. He ſhall afterward*, ſaith ſhe, *fall into the hands of misbeleevers. They ſhall give him, being God, blowes upon his cheeks, and bid him gueſſe who ſtruck him. With impure mouthes ſhall they ſpit poyſon at him. He ſhall offer his back unto the whip, and being ſmitten, he ſhall hold his peace. No man ſhall underſtand what the Word is, or whence he came. He ſhall be crowned with a crowne of thorns, and ſhall ſpeak to them in hell. They ſhall give him gall to eat, and vineger to drink, ſuch entertainment ſhall they provide for him. A fooliſh Nation, they have not known their God, repreſenting himſelfe to humane underſtanding. The vaile of the Temple ſhall cleave in twaine, and for three houres it ſhall be dark night, at high noone. He ſhall be put to death, and ſleep three dayes, and then returning back from hell, ſhall appear alive in the day time, and ſhall manifeſt the beginning of reſurrection to ſuch as ſhall be raiſed up.* Thus he.

83. The

83. The *Acroſtichis Cicero* had ſeene and read, as *Conſtantine* obſerveth in *Euſebius*, whereof in that Author he ſaith thus; *There be many* (for our Grammarians were not the firſt) *exceptors, who give no credit to this Acroſtichis, though they will not deny Sibylla was a Prophet. They ſuſpect that ſome Chriſtian skilfull in Poetry compoſed thoſe verſes, at leaſure, in his Study, and put a falſe title to them, faſtning to Sibylla, who never wrote them. But herein they are out; it is apparent thoſe verſes were made long ſince. Apparent it is Cicero had ſeene it, and tranſlated it into Latin, and left it remaining in his works; but Cicero was ſlain by Antonius, when he did what he pleaſed in the State. Antonius was vanquiſhed by Auguſtus, who reigned fifty ſixe yeares. Tiberius ſucceeded Auguſtus, in whoſe time our Saviour was made known unto the world. If then it were forged, it muſt needs be forged by ſome Pagan, no Chriſtian could doe it. And true it is, as Conſtantine ſaith, that Cicero had ſeene it, his owne teſtimony proves it, in his 2. De Divinatione.* But yet, as they inſtant, he diſcredits it as compoſed by no frantick Beldame, but of one attentive, underſtanding, and adviſed. And I ſay ſo too. Prophets were not mad men, nor Predictions frenſies, as hath been ſhewed: but mad or ſober, it could not poſſible be the act of a Chriſtian, if *Cicero* ſaw it; yet that is the imputation of forgery. *Cicero* ſaw it, his words are theſe; *Non eſſe illud carmen furentis, tum ipſum Poema declarat; Eſt enim magis artis & diligentiæ, quàm incitationis & motus; tum verò ea quæ Acroſtichis dicitur, cum deinceps ex primis verſus literis, aliquid connectitur, ut in quibuſdam Enniani. Id certè magis eſt attenti animi, quàm furentis. Atq; in Sibyllinis ex primo verſu cujuſq; ſententiæ, primis literis illius ſententiæ, carmen omne prætexitur. Cicero* ſpeaks namedly of the *Acroſtichis*, but not ſolely, of the intire work he doth, in which were many things of a new renued world, of a King univerſall to be born, ſubjection and homage generally to be done unto him, of plenty and all happineſſe under his reigne, and the like: which by many Paraſites were applied in the ſtate and courſe of thoſe times unto *Iulius Cæſar*, who had forced and maſtered the republick; *Cicero*, of the contrary ſide, put in exceptions againſt that Poem, out of humor and faction, and yet his exceptions are but halters. He ſuppoſeth it generally true, as our Philomathiſts likewiſe doe, that all Prophetical Predictions came from Arreptitious frantick ones, that uttered in fury they could not tell what; a falſe and addle conceit. And were it true, that all were ſuch, yet we muſt further queſtion how, in what ſort, with what ſpirit *Sibyl* ſpake by inſpiration; let him call it *Frenſie*, the Spirit enſpiring her might be ſetled, and attentive to what was to be ſpoken, and to the manner how. Preciſely I hold with *Cicero*, the Author was not mad or diſtracted, but as *Cicero* himſelf, knew what ſhe ſaid, and put her name unto her works.

Conſtantines teſtimony of the ſame Ciceroes opinion of it.

84. And for our purpoſe. As God from time to time raiſed up and ſent Prophets unto the Jews who ſpake of things to come, as already done or by-paſt: ſo he left not the Gentiles, utterly and altogether

God ſent Prophets to the Jews and Gentiles. Iuſt. Mart. and S. Auſt. as opinion of them.

gether deſtitute, but at ſometime or other, in ſome places or other, ſent unto them Prophets of their own, who all ſpake as they were enſpired, of many things plainly and directly, as the ſtate of things, times, perſons required. Theſe predictions of theirs, when they were vouched, were not meant to prejudice holy Scripture. *Conſtituenda enim ſunt apud Eccleſiæ alumnos*, ſaith *Iuſtin Martyr*, *illa quæ de Deo ſunt, & ad Deum ſpectant, ſecundùm ſenſum & intelligentiam Doctrinæ ſpiritualis ſermo & diſſertatio omnis inſtituenda*: The things which concerne and appertaine to God, muſt be reſolvedly ſetled with all the children of the Church, according to the ſenſe and meaning of ſpirituall Doctrine which muſt direct all ſpeech and diſcourſe thereof, or thereabout. And though againſt Pagans their teſtimonies and authorities were juſtly and to good purpoſe produced and inſiſted on by the Ancients, yet they held with S. *Auguſtine*. *Nihil eſt firmius ad convincendum quoſlibet alienos, ſi de religione contenderint, noſtroſq; fulciendos, ſi rectè ſapuerint, quàm ut Divina prædicta de Chriſto proferantur, quæ in Iudæorum ſcripta ſunt codicibus*: Nothing is more forceable to convince all forrainers, that conteſt againſt religion, or to confirme ſuch as be of our Profeſſion, if they underſtand aright, then to vouch the predictions of our Saviour, which remaine upon Record in Jewiſh writings. But becauſe as hee there addeth, *Quia non incongruè creditur fuiſſe in aliis Gentibus homines, quibus hoc myſterium revelatum eſt, & qui hoc etiam prædicere impulſi ſunt, ſive participes ejuſdem gratiæ fuerint, ſive expertes, ſed per Angelos docti*; *Quiſquis igitur alienigena, non ex Iſrael progenitus, nec ab illo populo in Canonem Sacrarum literarum receptus, legitur aliquid prophetaſſe de Chriſto, ſi in noſtram notitiam venit, aut venerit, ad cumulum à nobis commemorari poteſt*: But for as much as it may be conveniently beleeved, that with other Nations there were ſome to whom this myſtery was revealed, as alſo ſuch who were compelled to foretell thereof, either as partakers, or devoid of the ſame grace, of inſpiration, or taught and directed by Angels; whoſoever therefore forrainers, and not of Iſrael, nor by Iſrael admitted into the Scripture Canon, is yet remembred to have foretold any thing touching Chriſt, if of him or them we doe, or can take any notion, we may make uſe thereof, as out of ſtore. And yet one teſtimony of an adverſe party is, or ſhould be, of greater account, then ten of thoſe who ſtand and profeſſe for the ſide.

So much for the Sibyls, thoſe Prophets of the Gentiles, by whom God, in thoſe times, when he onely was known in Jury, did in ſome ſort and meaſure, as beſt pleaſed him, make knowne unto the Gentiles, his diſpenſation of grace, which when it drew neare to be accompliſhed, he more and more revealedly did diſcover. And certainly, all great innovations and changes in States have commonly been fore-deſigned by ſome notable occurrencies. The finall deſolation of Jeruſalem, the finall rejection and diſſipation of the Jews, the aboliſhing of their religion, ſervice, Temple, were fore ſhewed by

by many prodigies and ſignes in heaven and earth. So the day of doome, the end of the world, finall conſummation of all things, is many wayes deciphered out by our Saviour. Semblably at the Incarnation, a change was to ſucceed in heaven and earth, all things were to become new. *Novus homo venit in mundum, nova præcepta dedit mundo, & vitæ noſtræ veteri, contrarietatem oppoſuit novitatis ſuæ.* As therefore of old, the Promiſes and Predictions, Types and Figures of Chriſt were many and manifold; ſo doubtleſſe at the neere approach of his comming, many ſignes and tokens did accrue, obſerved by them, who then, as it is ſaid, *looked for redemption in Iſrael*, though it be not particularized what they were, and we will not preſume to rove at in conjectures, but be content with the time certain, which was, ſaith *Leo, Dies redemptionis novæ, reparationis antiquæ, fælicitatis æternæ, ab initio promiſſæ, in fine redditæ, ſine fine manſuræ: In quo dignum eſt nos, erectis ſurſum cordibus, divinum adorare myſteriũ; ut quod magno Dei munere agitur, magnis Eccleſiæ gaudiis celebretur.* A day of novell redemption, of ancient reſtauration, of bleſſedneſſe everlaſting: in the beginning promiſed, in fine accompliſhed, everlaſtingly to continue. For this therefore, fitting us it is, to lift up our hearts, and adore this divine myſterie, that ſo the Church with exceeding joyfulneſſe may receive what God out of bounty did graciouſly confer. But of that hereafter in due proceſſe: by little and little we draw up, and neere thereto.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The reigne and life of Herod in Iudæa.

THE SUMMARIE.

PARAG.

1 HErods *Father.*
2 *His Mother, Brethren, and ſiſter* Salome, *an Incendiary at Court.*
3 *The Authors opinion concerning the Authority of* Joſephus, Ruffinus, *and* Salianus.
4 *Diſſentions in Writers about* Herods *pedegree. Deſpoſynes* qui.
5 Petavius *Jeſuit confeſſeth* Epiphaphanius *erroneous.* Joſephus *mentions Chriſt and Chriſtians with honour.*
6 *Why the Deſpoſynes were called Hebionites. The Epiſtle to the Gal. written againſt them. Their other names.*
7 *Antipaters Story falſly related by them in deſpight of* Herod.
8 Nicolaus Damaſcenus *no true reluter of* Herods *ſtory.*
9 *He concealeth* Herods *vices, as namely, his breaking up the Sepulchre of* David.
10 *Why* Herod *ſought to aboliſh the Jewiſh Nation.*
11, 12. Torniellus *his objections againſt* Joſephus; *his Authority refuted.*
13, 14. Scal. *and* Caſaubon *miſtaken in ſaying* Herod *was no forrainer.*
15, 16. Scal. *opinion further diſcuſſed and refuted.*
17 Baronius *his opinion of* Herod *taxed.*
18 *The difference betwixt Proſelyte and Neophyte. The time of his birth, and of his comming to be lieutenant of Galile.*
19 Joſephus *his credit ſafeguarded againſt* Baronius.
20 Herod *riddeth the Country of* Hezekiah *an arch-thiefe, and is cited to anſwer for it before* Hyrcanus.
21 *The manner of his appearance.* Sameas *ſpeech. The Court acquits him.*
22 *All the murtherers of* Cæſar *came to an untimely end.* Antipater *and* Herod *apply themſelves to* Caſſius.
23 Antipater *poiſoned worthily by* Malchus.
24 Caſſius *ſlain.* Herod *applyes himſelf to* Antony, *and keeps his places.*
25 *The calling in of the Parthians by* Antigonus, *and* Hyrcanus *taken Priſoner by them.*
26 Herod *reſolveth for Ægypt.*
27 Hyrcanus *ears cut off by* Antigonus, *and why.*
28 Herod *miſſing of* Antony *in Ægypt, followeth him, and findeth him in Italy.*
29 Herod *by* Antony's *commendation, ingratiated with* Cæſar, *and by the Senate made King of the Jews.*
30 Antigonus *put to death by* Antony, *and* Herod *ſetled in his Kingdome.*
31 Herod *had ten wives.*
32 *Polygamie, whether ever Lawfull or no.*
33 *Scarce any of* Herods *poſterity remaining in* Joſ: *time.*
34 Herods *multiplyed iſſue by* Doris *and* Mariamne.
35 Archelaus *his ſucceſſor the ſon of* Malthace.
36 *His iſſue by the reſt of his wives.*

37 Herod

37 Herod *calleth home* Hyrcanus *from* Parthia, *and* Ariſtobulus *drowned by* Herods *meanes*.
38 Herod *accuſed by* Ariſtobulus *his Mother, goeth into Ægypt to acquit himſelfe to* Anthony.
39 *At his return he puts his Vncle* Joſephus *to death for diſcovering a ſecret to* Mariamne.
40 Cleopatra *commeth to* Herods *Court*.
41 Herods *warres with* Aretas.
42 Anthony *defeated at* Actium. Herod *reſolves to ſubmit to* Cæſar, *but firſt kills* Hyrcanus.
43 Cæſar *ratifieth to him his Kingdome*.
44 *His returne and entertainment by* Mariamme.
45 Soemus *and* Mariamme *put to death*.
46 Herods *diſcontent and ſickneſſe*. Alexandra *put to death*.
47 Herods *proviſion for the people in the dearth*.
48 Herods *magnificence: it never rained by day to hinder the work-men while the Temple was building*.
49 Salome *practiſeth miſchiefe againſt* Herods *ſons, by* Mariamme.
50 Herod *goeth to Rome with his ſons to accuſe them*.
51 *His Accuſation*.
52 Alexanders *defence*.
53 Herod *reconciled to his ſons by* Cæſar, *at his returne names his Succeſſors*.
54 Salome *maketh* Alexanders *wife ſeeke to undoe him and his brother*.
55 Alexander *by* Pheroras *meanes, jealous of his Father*.
56 *A match that ſhould have been betwixt* Syllæus *an* Arabian *and* Salome, *croſſed by* Herod.
57 *A plot laid againſt* Alexanders *life by meanes of* Herods *boyes*.
58 Alexander *upon* Herods *bad uſage of him deſperate*.
59 Archelaus *his Father in law reconciles him to* Herod.
60 Syllæus *patroniſeth the Trachonite thieves againſt* Herod, *and complaineth of him to* Cæſar.
61 *Hatred renewed betwixt* Herod *and his two ſons*.
62 Herods *uſage of his ſonnes, and expoſtulation with* Archelaus
63 Herods *peace made by* N. Damaſcenus *with* Cæſar, *and leave granted him to proceed againſt his ſons*.
64 *They are ſummoned before a Councell and condemned*.
65 Herod *enquireth of* Damaſcenus *what they talked of his buſineſſe with his ſons at* Rome.
66 Ariſtobulus *and* Alexander *put to death, and with them* Tyro *and three hundred Soldiers more*.
67,68 Antipater *practiſeth againſt his Fathers life and* Salome *againſt his*.
69 Syllæus *plots againſt* Herods *life; and* Pheroras *death*.
70 *Women queſtioned for* Pheroras *death, acquaint* Herod *with* Antipaters *practiſes againſt his life*.
71 *The Conſpiracy of* Antipater *found out, and the prepared poiſon*.
72 Antipaters *arreſt*.
73 *Accuſed by his Father and* Damaſcenus.
74 Herod *acquaints* Cæſar *with* Antipaters *practiſes againſt him and* Salome.
75 Herods *ſickneſſe and Teſtament. Commotions by the Prieſts*.
76 Herods *diſeaſe increaſeth*.
77 *The manner of it. His counſell to* Salome, *to kill all the chiefe men of the Citie at his death*.
78 Antipaters *impatience cauſes him to be beheaded*.
79 Herods *death*.

IN the dayes of *Hyrcanus*, ſecond of that name, high Prieſt and King of the Jews, there lived one *Antipater*, a man of worth and ſervice, of ſingular practiſe and dexterity, made to manage affaires of State; by birth he was an Idumean, of the lineage of *Eſau*, and not of the thigh of *Iacob*; in his own Country, a man of meanes, of power, and

and of account. He was ſon to one *Antipas*, an Idumean, and ſo a Forrainer originally; by which name *Antipas*, *Antipater* himſelfe was ſometime called: and ſo doth *Ioſephus* alſo, once at leaſt, name him, with addition, for diſtinction, of *Antipas* the younger. He ſerved as a Captain of authority and command in the warres, under *Alexander Iannæus*, King of the Jews, Father unto the fore-named *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, and by him for his good ſervice, was *Antipas* made Lieutenant of Idumæa, which *John Hyrcanus* had conquered not long before, who was Father to *Alexander*, and grandfather to *Hyrcanus* the ſecond. *John Hyrcanus* growing powerfull and terrible to his neighbour Nations, out of zeale to the Law, made a voyage againſt Idumæa, and ſubdued the Country, cauſing them to leave Paganiſme, to become Proſelytes, turn Jews in Religion and be circumciſed, which they accepting of became incorporated into, and one Nation with the Jews.

Ἀντίπας ὁ πατὴρ, &c. *in* 14. *Antiq. c.* 2. ὁ δὲ τις γένους Ἰδουμαῖος Ἀντίπας δὲ λεγόμενος, πολλὰν μὲν ἄλλων χρημάτων δεδύνευτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ σπουδὴν εἶχε πρὸς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ βασιλίσσης, διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἐκείνους εὔνους· ὃν τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπας Ἀντίπατρος τὸν πρόσθεν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πατρίοις τοῦτο τοῦνομα, ὃν Ἀλεξάνδρα ἡ βασίλισσα καὶ ἡ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδεδειγμένην ἔλυσε τὴν Ἰδουμαίας, &c.

His Mother, Brethren, and ſiſter *Salome*, an incendiary at Court.

2. *Antipater*, or *Antipas* the younger, aſſociating himſelfe with thoſe of Gaza, of Aſcalon, and other neighbouring Arabians, having ſucceeded *Antipas* his Father in the Lieutenantſhip of Idumæa, his native Country, did yet eſpecially ally himſelfe with the Arabians, of which Nation he took to wife one *Cyprus*, ſo was her name; which gave ſome occaſion to think it was not perſonall, but Patronymicall, and that ſhe was native of the Ile of *Cyprus*, wherein they were deceived. *Cypriote* ſhe was not, an Arabian ſhe was, and *Cyprus* was her proper, no appellative name. *Antipater* by her had five children at leaſt, foure ſons and one daughter. The ſons were *Phaſaelus*, *Herodes*, *Ioſephus*, *Pheroras*, the name of the daughter was *Salome*. *Ioſephus* was ſlain upon *Herods* part, in the competition betwixt him, and *Antigonus* the Aſſamonean, for the Crown: this *Antigonus* was ſon unto *Ariſtobulus*, younger brother to *Hyrcanus*, who uſurped upon his elder brother, and put him out, till being taken by *Pompey*, he became priſoner and was carried to Rome; whoſe unjuſt title, and wrongfull quarrell *Antigonus* proſecuting, went about to eject his Uncle *Hyrcanus* from his right, of being Prince and high Prieſt over the Jews, and drew in the Parthians againſt the Romanes, to his ſide. *Phaſaelus*, the eldeſt ſon of *Antipater*, in the ſame quarrell, was treacherouſly ſurpriſed, and taken Priſoner by the Parthians, caſt into Fetters, and ſhould have been executed publiquely; but being as he was, a man of very high ſpirit, in diſdaine and indignation, at his ſo hard fortunes, beat out his owne braines againſt the walls, having firſt in vain attempted, for he was prevented, to make himſelfe away by knife. He left behinde him a ſon bearing his owne name, ſeven yeares old, when he thus dyed, whom *Herod* took and brought up with greater love and tenderneſſe then his own: For he intirely affected his Parents, brothers, ſiſters, though moſt unnaturally cruell

to

to his owne children. *Salome* the ſiſter of *Herod* was a woman of a moſt working and unquiet ſpirit: a *Medea*, a Fury, an Incendiary in Court, who ſurviving Father, Mother, Brothers, was, together with the youngeſt brother *Pheroras*, the cauſe and original root of all thoſe tragicall miſeries and calamities, which in proceſſe of time, eſpecially towards his latter end, befell *Herod* and his houſe. This Bedlam had been married to three husbands ſucceſſively: Her firſt was *Ioſephus*, whom ſhe accuſed unto her brother *Herod*, to have been too familiar with *Mariamme*, *Herods* beſt beloved wife; which ſeemed to *Herod* probable, becauſe *Ioſephus* had childiſhly blabbed out a ſecret committed to him by *Herod*, concerning *Mariamme*. Upon which that wicked woman *Salome* taking advantage, cauſed *Herod* out of jealouſie in fury to behead her husband. Her firſt husband being thus made away, her brother *Herod* gave her in marriage to one *Coſtabarus* an Arabian borne; whom, as *Ioſephus*, he likewiſe put to death at the inſtigation of *Salome*, ſhe having firſt ſent him a bill of divorce: which the woman could not doe unto the man, but the man might practiſe it toward the woman. Her third husband was *Alexias*, with whom ſhe out-lived *Herod*, and he by out-living eſcaped death, which aſſuredly otherwiſe he ſhould have had.

Ἐκέχρητο γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ κακίᾳ τὸ ἀπόῤῥητον λαβοῦσα, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς Ἰώσηπον ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὸ ἀπόῤῥητον τοῖς ἐκείνῳ διαβεβλημένοις αὐτὴν ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο Σαλώμην ἀδελφὴ τοῦ κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τούτοις διαλύσασα γάμους, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐξέβαλεν ἐπιστολίον. ὁ γὰρ ἔξεστι τῇ γυναικὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιστεῖλαι χωρισμὸν, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξῆν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ποιῆσαι. Ioſeph. l. 17. c. 1. pag. 696.

3. *Baronius*, about this deviliſh woman, hath wronged *Ioſephus* and his Story. He taxeth him of contradiction to himſelfe, or of diſſention from truth, and from himſelfe. For, ſaith *Baronius*, he makes *Salome* to be ſometime *Herods* ſiſter, and ſometime his wife; which as it is abſurd for *Ioſephus* to ſay, ſo is it moſt falſe for *Baronius* to affirme. *Ioſephus* doth no where ſay that *Salome* was *Herods* wife, but moſt conſtantly ever that ſhe was his ſiſter. Nay more, in the very place deſigned by *Baronius*, *Archaol.* 17. 10. he doth not name her wife, but ſiſter. Ἰαμνίαν τε καὶ Ἄζωτον, καὶ Φασαηλίδα Σαλώμη τῇ ἀδελφῇ κατέλιπεν· *Herod* by his laſt Wil and Teſtament aſſigned unto his ſiſter *Salome*, *Iamnia*, *Azotus* and *Phaſaelis*: Ἀδελφῇ is the word that *Ioſephus* uſeth, and that in my learning ſignifies a ſiſter, not a wife. But it ſhould ſeeme *Baronius* found it *Vxori*, in his Tranſlation by *Ruffinus*, a moſt negligent, diſſolute, ignorant Interpreter. For *Salianus* that voluminous Jeſuit, ſpeaking of her death, and that Legacy which ſhe gave to *Iulia Auguſta* hath theſe words: *Huius Ambivii tempore, Salome Herodis ſoror, ſic enim ex Græco ἀδελφὴ legendum eſt, idq; hiſtoriæ veritas exigit, vitâ decedens, Iuliæ Iamniam cum ſua Toparchia reliquit.* This he would not have noted concerning *Salome*, had he not found it (for I have not the Tranſlation by me) in *Ruffinus* corrupted Tranſlation, which *Baronius* followed, *uxori* and not *ſorori*. That error *Salianus* amends out of the Originall, and ſo ſhould *Baronius* alſo have done, and not imputed the error or negligence of a blundering Interpreter, unto the learned and adviſed Author: But *Baronius*, as having no skill in the Language,

The Authors opinion concerning the authority of *Ioſephus*, *Ruffinus*, and *Salianus*.

Language, which certaine it is he had not, or otherwiſe relying upon Interpreters, oftentimes is plunged upon abſurdities, as in due place and order is made apparent. And *Salianus*, though he ſaw the error where, and whence, and whoſe it was, is otherwiſe as injurious to *Ioſephus*, as *Baronius* hath been. For whereas *Ioſephus* ſaith, that *Salome*, *Herods* ſiſter, when ſhe died, gave *Iamnia* unto *Iulia Auguſta*, *Cæſars* wife, which ſhe had in fee from her brother *Herod*; the blundering Jeſuit falls foule upon *Ioſephus*, for ſaying, *Iulia*, becauſe, ſaith he, *Iulia* had been confined by *Auguſtus* her father twelve yeares before, being for her lewd, wanton, and laſcivious life, by him accounted as *Vomica* and *Carcinoma*. Nor would *Auguſtus* have taken this Legacy given in good part. *Id ergo reliquis Ioſephi nævis accenſeatur*, *Let this be added unto the other blemiſhes of Ioſephus Story*. In good time Sir blind blundering Jeſuit, as very a *Nævus* as *Baronius*, himſelfe and other Jeſuited Catholiques caſt upon *Ioſephus*, with ſhame enough of their owne ignorance, or malice, or rather both. The Jeſuit muſt take notice, that *Iulia*, *Auguſtus* daughter, is not the woman deſigned by *Ioſephus*; ſhe never was *Auguſta*: but the party here meant was *Auguſtus* wife, *Livia Druſilla* by her proper name, as deſcended from thoſe noble families of *Livii* and *Druſi*: Which *Livia*, by adoption and decree of Senate, paſſed into the Julian Family, and in ſteed of *Livia*, was ſtyled *Iulia*. So *Tacitus Annal.* 1. *Livia in familiam Iuliam, nomenq; Auguſtæ adſumebatur*. Upon which Text of *Tacitus*, *Iuſtus Lipſius*, a great admirer of the Society, and himſelfe as much admired by them, let fall this note: *Ideo in nummis & lapidibus ex hinc ferè Iulia ſcripta & ſculpta, ac non Livia*: So from thenceforth in inſcription of coyns and marbles, ſhe is evermore named *Iulia*, and not *Livia*; and ſo *Ioſephus* calls her upon all occaſions. One place for all, let *Salian* put on his ſpectacles and reade, *Antiq.* 17. *cap.* 7. *pag.* 528. about *Acme* a Jeweſſe, one of *Iulia Auguſta's* waiting women, Ἐδούλευε τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ Καίσαρος γυναικί. She attended upon *Iulia*, *Cæſars* wife. Such ill hap have our voluminous Annaliſts, in traducing of *Ioſephus* Story. And let this paſſe, I returne his owne words on him, *Amongſt the many abſurdities of Salianus*, this is one; and ſo proceed again to *Herods* houſe. The youngeſt ſon of *Antipater*, *Pheroras*, died before *Herod*; how and in what ſort, it will be incident, when we come to the calamities of his houſe, by the impious treacheries of his eldeſt ſon *Antipater*, bearing the Grandfathers name. Interim this is the originall of *Herod*, King of the Jews.

Diſſentions in Writers about *Herods* pedegree. Deſpoſynes *qui*.

4. Diſſention there is in Writers about this pedegree: The kindred, ſtock and countrey of *Herod*, with many other particulars be banded up and downe, by different Opinators many wayes. Some deny him an Idumæan, and make him an Aſcalonite, by birth a Philiſtin. Some hold him nor one nor yet other; They will not have him *Alienigenam*, nor Aſcalonite, nor Edomite, but a Jew: Which opinion is diſtracted alſo ſeverall wayes. Some derive him as directly from the thigh of *Iacob*, as *David*, *Saul*, or the Maccabees. Others

waive

wayve this, yet account him a Jew, not *Alienigenam*, or a *Proselytum*. But such differency of dissentients from the common Tenent, makes their severall opinions improbable all, and casts us back to the common voge, avowed by *Iosephus*, that he was no other then an Idumæan. *Herod by the fathers side*, saith *Eusebius*, *was an Idumæan, as Iosephus relateth it, by the Mother, he came forth of Arabia. But Africanus, no triviall, or contemptible Author, relateth thus: That such as exactly and curiously have enquired after, and searched for his originall and descent, say that his Father indeed was Antipater; which Antipater was son to one Herod of Ascalon, extracted from the Æditui, that is, a family of men who had charge of Apollo's Temple at Ascalon. Antipater son unto Herod this Ascalonitish Priest, being yet a child, was surprised and carried away by Idumæan theeves, amongst whom he spent his youth and most part of his life. For his Father, who was a very poore man, was not able to pay his ransome. This was his fortune, such his education, amongst, and after the fashion of theeves and robbers. In processe of time, he was recommended to the service of Hyrcanus Prince of Iews, and did him good service many waies. Herod who reigned in Iudæa when our Saviour was Incarnate, was the son of this Antipater.* This fable, for such it is, *Eusebius* relateth out of *Africanus*, and withall tells us the Authors of it, from whom *Africanus* took it, namely those rake-hell Jews and counterfaits, for such they were, who boasted they were of our Lords kindred, and called themselves *Desposynos*, allied to our Saviour. *Africanus* words in *Eusebius* (for the Author is lost) be these; *Such as after the flesh were our Saviours kinsmen, either to make famous their Stock and Nation, or to let us simply and plainly know their historicall beleefe, have left us this remembrance of a true report, that certain theeves of Edom, making a road into Palestina, surprised Ascalon, and took thence from Apollo's Temple, which joyned to the City walls, Antipater, son of Herod, a Sexten of that Church, who was not able to redeem home his son.* Which tale *Epiphanius* tells from the same Authority, in his Collections, but somewhat more enlarged then *Africanus* had it. *Herod*, saith he, Hær. 20. *was son unto Antipater of Ascalon, Sexten of Apollo's Temple there.* In which words he differs from *Africanus*, who saith that not *Antipater* himselfe, but *Herod* his Father, was that Sexten. He goes on. *Antipaters Fathers name was Herod, son to Antipas*; which is more then *Africanus* hath, and is a meere hoch-pot, made up of truth and a lie: For *Antipaters* Father, and not his Grandfather, was *Antipas*. He goeth forward; *Antipater being Captivated by the Idumæans, and living as a Captive in that Countrey, begat Herod. Long time he abode here, as a Captive slave, because his Father* (*Herod* or *Antipas* he expresseth not) *being a very poore man, could not redeeme him. But at length his ransome being paid, by a Collection made for him over all the City*, (which is more then *Africanus* told us of) *he came home to Ascalon his native place, but ever after was of some accounted for an Idumæan, and for an Ascalonite by others. In processe of time, insinuating himselfe into Demetrius acquaintance, hee*

Hist. l. cap. 7.

was constituted Procurator for Hyrcanus in Iudæa. This is also more then is in *Africanus*; but true it is, this *Demetrius*, born in those parts, was Freed man unto *Cn: Pompeius* the Romane generall in the East, of great credit and authority with his Lord, unto whom he recommended *Antipater* for his desert and worth. Afterward he was made known to *Augustus* the Emperour (by name must meane, but not by face, for he was dead before *Augustus* came into those parts, after the battell of *Actium*; peradventure he meant *Iulius Cæsar.*) *Becomming Procurator of Iudæa, he and his sonne Herod became Proselytes and were circumcised.* Which is an error of *Epiphanius*, (as he is full of mistakes, and mis-relations.) He was circumcised of a child upon the eighth day, after the Law of *Moses*, as all Idumæans were, upon covenant with *Iohn Hyrcanus* their Conqueror; and brought up in the Jewish religion, and as such, for *Profession*, though not for *descent*, he was a Jew. Thus much *Epiphanius*, who beleeved this tale as *Africanus* did; but *Eusebius* did not, as some impute unto him. He is a meere Narrator of *Africanus* opinion, who gave credit to their fiction, as appeareth by his passage, πάνυ ἀληθεύοντες, It is undoubtedly true. For the words are *Africanus* his, and not *Eusebius*, in approbation, as some out of too great haste have mistaken them.

Ἀνταλᾶς τὴς Ἰδουμαίας ὑποχωρίας πονηρὰν ἐπίκλησιν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ γώρᾳ. οἱ περιτμηθέντες τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς νόμοις χρῆσθαι βουλόμενοι ἢ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίδος γῆς, καὶ τιμῇ θεσπεσίῳ, καὶ τιμῇ ἄλλῃ τοῦ βίου διαιτᾶν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες ἢ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσαντες, κἀκεῖνοι ἐπὶ τούτοις χαίρουσι καὶ ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ὥστε δὴ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους. *Antiq.* 13. 17.

5. *Iustin Martyr* is as much herein wronged as *Eusebius*. Himselfe doth not avow, that *Herod* or *Antipater* were of *Ascalon*. Hee chargeth it onely upon the common report, and opinion of the Jews in his time. *Quem Ascalonitam fuisse cum dicatis.* *Petavius* the French Jesuit, who lately with great expectation, not so great performance, set us forth *Epiphanius*, confesseth ingenuously, which is most true, *Multipliciter hic hallucinatum Epiphanium*, *Epiphanius* in that relation made many slips. It is true, he remembreth not this Jewish tale amongst those many slips, but in saying *Multipliciter*, impliedly, he said enough. For otherwise he mistooke not *Multipliciter*. It is probable enough that he named not this, in respect to *Serarius*, his fellow Jesuit, who hereupon, as the custome is of many in that Society, fals very foule upon *Iosephus*. He calumniously belyeth (though I grant otherwise, the man was one of the most modest and learned in that Society) *Iosephus* in this point, that in hatred unto Christ, and unto Christians, he forgeth many things, concealeth many things, overpasseth many things; amongst other he mis-reporteth *Herods* off-spring and descent, wherein all ancient Jews and Christians doe consent. A meere calumny. For first, he never in all his Story discovereth any stitch, rancour, or disaffection to Christ or Christian Religion. He speaks not of Christians, or any passage remembred in the Acts of the Apostles; they came not within the verge of his History, nor appertain to Jewish Antiquities, or the warres of the Jews; and if they had, yet were they of condition to be related in Annals, Diaries,

Petavius Jesuit confesseth *Epiphanius* erroneous. *Iosephus* mentions Christ and Christians with honour.

Acts

Acts of Presidents, as *Tacitus*, the best of Historians, delivereth his opinion in this point. But whereas the Jesuit saith, he makes no mention of Christ or Christians, it is not so: for he remembers Christ and Christians with honour thus: *About that time* (wherein *Pilate* was President of Judæa) *there lived one Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be fit and lawfull to call him a man; for he was one that did strange and unheard of works of wonder. He was a Master and Teacher of such, as with joy and gladnesse embraced Truth. He had many followers, both Iews and Gentiles. Him, at the instance and solicitation of the chiefe of our Nation, Pilate crucified; whose death abated not the love of his Disciples. For after three dayes he shewed himselfe alive unto them: which the holy Prophets had with many other signs and wonders foretold concerning him. And till this day that sect continueth, which of him is called Christians.* Thus much *Iosephus* in every word, whose testimony I have transcribed every ἰῶτα, to give the check unto that malignant Jesuit: onely I have not translated those words, ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν, This man was Christ, because they are none of *Iosephus*, but the marginall note of some Reader, which an ignorant Transcriber took into the Text. *Isidore* of *Pelusian*, who *Lib.* 4. *Epist.* 225. citeth this place at large, to prove, what *Serarius* denyes, that *Iosephus* remembred our Saviour in his Story, hath them not. Secondly, it is false which the Jesuit asserteth, that it was the generall opinion of the most ancient Christian Writers, and the common Tenent of the Jews. No ancient Christian Writer before *Africanus* affirmeth it; and after *Africanus*, none but *Epiphanius*: or let him name the man. But that which *Serarius* hath, *cap.* 9. *in Herode suo*, is not onely false, but absurd and impossible, that it was *Christianorum multo adhuc vetustiorum*, Christians thought so, that were far more ancient then those most ancient Jews, in *Africanus*: as if Christian Religion had been in the world before Christ. I conclude against the Jesuit in his own Apophthegme, *De quibus si quiddam plus quaeris, asini, ut aiunt, vellus quaeris.*

Γίνεται ὁ κατ' τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ εἴγε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν δεῖ· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητὴς, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡδονῇ δεχομένων· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. Καὶ αὐτὸν, ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες. Ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων· εἰς τε ἔτι νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων, οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον. *Antiq.* 18. *ca.* 4 *pa.* 552.

6. As for those *Despoyni*, so much insisted upon against *Iosephus*, they were a sort of mungrell Jews, or Christians, little better then our canting rogues, part Jews, part Christians, nor good Christians, nor good Jews. Native they were, or pretended to be, of Nazareth and Chocaba, towns in Galile, that is often remembred for our Saviours countrey, where he was not borne, but brought up there. Chocaba was not in Galile, but in the territory and confines of Damascus: the same that Heba, *Gen.* 14. whither *Abraham* pursued the Assyrian Princes whom he defeated about Dan. *Ierom* seems to call it Chobaa, *de locis Hebraicis*; his words are, *Chobaa is a village in the parts of Damascus, the Inhabitants, Hebrews, beleeving in Christ, but withall observing the Law of Moses. Called they are Hebionites, from Hebion,*

Why the Despoynes were called Hebionites. The Epistle to the Gal. written against them. Their other names.

Hebion, the Founder of that Hereſie. Againſt which Hereſie it is that S. *Paul* addreſſeth the Epiſtle to the Galatians. So *Aduchomius*: as *Metragyrtæ* and wanderers, they travailed over all Judæa, and the neighbouring countries. So much ſaith *Africanus* of them in *Euſebius*, ἀπὸ τῶν Ναζιραίων καὶ γοητικῶν τούτων Ἰουδαίων, τῶν λοιπὸν γῆν ἐπιοικησάντων, as I ſaid, like our canting rogues or Gypties. What credit is to be given unto ſuch baſe people? yet theſe are the men with whoſe authority *Serarius* the Jeſuit would beare downe *Ioſephus* credit in point of Story. *Ierome* hath branded them for Heretiques, in the remembred place. He farther inlargeth upon them, in an Epiſtle unto S. *Auguſtine*, wherein he ſhews that as our Cantors and Jeſuits they had many names; no good ſigne they were honeſt men; being ſtyled Hebionites, Minæans, Symmachiani, Nazaretani, Chocabitæ, Deſpoſyni. For their title of Symmachiani, *Auguſtine* is my Author, *Lib. 1. con. Creſconium, Cap.* 31. Thus we have found out the deſcent and pedegree, the condition and quality of thoſe Deſpoſyni, our Lords kinſmen, of whom *Africanus*, *Epiphanius*, and the Jeſuit talk ſo ramblingly: for credit and authority not to be named the ſame day with *Ioſephus*. Nor doth the tale told by them, hang well together.

Uſque hodie per totas Orientis Synagogas (ταῦτα γοῦν τὸς ἐτ' αἴαν aut quod de iis Africanus dicebat, κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπιοικήσαντες) inter Judæos hæreſis eſt quæ dicitur Minæorum, & à Phariſæis hucuſq; damnantur, quos vulgò Nazaræos nuncupant. Qui credunt in Chriſtum Filium Dei, natum de Maria Virgine, & eum dicunt eſſe qui ſub Pontio Pilato paſſus eſt, & reſurrexit, in quem & nos credimus. Sed dum volunt & Iudæi eſſe & Chriſtiani, nec Chriſtiani ſunt nec Iudæi.

Antipaters ſtory falſly related by them in deſpight of *Herod*

7. *Antipater*, it is confeſſed by the oppoſites, through his owne induſtry and undertaking, attained unto, and that in ſhort time, without any great difficulty or oppoſition, in a forraine State, under a ſtrange Prince, having none to recommend him, or his ſervice. For whereas they talk of *Demetrius* freed man unto *Pompey*, it availeth not: *Demetrius* might, and did give him countenance, recommended him to *Pompey*, but not firſt to advance him, but to ſetle and confirme his authority. For before that *Pompey* looked upon Judæa, *Antipater* did all under *Hyrcanus*. Beſide, had he been ſo baſe, ſo poore, ſo deſpiſed, ſo long, he could not ſuddenly have made way to *Demetrius*, when being a child he was carried away of the Idumæan Theeves, as they fable it: meanes he had none, of his owne, by his father, his friends to redeeme him. Captive he was a long time, and married a wife, no queſtion after his owne rank and calling; Children he had by her, yet a ſlave, they name *Herod*, but *Phaſaelus* was elder: at length he was redeemed by a common purſe; his wife and children as well as himſelfe: for he left them not there, they came to Aſcalon with him. It is like enough, if in twenty or thirty years he could not obtaine his owne ranſome, that he never could procure their ranſome withall. There is nor *vola* nor *veſtigium* of truth or probability in this abſurd fiction. And if he were a Prieſt, or a Sexten in *Apollo's* Temple, it is not likely the City would neglect him ſo long, that his Father was ſo poore. Thoſe *Hieroduli*, Idololatrous Prieſts were of great eſteeme; they were Prieſts by ſucceſſion, the Father

Father left his place unto his ſon, they were not aſſumed from other Tribes, and they had faire poſſeſſions annexed as a Glebe for their maintenance, as *Strabo* relateth, through all Aſia. Be it then a ridiculous fable, as it is indeed, malitiouſly invented by the Jews in deſpight and diſgrace of *Herod* whom they hated.

8. *Defendimus*, ſaith *Petavius*, another learned and more modeſt Jeſuit, *veriſsimam Ioſephi ſententiam*; and ſo doe I, not onely againſt *Africanus*, *Epiphanius*, and thoſe Runnegadoes the Deſpoſyni, but againſt the opinion of *Torniellus*, directly oppoſite to the former: which *Torniellus*, an Italian Annaliſt for the old Teſtament, as *Baronius* is for the times ſince Chriſt, hath taken up and ſet on foot again after ſixteen hundred yeares ſilence, the forlorne and rejected opinion of *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*. This *Damaſcenus*, as *Ioſephus* reports, for his works are loſt, delivered it to the world, that *Herod* was no *Aſcalonite*, as the vagabond Jews did publiſh it; nor yet Idumæan, which was commonly told, talked of, and true; but originally a Jew, extract from them who upon the Edict of *Cyrus* returned at the firſt time with *Zorobabel* to Jeruſalem. Thus *Torniellus*, with great confidence indeavouring to make good that deſperate conceit of *Damaſcenus*. His proofes or inducements to perſwade, are firſt the opinion of *Damaſcenus*, grounded upon the commendation and great worth of the man, comparing him with, and preferring him, for credit, before *Ioſephus*. His *Authority*, ſaith that Frier, *ought to waigh down, and overballance the authority of Ioſephus*. Why ſo good Sir? Marry becauſe he was of very great credit, deſerving to be beleeved, elder then *Ioſephus*, of *Herods* time, a Platonicall Philoſopher, an Hiſtorian of great name and fame, in high grace and favour with *Auguſtus Caſar*, whoſe life and acts he wrote, as he did an univerſall Hiſtory of all Kingdomes and States comprehended in ſeventy Books. Theſe are an heap of commendations laid together; ſome true, ſome falſe, all impertinent. I grant this *Nicolas* of Damaſco lived in *Auguſtus* dayes, was in grace with that Prince and high favour, and that he was contemporiſt with *Herod*, and τι πλεῖν, ſomewhat more, his boſome friend, his chiefe confident, employed by him in his moſt ſecret, impious, cruell, beaſtly affaires. I grant he was an Oratour, Philoſopher, Hiſtorian of name, and if it may advantage *Torniellus* cauſe, a Cook, or Confectionary. For, as *Athenæus* remembers, he found out a confecting of wafers or cracknels, for *Auguſtus*, which of him were called Nicolaicks. But *Torniellus* miſtooke in ſaying he was of *Platoes* ſect. For he was of the Ariſtotelean or Peripatetican family. So ſaith *Athenæus*: and for his hiſtory, he wrote moe then ſeventy and ſeventy books. *Athenæus* cites the hundred and fourteenth book of his Story, and elſewhere the hundred and fifteenth. *Suidas* ſaith he wrote a hundred and eighty bookes, and in that voluminous work, many lies no doubt, as this of *Herod*;

Nicolaus Damaſcenus no true relater of *Iſraels* ſtory.

Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς τὸν μὲν γένος ἐκ τῆς πρώτης Ἰουδαίων τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαΐαν ἀφικομένων ταύτα διέφησι χαριζόμενος Ἡρώδῃ. *Ioſeph. Ant. lib. 14. c. 2.*

Torniell ad annū mundi 4018.

Πολυμαθέστατος δὲ καὶ Περιπατητικὸς ὢν ὁ Νικόλαος, καὶ ἱστορίαν συνέγραψε πολλήν.

nor doth it improve or advance his faith and credit, as *Torniellus* would have it, that he was elder then *Iosephus*, and lived with *Herod*: it may improve his knowledge, as being an agent in, an eye witnesse of many passages of State, but in no case commend his honesty or fidelity; the contrary rather, it makes him more then justly suspected to have falsified much in his Story concerning *Herod*, by whom he was so often and so privately employed, as in particular will appeare, whom he durst not exasperate by telling truth, knowing him to be so inhumane a Tyrant, and otherwise being so deeply bound unto him for many wayes.

Feare, affection, and doubts what may ensue
Are cause that Stories seldome can be true.

It is truly observed by the best Historian, *Tacitus*: *Tiberii, Caligulæ, Neronis res gestæ viventibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; mortuis, recentibus odiis compositæ sunt. Itaneutris cura posteritatis, inter infensos & obnoxios.* And in this case, *Damascenus* is expresly touched upon by *Iosephus Antiq.16.11.* where speaking of King *Davids* and *Solomons* Sepulchres, sacrilegiously violated, which was a thing notorious, and known to all, by *Herod*, he giveth him more then a touch, for falsification of Story. The whole passage in *Iosephus*, because it mainly concerneth *Herod*, of whom we presently intreat, is this.

He concealeth *Herods* vices, as namely, his breaking up the Sepulchre of *David*.

9. *Herod* having prodigally wasted and expended his meanes, in many, both forraine and domestick courses of charge, was informed by some about him, that *Hyrcanus*, sometime King of the Jews, had broken up the Sepulchre of *David*, and taken thence about three thousand Talents of silver, there remaining a farre greater masse of money behinde, which abundantly would supply all his wants, and former expenses, had a purpose a good while before to breake open the grave, which by night he attempted secretly, making some few confidents only acquainted therewithall. In the vault, he found no silver, as *Hyrcanus* formerly had found, but great store of plate, Jewels, rich ornaments, and the like; all which he took away. In making diligent search for what he expected, he went into all roomes and divisions of the Vault, and searched the Coffins, wherein the bodies of *David* and *Solomon* lay, where two of his attendants lost their lives, being burned by a fire, which issued suddenly out of the inmost Vault. *Herod* herewithall affrighted, goeth speedily out, and to make an atonement for his sacrilegious act, bestowed great coasts, upon a Monument which he erected at the mouth of the Cave. *Nicolaus* the Historian, who lived then in Court with *Herod*, (and in all probability was one of his associates in that act) makes mention of this building, but saith not one word of the cause, or concerning his attempt upon the Vault. For he could not commend, or excuse the act. And in like sort, he concealeth many courses and like discommendable acts of *Herod*, in the other processe of his History. For he wrote it in *Herods* life time, in his Court, with his privity, in his favour, to doe him service, and so would be sure to say nothing, that might tend to his disgrace,

disgrace, but to his commendation. He hath opposingly set himselfe to palliate many unjust acts of his, and by all meanes to passe them over in silence. That inhumane barbarous cruelty of *Herods*, towards *Mariamne* his owne best beloved wife, and to his own sons *Aristobulus* and *Alexander*, by her, *Damascenus* delivers to his commendation, belying her chastity, and their impiety in contriving their fathers death, most impudently. If any commendable thing were done by *Herod*, he prancks it up in highest, superlative termes of commendation, but writes defensive Apologies for his enormities. Indeed he may be pardoned, because his intent was not to write a Story for the good, benefit, and instruction of others, but to ingrace his service with King *Herod*. And thus much concerning *Torniellus* his so admired an Author, and his credit in the case.

Why *Herod* sought to abolish the Jewish Nation.

10. This inartificiall and yet principall argument of *Torniellus* for *Herods* descent from the thigh of *Iacob*, grounded upon the report and authority of such a Partialist, as *Nicolaus Damascenus*, I further disprove and refell, by the ordinary course and practise of those times, concerning Jewish pedegrees and lineall descents, which averre the report of *Iosephus*, and beliefe of all Christians but *Torniellus*, concerning *Herod*, no Jew, but an Idumean. Genealogicall Tables, Pedegrees drawn, Descents of Families, such as we finde especially in the first Book of Chronicles, were common and frequent, publiquely and privately amongst the Jews to the utter desolation of the Land: and it is one of their speeding Planges, that no Jew can say truly of what Tribe he is. So long as they continued a people, precisely they kept their Genealogies intire, certaine, and impermixt. For as descendents from *Abraham*, they stood much upon their Nobility, in regard the promised Seed was to be the glory of their Nation, and to be borne of them. To preserve these Genealogies certaine and intire, when any were to be married in Israel, the name of the Bride, her Kindred, Father, Tribe and Family were registred. These Genealogicall Tables, *Herod*, as privy to himselfe, that he came not from *Iacob*, sought by all means possible to abolish: which could it accordingly have been effected, *Nicolaus* his forgery might have passed current: He could not have been, as otherwise he was, convicted of a notorious lye. But *Herods* indeavours herein, and *Nicolaus* expectation and counsel, were frustrate. *There were many*, saith *Eusebius*, *good Antiquaries and Genealogists, who or had by heart the names of their severall Ancestors, or could fetch them from Chartularies and Rolls, whereout they drew Tables and Indices for their own use.* This they did, with great care and affectation, thereby to transmit entirely unto Posterity their descents.

Lib. 1. c. 1. Hist.

11. But *Torniellus* hath Arguments more, and of other sort to prove his innovated Assertion by, which is against the streame and torrent of all Antiquity. His first is a meere suspition or supposition, It might fall out so, that *Herod* was not descendent of Idumæa, and yet might so be named by *Iosephus* and others. For so it is commonly seene,

Torniellus his objections against *Iosephus*; his Authority refuted.

ſeene, that men borne in one Countrey, and dwelling in another, be denominated from the place of their habitation; as S. *Paul* was of Tarſus in Cilicia, becauſe his father dwelt there, himſelfe was borne there, and the towne being a free and enfranchiſed towne, having *Ius Civitatis Romanæ*, he pleads truly that he was a Romane, though an Iſraelite extractedly, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. This is true, but not to purpoſe. For put the Queſtion thus, Of what ſtock or kindred was S. *Paul* extracted? The anſwer muſt not be a Gentile of Tarſus, a Cilician, but a Jew, and an Iſraelite deſcending of *Iacob*. So for *Antipater Herods* Father, he might have dwelt at Aſcalon, been borne in Mount Seir, and yet have been an Iſraelite by deſcent; but his Captivity in Edom, his dwelling at Aſcalon, his marriage or abode in Mount Seir, cannot make him a Philiſtin, or of Edom. *Torniellus* goeth on with a ſecond proofe thus. Had he been by deſcent an Idumæan, he doubtleſſe would have uſed his beſt indeavours, to have brought over the Jews to forſake the religion of their Fathers, and to turne over to his and his Country mens Religion; eſpecially conſidering the tyrannicall, furious, inſupportable diſpoſition of the man, conſidering he was King, not by ſucceſſion, election, but donation of the Romanes, that by force and ſtrong hand he compelled the Jews to obey him. Which argues that *Torniellus* did not underſtand the ſtate of the Idumæans, nor the perſonall diſpoſition of *Herod*. But firſt admit, which is not granted, that Jews and Idumæans were of different religions. Secondly, that *Herod* would willingly, which *Torniellus* conceives, have brought over the Jews to his owne Religion: if I put it home unto him, that ſo he did, how will he convince me, that ſo he did not? But I grant, what he cannot prove, *Herod* perſwaded no ſuch thing, *Herod* prevailed not in ſuch perſwaſion, *Herod* never attempted to alter Law or Religion amongſt the Jews, by publique act or authority. His naturall diſpoſition cruell and tyrannicall, his extraordinary and violent intruſion on the Kingdome, his ſore oppreſſion of that people otherwiſe, never did, nor were likely to put him upon ſuch attempts. He well enough knew, by many inſtances taught, that the Jews were moſt ſetled in, affected to, tenacious of their Religion. They would rather chuſe to die ten thouſand deaths, then break any point of the Law, or their Paternall rights and ceremonies. Had he once attempted any ſuch thing, inſtantly they would have riſen up in armes againſt him, and with utmoſt hazard of their owne lives expelled him out of his Kingdome. *Herod* had no reaſon to put all into ſuch a combuſtion, being a man of no Religion. Reaſon of State was his reaſon of Religion; men of his minde and diſpoſition, as they account all Religion to be but a ſcarbugge to the credulous, ſuperſtitious, and common multitude, to hold them in within bounds of moderation, ſo will they not for any Religion, as out of conſcience and piety, adventure any hazard in their State. It will appeare in courſe of Story that *Herod* was a man of this making.

12. But

12. But for the caſe in queſtion: *Torniellus* himſelfe is a meere *Ignaro*, and cannot avoid plaine contradictions; in proſecuting the courſe of this his argument concerning *Herods* attempt about changing the Jews Religion, he hath this comparative inſtance from *John Hyrcanus* remembred in his dealing with the Edomites. *Qui ſubactos Idumæos tranſtulit ad ſua ſacra.* If he grant this, then muſt he grant withall, that Edomites and Jews were of the ſame Religion: and that *Antipater* and *Herod* were Jews in profeſſion, and ſo *Herod* needed take nor care nor pains to bring the Jews to the Religion of the Edomites, both profeſſing the ſame, as notoriouſly is evident in the fourth Book and fifteenth Chapter of the Jewiſh warres. Laſtly, he ſaith *Ioſephus*, as a Jew, doth impute all opprobrious ſcandals unto *Herod* for the hate they bare him. To which I anſwer, They hated him indeed, as they had good cauſe, a man that deſerved extreameſt hatred of all honeſt men. And ſo *Ioſephus* had cauſe to hate him, as *Tacitus* had to hate *Nero* and *Domitian*; but ſuch hatred, nor ſhould nor did cauſe them to deliver notorious untruths in Story: and for *Ioſephus*, he more then once makes challenge to *Iuſtus* of *Tiberias*, to convince him of falſity, forgery, or indirect dealing, in any one point. Nor doth he any where diſcover any paſſion or hatred againſt *Herod*. Many things he reports to his commendation; much he conceaſeth of his ſavage cruelty: we are ſure of one thing, that Butchery by him committed upon the babes of Bethlehem, is not remembred by *Ioſephus*; which if he had written in rancour and malice would have given him occaſion, nothing more, to have inſulted upon that beaſt. *Ioſephus* might well have inſiſted upon his fidelity, as he doth, thus: *Illis non metuo, conſcius enim mihi ſum veritatem me veſtigiis omnibus perſecutum, atq; inde ſperatum Teſtimonium conſecutus ſum.* I feare nor their tongues nor their pens. I am privy to mine owne intents. I ſought and enſued nothing but truth, and have ample teſtimony given me of my ſuch dealing. And ſo I leave *Torniellus*, and his folly; I proceed to others, who as ſtrangely exorbitant hereabout, men of eminent learning and reſpect otherwiſe, *Scaliger* and *Caſaubon* who hold thus, and *Scaliger* in proofe thereof proceedeth thus.

Scaliger and *Caſaubon* miſtaken in ſaying *Herod* was no forrainer.

13. *Euſebius who ſtyleth Herod* Αλλόφυλον, *that is, a ſtranger of another Tribe and Country, falls upon that conceit, to uphold, and enforce another falſe opinion of his concerning the ſeventy weeks of Daniel, which terme he determineth in the beginning of Herods reigne.* This imputation of that determination is true. *Euſebius* endeth thoſe ſeventy weeks there, as *Scaliger* affirmeth, in 8. *Demonſt. Euangel. cap. 2. That number of yeares, ſo are his words, is declared to have been current from Ieruſalem repaired, under Darius King of Perſia, till the Empire of Auguſtus over the Romanes, and reigne of King Herod over the Iews, who was a forrainer and ſtranger born.* From which aſſertion he no where diſſenteth that I know. To which frivolous objection, for ſuch it is, of *Scaliger* I anſwer: That the ſenſe, meaning and interpretation of

of *Daniels* weeks, both for the beginning and determining, is much controverted, as already hath been declared. In giving, or falling upon the true ſenſe of them, be it ſo, that *Euſebius* erred, yet ſome of his proofes, allegations, inducements, obſervations, thither tending directly or upon the by, are not *eo nomine*, falſe, and erroneous in themſelves. For a true Propoſition may be falſly and impertinently applied; ſuch illogicall reaſons, be *Scaligers* proofes. *Herod* might be, as he was, a forrainer, and yet his being ſuch, nothing conduce to *Daniels* weeks. Secondly, it is but his bare ſurmiſe, *Euſebius* no where delivereth ſo much in termes, nor can ſo much any where be concluded from him; that he reports him ἀμφίλογον, becauſe he ſo expounded *Daniels* weeks. If he had never ſtyled *Herod* a forrainer borne, but where he intreated concerning *Daniels* weeks; if where, or whenſoever he had occaſion to ſpeak of *Daniels* weeks, there ever and then he had named *Herod* a forrainer or ſtranger born, yet even ſo he could not be peremptorily charged with any ſuch opinion; it cannot be enhanſed beyond a bare conjecture, and poore probability: but it being nor ſo, nor ſo, *Scaligers* reaſon is reaſonleſſe. But admit *Euſebius* therefore named him a forrainer, what will he ſay to ſuch who before, and after *Euſebius*, give him that title, who hold not with *Euſebius*, about *Daniels* weeks. Excepting *Damaſcenus* and *Torniellus*, no Writer of any age but accounted ſo of *Herod*, having occaſion to name him; but concerning *Daniels* weeks they fall not in with the opinion of *Euſebius*. *Scaliger* himſelfe confeſſeth as much. For he makes *Euſebius* the firſt founder and Father of that Doctrine about thoſe weeks. *Primus illam confinxit Euſebius*. If he were the firſt, then none before him; then muſt none before *Euſebius*, by *Scaligers* inference, call *Herod*, ἀμφίλογον, *alienigenam*, a ſtranger born, which *Scaliger*, and all men of any reading know, is otherwiſe. Thus his leading reaſon is λόγος ἀλόγιστος, pleamly reaſonleſſe, and as the ſaying is, *unbound broomes*.

14. His ſecond argument puts on thus; *Herod* was an Idumæan, his Parents Proſelytes and Idumæans. True, what then? Therefore he was no forrainer, but a Jew. *Adrian Turnebus* that great learned Frenchman, is reported to have uſed this ſpeech of *Scaliger*, being then a very young man, upon reading of his *Conjectanea* on *Varro*, that he was *Prodigioſi ingenii juvenis*, a young man of a moſt prodigious wit; and certainly ſuch he continued all his dayes. His opinions were many ſole, ſingular, prodigious ones, in all points of learning. Such is this, *Herod* was no forrainer, but a Jew, becauſe he was originally of Edom; and yet God himſelfe ſaid to *Rebeccah*, *Two ſeverall Nations are in thy womb, and two different people ſhall be ſeparated from thy bowells, and the one people ſhall be ſtronger then the other, and the elder ſhall ſerve the younger*. God ſaith one thing, Edomites and Iſraelites were diſtinct different Nations, *Scaliger* ſaith the contrary, They were one people; whom will you beleeve? *Habeantur pro Iudaïs Idumæi, ante editum in lucem Herodem*. They were accounted ſo:

Gen. 25. 23.

ſo: it is no good proofe, Therefore they were ſo. *Multa quæ non ſunt, dicuntur eſſe:* and it is a rule, that *Populus dicit, ideò errat.* It is commonly bruited, therefore falſe. It was before *Herod* was borne, or his great Grandfather, that the Idumeans were intereſſed principally in that capitall act of aſſociation, *Pſal.* 83. againſt the Jews, *Come on, let us root them out from being a people, that the name of Iſrael may be no more in remembrance.* Amongſt theſe Combiners the Idumeans march in front, for we reade, *The Tabernacles of the Edomites, the Moabites, the Agarens.* And *Pſal.* 132. *Remember the children of Edom, O Lord, how in the day of Ieruſalem they cryed, Downe with it, downe with it to the ground.* Peradventure they did this, and cryed thus againſt themſelves. It is no new unuſually heard of thing in the world, that Nations and Kingdomes of divers originalls, different Lawes, diſtinct Rites, Ceremonies and Religion, ſhould in proceſſe of time unite and combine in one. In our Fathers and owne dayes we have heard and ſeene it, and for our ſelves we are no more Britains, Saxons, Scots, Picts, Engliſhmen, Welſhmen, Normans, but one people, ſerving one God, under one Prince, though every Nation, almoſt every Shire, have ſeverall Lawes or Cuſtomes of their owne, yet ſtill we remaine derived from the ſame ſtock. The Welſhman will not fetch his deſcent from the Saxon: Thoſe that came out of Normandy with the Conquerour,

—— ut longè repetant longéq; revolvant
Nomen, ab infami gentem deducunt aſylo:

cannot deny but they came from *Rollo* the Rover, and his copeſmates. Inhabitants of the Land of Canaan were not all of one Originall, Nation, or Root; There were the Gerim or Georæ, the poſterity and remains of the ancient Inhabitants, the Canaanites, Amorites, Jebuſites, &c. whom the Children of Iſrael did not, could not caſt out, but made them Tributaries and Subjects. There were *Epimicti*, a miſled ſort of many Nations, who together with Iſrael came up out of Egypt, and became incorporated into Iſrael, diſpoſed of, and diſperſed in the ſeverall Tribes. There were afterwards Samaritans, ſtrangers, brought thither to dwel there, by *Salmanaſſer* the Aſſyrian, when he carried the Inhabitants away out of their owne Land: and Proſelytes there were, ſuch as being forainers borne, of other Nations, forſook their Pagan gods and Idols, and profeſſed the God of Iſrael, and Religion of the Jews. But all theſe remained diſtinguiſhed one from other. Proſelytes, Samaritans, and Jews, we finde ſo differenced in holy Scripture: Nor is a Samaritan ever called a Jew, or a Jew ſtyled a Samaritan. And of old we reade of the Rechabites, the Poſterity of *Iethro* father in law to *Moſes*; and of ſtrangers within their gates: all diſtinctly known and taken as they originally deſcended, though all in Profeſſion and Religion the ſame. Nor would the Jews admit them for ſuch as themſelves, the iſſue of *Abraham*, the ſons of *Iacob*, but in their Genealogicall Tables, kept themſelves intire as deſcendents in bloud, from *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Iacob*,

Iacob, the friends of God; nor would they permit others to intercommon in that Title. The Edomites were conquered and subjected by *David*, and so continued subjects and Tributaries to the house of *David*, for about one hundred and fifty yeares. Here was that Prophecie fulfilled, *The elder shall serve the younger*. Under *Ioram* King of Judah they rebelled, and herein was another Prophecie fulfilled, *Thou shalt shake off his yoke from thy neck*. Being freed from Judah, not long after they became subject successively to the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Seleucidan Princes of Asia. Lastly, they were againe re-conquered to the house of Judah, by *Iohn Hyrcanus*, the Assamonean, son of *Simon*, Prince and High-priest of the Jews; and turned in Religion Jews, receiving Circumcision, accounting Jerusalem the Metropolis, and thither repairing with their Sacrifices, at the set feasts. This their conversion of becomming Jews in Religion, is that *Helena*, which *Scaliger* doteth upon: for which most ridiculously he will have the Idumæans, and so *Herod*, to be no *Alienigenæ*, Forrainers or Strangers borne.

Scal. opinion further discussed and refuted.

15. This conceit contrary not onely to nature, to reason, but also to Grammar, which was the true profession of those two learned men, *Scaliger* and *Casaubon*, who followed him: For ἀλλοφυλία, no way concernes Religion, Piety, Gods service, but descent, bloud, originall birth. φύλη is a Tribe, a kindred, and ἀλλόφυλος is one of another Tribe, not one of another Profession, or Religion. In the Historie of the Maccabees, those wicked, profane, sacrilegious persons, sons of Belial, *Iason*, *Alcimus*, and *Menelaus*, were Jews by birth, Priests in calling, descendents from *Aaron*, of the Tribe of *Levi*, when they became Renegades, changing their names into Grecian Pagan names, for such are *Iason*, *Alcimus*, *Menelaus*, who at first were circumcised, *Iesus*, *Melchi*, *Manasses*: changing their Religion, and forsaking their God, did they cease to be Jews, of *Aaron*, *Levi*, or did they not? according to *Scaliger* they did, and so became *Alienigenæ*, strangers borne: but the History of the Maccabees calleth them Jews, as he should, for such they continued, notwithstanding their Apostasie. *Socrates* was questioned and condemned at Athens, because he brought in, and worshipped καινὰ δαιμόνια, novell gods. In point of Religion he was no Athenian, for he differed from them in their service, but was he *alienigena*, a stranger borne, say a Jew, or a Spartan, and not an Athenian, for change of his Religion? Then *Iulian*, because he forsook the Religion of his Uncle *Constantine*, wherein he had been brought up, which he had professed, ceased to be of kin to *Constantine*; and of late dayes *Cicala Bassa*, a principall Visier amongst the Turks, ceased to be a Genoway by descent, though himselfe would acknowledge it in his greatest commaundery, comming every yeare commonly to see his mother, living in Sicilia. So a Frenchman born in Gascony, must be an Hollander, because at Leyden, or Hage, he goes to Protestant Churches, as *Scaliger* did; and an Hollander going to Masse at Paris, as *Bertius* did,

must

muſt be a Frenchman ever after, and no Hollander: moſt ridiculous, yet thus *Scaliger* doth or muſt conclude, be their Religion what it will, an Engliſhman is an Engliſhman, a Frenchman a Frenchman, a Turk a Turk, whereſoever they live or converſe.

16. We read in *Herodotus*, that the inhabitants of Cholchos, the Egyptians and Ethiopians, were onely circumciſed; that the Phœnicians and Jews, or as he calleth them, Syrians, inhabiting Palæſtina, doe acknowledge they had it from the Egyptians. Many untruths are in this ſhort paſſage related by *Herodotus*. It is falſe, that they onely were circumciſed at the firſt; it is falſe, that they were ſo circumciſed from the beginning; falſe, that Egyptians were generally circumciſed. None were ſo but their Prieſts onely, and ſuch as deſired to learne the learning of Egypt, to which none were admitted but circumciſed; and it is reported of *Pythagoras*, that he permitted himſelfe to be circumciſed, that he might become their Scholar. More falſe it is, that the Jews themſelves would acknowledge ſo much. But let that be ſo or ſo, this we obſerve againſt *Scaliger*, that theſe Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians, notwithſtanding their Circumciſion, the maineſt point of Jewiſh Religion, ever were, and ever were accounted, ἀλλόφυλοι, *alienigenæ*, forrainers, ſtrangers from Iſrael. And upon this ground of difference in kinde, we often reade in Scripture of ſtrangers within their gates by birth and extraction ſtrangers: In commerce of Religion and State, within their gates, being of them, living with them, beleeving and worſhipping as they did. Nor could there have been otherwiſe any Proſelytes, Georæ, Epimicti, Advenæ, or the like. But *Stephanus de urbibus*, is produced by him, to ſay what I cannot tell, nor himſelfe careth; it is not to purpoſe, I am ſure: this *Stephanus* was a Pagan, by Profeſſion a Graminarian, *Scaligers* trade, who wrote a Collection of Cities and Countries in the world; which work an idle Writer, one *Hermolaus* of Conſtantinople, to the prejudice of learning, hath Epitomiſed. For *Sephanus* intire, we have not. In this Epitome we reade, under the Title of Jews, thus; *Alexander Polyhiſtor, delivereth that Iudæa, and Idumæa had names from Iuda, and Idume, the children of Semiramis. Claudius Iolaus ſaith Iudæa was ſo denominated of Iudas, a Theban, one of the Sparti, who accompanied Dionyſus in his Eaſterne voyage.* A fable, but as much to purpoſe for *Scaligers* conceit, as, according to the old & fooliſh proverb of Mother *Bumby*, *An hen, in the fore-head.* Pity great Clerks ſhould be no wiſer men. Next, another Rabbi of the ſame rank, *Ammonius*, comes to ſay ſomewhat more, but not to purpoſe. *Iudæi and Idumæi differ, as Ptolomæus the Aſcalonite hath delivered in his firſt Book of the Acts of King Herod. Iudæi are ſuch as were Iews from the beginning, naturally native Iews. Idumæans from the beginning were not Iews, but Syrians, and Phœnicians, who being ſubdued by the Iews, were compelled to admit of Circumciſion, to ſubject themſelves unto one*

Muſa 3.

Ἰουδαῖοι. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυίστωρ ἀπὸ τῆς παιδὸς τῆς Σεμιράμιδος Ἰούδα, καὶ Ἰδουμαία, παῖδος καὶ Κλαύδιος ὁ Ἰόλαος, ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίου Σπάρτου τοῦ Θηβαίου τοῦ Διονύσου ἐκστρατεύσαντος. *Steph. de urbibus.*

forme of Government, to uſe and practiſe the ſame Laws and Cuſtomes; Whereupon they were called Jews, as in Scripture there be *called Gods*, yet *no Gods*, no more then theſe were Jews, for all their *calling Jews*. *Ammonius* confeſſeth they were not ſo by naturall extraction or deſcent, therefore not *Homophyli*, but *Allophyli*, ſtrangers and forrainers to the Jews: that word, about which *Scaliger* makes this much adoe for *Herod*, *Allophylus*, reſpecteth *Naturam*, not *Religionem*. His witneſſe *Ammonius*, to the point in queſtion, ſpeaks directly and plainly againſt his plea; but called ſo they were, not ever, alway, from the beginning, not generally, indifferently, but with reſpect onely to profeſſion: ſo at this day we call all Mahometans Turks, though we know few or none are Turks by deſcent. It is an idle concluſion inferred by *Scaliger*, upon this Grammaticall aſſertion of *Ammonius*. *Vides ergo, à quo tempore Hyrcanus ſubegit Idumæos*, which was in *Antipaters* Fathers dayes, *non amplius Idumæos, ſed Iudæos vocatos, & pro veris Iudæis habitos fuiſſe*. With a diſtinction I grant it, reſpecting *Religion*, (which is not the queſtion, and *Scaliger* proves no more) not reſpecting *originall*, which is the queſtion, whether *Herod* were a ſtranger by birth, or a Jew by deſcent; if *Scaliger* dare affirme this, then we muſt come to a new ſtate of the queſtion, and fall in with *Torniellus* and *Damaſcenus*: if not, as he doth not, we muſt ſay of him, that *Magno conatu, magnas nugas egit*, to engarboile diſputes with needleſſe aſſertions: for no other cauſe, but to oppoſe Antiquity, that he may ſeeme to know more then all the world beſide; which in all kinde of learning was his courſe. I conclude, that *Herod* was an Idumæan, therefore a ſtranger unto Iſrael, with Antiquity, Scripture, and therefore with Truth.

Baronius his opinion of *Herod* taxed.

17. Before I paſſe farther unto the Acts of *Herod*, the man who for his Progeny hath ſo troubled the world, as he did Judæa in his life, Cardinall *Baronius* is to be taken to task here in the beginning, as he will be often in proceſſe, whoſe aſſertion concerning *Herod*, is, *Fuiſſe primò Gentilem, factum poſtea proſelytam*, which agrees not with the life, manners, education, nor deſcent and birth of *Herod*. Both termes uſed by the Cardinall, Gentile, and Proſelyte, referre to Profeſſion, Religion, ſervice of God, in ſome ſort or other, unto ſome God or other. All Religious ſervice at that time was twofold: Jewiſh, or Paganiſh exhibited to falſe and Idol gods, or performed unto one and the true God, Creator of heaven and earth: This was onely in Judæa, amongſt the Jews, that every where elſe amongſt all Nations. For *In Iury was God known, his name was great in Iſrael; the heathen had no knowledge of his Laws*. So it was that from Paganiſme and Idololatry, many of the neighbouring Nations, did come over to ſerve the true God, according to the Law of *Moſes*, and cuſtomes of the Jews. Such Converts they named Proſelytes, or commers unto, which appeares by *Mat.* 23. 15. *You Phariſees compaſſe Sea and Land, to gaine one Proſelyte, and when you have him, you make him more the child of wrath, then he was before*. Upon which Text of the Goſpel

Goſpel, *Ierom* writes thus: *Scribæ & Phariſæi totum orbem luſtrantes, propter negotiationes, vel diverſa lucra, à diſcipulis captantes, quaſi ſub imagine pietatis ſtudium habebant de Gentibus facere Proſelytos:* Scribes and Phariſees, ranging over all the world, by way of merchandizing or negotiation, hunting for gaine from their Diſciples, under pretence of Piety, indeavoured to make Proſelytes from the Gentiles. In the Old Teſtament they are *Advenæ*, which is the ſame with, but of larger extent then Proſelytes: For Georæ and Epimicti are there held Proſelytes. 2 *Chron.* 2. *Solomon* numbred per poll, all the *Gerim*, the ſtrangers, or *Advenæ* in the Land of Iſrael. In the New Teſtament, *Acts* 6. 5. *Nicolas* an *Advena* or Proſelyte of Antioch, is choſen for one of the ſeven Deacons: but Proſelyte and Neophyte are not the ſame, as ſome men together with *Maldonate* imagine. 1 *Tim.* 1. 6. The Proſelyte held on that name and title to his death, though he lived many yeeres a profeſſed Jew, and paſſed the title to his Poſterity: He was never accounted amongſt the Iſraelites, nor yet his poſterity after him, through all generations, as *Toſtatus* proveth: The yeare of Jubilee, the yeare of Freedome, or recovering Liberty, the Law of pardoning debts and obligations, did them no good. But a Neophyte he was, who was newly converted, newly engraffed into the ſtock of Religion, and having proceeded and attained degree or perfection in that profeſſion, he ceaſed any more to be a Neophyte. S. *Paul* forbids a Neophyte, that is, a new Convert, to be made a Biſhop. Had Neophytes with Chriſtians been the ſame that Proſelytes were with the Jews, that is, had that name everlaſtingly abode with them, how ſhould Chriſtians, without a diſpenſation againſt S. *Pauls* rule, have been ſupplyed with Biſhops in their want? That Text of S. *Paul* is thus expounded amongſt the Apoſtolicall Canons, Τὸν ἐξ ἐθνικῆς ἄρτι προσελθόντα ἐν Χριστιανότητα, οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι παραυτίκα προχειρίζεσθαι ἐπίσκοπον· εἰ μὴ τι καὶ θείαν χάριν τοῦτο γίνεται. He ought not to be made a Biſhop inſtantly, who came lately from Paganiſme, and was baptized; unleſſe by ſome ſpeciall grace and diſpenſation of God: as S. *Ambroſe* was choſen to be Biſhop of Millan.

The difference betwixt Proſelyte and Neophyte.

That *Herod* was a Proſelyte, it is granted: that *firſt*, or ever he was a Pagan profeſſed, it is denyed: I meane in Religion: For a Pagan he was thus, deſcended of that people, the Edomites or Idumeans, who had been Pagans, Idololaters, as all the world beſide; but before that *Herod* was borne, had left off Paganiſme, turned Jews, and embraced Circumciſion. A Pagan he might be, as I think he was, in heart, having his Religion to chooſe, uſing it onely to fit and ſerve his turne, as commonly all Politicks and Statiſts are and doe: but if that title Pagan may be given to him, he rather deſerved it in his latter dayes, then in his firſt, wherein ſome goodneſſe appeared in him, which was utterly aboliſhed in his age. So that *Baronius* terms ſhould be changed thus; *Primò Proſelytus, dein Gentilis:* Firſt a Proſelyte, but in proceſſe a Pagan: which I take to be a true cenſure of

him, as the course of his execrable life and actions wil sufficiently manifest; unlesse we will apply unto him, as we may, that saying of *Iust. Martyr, Proselyti vestri, non modo fideles non sunt, sed duplo magis quam vos ipsi Iudæi, maledictis & blasphemiis proscindunt nomen Iesu Christi:* So far be your Proselytes from account of Beleevers, that twice more then you Jews doe, with cursings and execrations they blaspheme the Name of Christ. So now we goe on with *Herods* life, having cleered all questions touching his Parentage.

The time of his birth, and of his comming to be Lieftenant of Galile.

18. *Herod*, second son to *Antipater* the Idumean, by *Cyprus* an Arabian Lady, was borne, as I conceive it, that yeare, wherein *L. Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus* were Consuls at Rome, in the seven hundred thirty second yeare of the City, the second yeare of the hundred seventy seventh Olympiade, before the birth of Christ, about seventy years. Of a child he was ever trained up in arms and action, by his father *Antipater*, Procurator of Judæa, for *Hyrcanus*, against the faction of *Aristobulus*, younger brother and usurper upon *Hyrcanus*. It is probable enough, that he attended upon his father, in his negotiations with *Pompey* the Romane Generall in the East, with *Iulius Cæsar* after *Pompeys* death and defeature, in the action of Egypt. But certaine, that twenty five years of his age, he was by his father, who had such Authority from the Romans, *Pompey*, *Gabinius*, *Cassius*, *Cæsar*, made Lieftenant Generall over Galile, being an Appennage unto the Kingdome of Jews: It is put upon *Iosephus*, that he should affirme, *Herod* was then but fifteene years old; maliciously by some, ignorantly by others, erroneously by all. Yet I grant, that in the published Copies of *Iosephus*, it is ιε. that is, 15. and so in the old Translation of *Ruffinus*: which seeming to be a triviall matter, and of no importance, is not such, but of great importance, and to be not lightly passed over, as a principall Epoche, ground and root of time, for many points of importance in the Story of *Herod*, which we have in hand. It is a principall ground of Cardinall *Baronius*, who most despitefully in many places is transported against *Iosephus*, to sclander him: inferring thereon consequencies, independencies, absurdities, contrary to sense, reason, chronologie, discretion, government, policy of State; which in this particular must be cleered, not onely for *Iosephus* credit, but to settle infallibility of Story, to facilitate our proceeding in *Herods* affaires, and many particulars incident unto the course and History of the Gospel. I grant it an error and a blemish in *Antipaters* wisdome, contrary to the course of his actions, to put such a cumbersome and entangled busines, as then the government of Galile was, into the hands of a child, out of doting affection of a father. I suppose he did it not, he would not have done it, and therefore an error so to relate it; but questionless no error of *Iosephus*, but a mistake of the Transcribers of some depraved copy, easily misplacing the two letters, by which Greeks doe account numbers, ιε for κε: and how ever *Ruffinus* in his Translation representeth it so, yet no great heed is to be taken to his Translation, nor is it of any great

great value or account what he affordeth : The learned know how ignorant and negligent the man was ; how many groſſe and ridiculous errors he hath committed concerning *Herod*. He twice delivereth it in his Tranſlation of *Ioſephus*, that *Salome* was *Herods* wife, who was his ſiſter, as *Ioſephus* at leaſt in twenty places informeth him. Now γυνὴ and ἀδελφὴ in *Ioſephus* copies are farther by much aſunder, then κα and ια be. He that ſo ridiculouſly erred in the former, might as negligently erre in the ſecond. And though he were ancient, of S. *Hieromes* time, yet *Ioſephus* was elder by foure hundred yeares : time enough to have his copies miſtaken and miſreported by negligent Tranſcribers of Books, as ignorant, as careleſſe, as much given to the profit as our Printers be. *Baronius* in his calumniating *Ioſephus* hereabout is followed by the Fathers of the Society, who can ſcarce afford any man a good word, that is not thorough for their new Doctrines ; but diſcreeter Catholiques, of more temperate and Chriſtian ſpirits, ſpeak other language, as *Torniellus* doth, who truly maintaineth againſt *Baronius*, it ſhould be twenty five, and not fifteene.

19. His firſt argument, I have touched already, that it cannot be thought *Antipater* a wiſe and wary man, for his diſcretion, dexterity, and good carriage advanced and entruſted by the State of Rome, would put into the hands of a very child, as abſolute without Governour, Director, Adviſer, a Country harraſſed up and downe, by Out-lawes, theeves, murtherers, divided popularly into ſides and factions, betwixt *Ariſtobulus* and *Hyrcanus* ; or to grant that *Antipater* out of paternall indulgence would ſo farre forget himſelf and undervalue his owne diſcretion, yet would not *Iulius Cæſar*, who intruſted him with all *Hyrcanus* affaires ; nor the Romans, Lords Paramount of the Country have permitted it, eſpecially the Parthians, then of great power and prevalency in the Eaſt, the onely oppoſites to the Romane greatneſſe, whom the defeature of *Craſſus* had made terrible to all Countries thereabout, being called in to Syria and Paleſtina by *Antigonus*, on foot with great Armies in the Country. And *Herod*, though naturally, putting forth, daring, and active ever, yet could not at the age of fifteene years poſſibly be capable of thoſe attempts and executions, which inſtantly were performed by him againſt *Hezechiah*, an arch-theefe, and other out-lawes, ſo that he quieted and ſecured the whole Country, and kept men in peaceable poſſeſſion of their owne ; ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύασε, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν περὶ κλέμματα πᾶσιν. And further if it be granted to be fifteene, and not twenty five, many abſurdities hereupon, and impoſſibilities will enſue, as *Torniellus* diſcourſeth at large ; which though *Baronius* grants and often preſſeth to diſcredit *Ioſephus*, and diſgrace him, yet no man, not led by malice or diſaffection, would impute to any common Pamphleter, or Rapſodiſt, much leſſe to ſo grave and reputed an Hiſtorian as is *Ioſephus*. Fiftly *Baronius* himſelfe will grant, and ſo hee directeth it, that this Commiſſion for Galile was granted unto *Herod*

Ioſephus his credit ſafeguarded againſt *Baronius*.

by *Antipater*, after the ſubjection of Egypt, and taking in of *Alexandria* by *Iulius Cæſar*, when *Calenus* and *Vatinius* were Conſuls. From which yeare, if *Baronius* recourſe unto the Conſular Tables, or will reckon backward upon his fingers, he ſhall finde juſt twenty five yeares run out, from the Conſulate of *Gellius*, and *Lentulus*, when *Herod* was borne: wherefore, according to true account and Chronology, it ſhould be κε, not κ, 25. and not 15. in *Ioſephus*. Nor is it to purpoſe that in *Ioſephus* we finde it, that then he was νεανίαν, very young. For twenty five will beare that title well enough, reſpecting the place hee was appointed unto. *Hannibal*, by *Livius*, is ſaid to have been *admodum juvenis*, νεανίαν, or as *Polybius* hath it, ἐτῶν, as then, a young man, a very young man, when he ſucceeded *Aſdrubal*, in the Commandery of Spaine, yet was he then twenty ſixe yeares old. So that every way the true reading is aſſerted unto *Ioſephus* Copies, and his Authority ſafe-guarded againſt the calumnious imputation of *Baronius*, and the ſcribling Jeſuit, *Salianus*.

Herod riddeth the Country of *Hezekiah* an arch-thiefe, and is cited to anſwer for it before *Hyrcanus*.

20. Βλάπτῃ δ' αὐτὸν, ἡ νεότης, *Herods* young and few yeares, ſaith *Ioſephus*, were no prejudice or impeachment to his proceedings. Ἀλλ' ὢν τὸ φρόνημα μεγαλόψυχος καὶ δραστήριος, ἐπορεύθη διώκων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ληϊσταῖς ἀφορμάς, being of a generous ſpirit, very active, and forward, he quickly found meanes and took occaſion to get himſelfe reputation by an attempt upon theeves, who in companies, and combinations, pillaged, ſpoiled and waſted the Countrey, robbing, murthering the inhabitants, burning their houſes, carrying away their goods, and committing all manner outrages. Againſt them he undertook in perſon, disbanded, diſlodged, forced, apprehended many of them; and amongſt others, one *Hezechiah* a Captain theef, a chief leader of thoſe rakehels, was by him taken and executed. This performance procured him great love in Galile, and the confining parts of Syria, which were infeſted with out-rodes by thoſe Malefactors. *Sextius Cæſar*, coſen to *Iulius*, then Lieutenant of Syria, affected him as dearly as his owne child. But *Hezechiah's* friends, who was a man of good parentage, and well allied, animated and ſet on, by ſome great men amongſt the Jews, that maligned the authority and command, which *Antipater*, and his ſons, ſtrangers born, had gotten and bare in the Jewiſh State, petitioned *Hyrcanus*, that *Herod* might anſwer it upon his life, and be called to account before the *Sanhedrin*, for murther committed upon their kinſman, by him put to death without proceſſe of Law. This high Court of *Sanhedrin* was a kinde of Parliament, conſiſting of the three eſtates, Prince, Prieſts, People, and had cogniſance of all criminall and capitall crimes. Beſide they procured and incited the mothers, wives, children of inferiour theeves, who died in the action to come daily with open mouthes and outcries to *Hyrcanus* in the Temple, demanding juſtice againſt *Herod*. Herewithall that weake man, and undiſcerning, being moved, eſpecially upon ſuggeſtion that they meant to deprive him of life, liberty, and Kingdome, gave way

to

to have him cited by proceſſe criminall, awarded out againſt him, peremptorily, to appeare and make anſwer in the *Sanhedrin* for murther, having without warrant put men to death, out of private motion, ſpleene, or quarrell, though notorious it was, and all men knew well enough, that the action was undertaken for, and directly tended to the publique good, ſervice, ſecurity, and quiet of the State.

21. This citation was quickly blown abroad, and diſpleaſed much the Galileans and others, that enjoyed the good benefit of the action, peace and ſecurity in their ſtates. *Sext. Cæſar* from Syria wrote unto *Hyrcanus* to diſmiſſe him, and added menacings, if he did not. Hereupon *Hyrcanus* let fall the citation, and as Preſident of the Sanhedrin, as Prince and Prieſt, advertiſed him of the outcryes and clamours made againſt him by the partie, that he could not but give way to their impetuouſneſſe to have him cited: informing him of their purpoſes and deſignes; that a great combination there was, and a ſtrong part made in the Councel againſt him; and therefore wiſhed him to ſtand upon his guard, to look well about him, in no caſe to preſent himſelfe, or make appearance, according to ſummons. But *Herod* holding his very citation to be a great indignity, conſidering the occaſion, and affront, the ſervice having been by him taken in hand, and performed for the common good and quiet of the Countrey, upon ſuch lewd Ruffians, enormious Miſcreants, and profane villains, was fully reſolved to have gone and preſented himſelfe ſo to the Councel, as ſhould have ſtayed the proceſſe, and taken away all ability of further proſecuting; but his father *Antipater*, and his brother *Phaſaelus* diſſwaded that purpoſe, yet adviſed him to goe and preſent himſelfe, but with a ſufficient guard and power, if any thing ſhould be attempted againſt him. So with his ſword in his hand, he came and preſented himſelfe in Councell, offering no violence, only entending to repulſe it being offered: which his deportment ſo terrified his clamorous enemies and oppoſers, that no man durſt open his mouth to ſay any thing againſt him; onely one man, *Sameas* by name, a juſt and honeſt man, and therefore without feare, openly in Councel ſpake thus unto, and concerning him: *You the body of this Councel, and you Sir King, I never knew any man in my time, and I verily beleeve you can give no inſtance of any ſummoned to appear in this Court, that ever preſented himſelf in this faſhion. The cuſtome hath ever been, that the cited to appeare in Court, came in humble maner, with fear and trembling, to move pity and commiſeration, attired in black, uncompt, undreſt: whereas we ſee, this gallant Herod, being to plead in a caſe of bloud for his life, preſents himſelfe in purple, his haire curled, kempt, with his guard about him, to the intent that if ſentence paſſe againſt him, as by Law it ſhould, we ſhould dye for it, and himſelfe goe Scot-free, having ſo notoriouſly wronged Iuſtice. But for my part, I cannot blame Herod, if he take that courſe which he holds beſt for himſelfe, though againſt Law: You it is, and the King that I doe blame, who tolerate ſuch audacious-neſſe*

The manner of his appearance. *Sameas* ſpeech. The Court acquits him.

cioufneſſe in him. But be you aſſured as from God, this man, whom for Hyrcanus ſake you intend to diſmiſſe, will one day make both you and the King ſmart for it. Which having ſpoken, he held his peace, and ſate downe, but was in his Prediction a true Prophet; For *Herod*, when he was in poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, put to death *Hyrcanus* and all the Councel, as in proceſſe is related, onely he ſpared *Sameas*, and held him in high account, as having done his duty, like an honeſt man. So he was diſcharged, and this attempt againſt him fruſtrated.

All the murtherers of *Cæſar* came to an untimely end. *Antipater* and *Herod* apply themſelves to *Caſſius*.

22. Not long after, *C. Iulius Cæſar*, who had ſo much reſpected, and ſo honourably preferred the Jews, *Hyrcanus*, *Antipater* his ſons, was moſt diſhonourably, treacherouſly, and barbarouſly murthered in Senate at Rome, by twenty foure Confederates, *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, men moſt obliged and beholding unto him, being chiefe: of all which company, not one died in his bed, a naturall death, but came every one of them to untimely, bloudy, juſt, deſerved ends. This parricide being thus barbarouſly committed on his perſon, the whole world fell foule into combuſtions, factions, armes, partakings. *C. Caſſius* a principall in this Aſſaſinate, preventing and ſurpriſing *Dolabella*, an heavy, ſluggiſh companion, upon whom the Senate had conferred the Lieftenantſhip of Aſſyria, came ſpeedily downe into the Eaſt, to whom *Antipater* and *Herod*, forgetting the many favours received from *Iulius Cæſar*, applyed themſelves. This *Caſſius* a leane meager fellow, was a man of many excellent, but dangerous parts. He was Treaſurer for the Army unto that moſt unworthy *M. Craſſus*, in the voyage againſt the Parthians; after whoſe moſt ignominious defeature, he collected the remaines of thoſe defeated, ſcattered forces, and by ſingular valour in many aſſayes, overthrowing the Parthians, preſerved Syria and the Eaſt from utter ruine. Which his valiancy made *Iulius Cæſar*, a man, if ever any, that truly valued Valour and Vertue irreſpectively, much to affect him: and intending a voyage againſt the Parthians, to blot out the ſcandall of *Craſſus* defeature, he deſigned *Caſſius* for Lieftenant of Syria, purpoſing to diſpatch him inſtantly away: but the moſt ingratefull wretch, before ſuch diſpatch, was a principall confederate to murther him, his ſo affectionate friend and benefactor. When he came into Syria, he was every where received with higheſt applauſe, for his former ſervice againſt the Parthians. In theſe Eaſterne Countreys he made himſelfe as ſtrong as he could, by faire meanes and foule, as foreſeeing and providing for that ſtorme which ſhortly fell upon him, from *M. Antonius* and *C. Octavius*. Out of which apprehenſion he laid ſore taxes and impoſitions upon the Provinces, extorting forceably exceeding great ſummes of money from all Eaſterne Kings, Princes, Countreys. Amongſt whom, the Jews had an heavy ſhare, being put to pay contribution ſeven hundred talents of ſilver. *Antipater* ſeeing in what hard termes things ſtood, for the more ſpeedy levying of the taxe, gave order to his two ſons, *Phaſaelus* and *Herod*, to goe about it inſtantly in their ſeverall Commanderies of Jewry and Galile:

Galile: the remaining parts he left unto *Malchus* the Arabian, a ſeeming friend, but ſecret and cloſe enemy to *Antipater* and his houſe. *Herod* was the forwardeſt, and firſt brought in his collection out of Galile, wherein he commanded; which diligence procured him favour with *Caſſius*, and cauſe to employ him in many ſervices, which he willingly and faithfully undertook and performed, though himſelfe, his brother, his father, his whole houſe, had been ſo much obliged to *Iulius Cæſar*, by *Caſſius* and others, moſt barbarouſly ſlaine, as hath been ſaid; but a living dog is better then a dead Lion. *Malchus* the Arabian was tardy, and behind with his proportion; either as negligent in his employment, or rather, as treacherous and falſe to the ſide, whom *Caſſius* would have hanged, but that *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus* interceded for him, and procured his pardon; *Antipater* out of his owne purſe lending him an hundred talents to make up his levy.

23. The old ſaying is, *Save a Thiefe from the Gallowes, and he will cut thy throat*; which was verified in this ungratefull varlet. Ἐπαθε γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀχαρίστως Ἀντίπατος, *Antipater* did not know that *Malchus*, whoſe life he ſaved, would ſhortly deprive him of his. For by his procurement and inſtigation, *Antipater* was poiſoned, by one of *Hyrcanus* ſervants, at ſupper in a cup of wine, hired by *Malchus* for money to doe the deed. *Thus Antipater*, a man, ſaith *Ioſephus*, *very commendable for piety to God, juſtice to men, care of his Country, ended his dayes.* His ſons, *Phaſaelus* and *Herod*, by bolting out the treachery, found *Malchus* to be contriver and procurer of it. *Herod* all on fire, would inſtantly have levied and lead forces againſt him, but his elder brother *Phaſaelus*, a more adviſed man, gave counſell rather to take ſecret revenge, then engarboyle the Country in a Civill warre. *Herod* yeelded, and ſo both ſeemed ſatiſfied and content with *Malchus* deniall, upon oathes and proteſtations that he was not guilty, which they knew were falſe. *Herod* certified *Caſſius* of his Fathers death, and the paſſage with *Malchus*; *Caſſius* wrote back to *Herod* by all means to revenge his Fathers death upon *Malchus*, and gave order to the Romane Captaines and Companies at Tyre, to be aſſiſtant to *Herod* in that action. So they were, and ſurpriſing him, ſtruck off his head, which much aſtoniſhed *Hyrcanus* that dullard, who inveigled by him took his part. Thus Divine Juſtice and vengeance permitted not ſuch an unthankfull, forſworne, and perjured varlet to live long after that fact.

Antipater poiſoned unworthily by *Malchus*.

24. *Caſſius* ſhortly after left Syria and the Eaſt, extreamly pillaged and impoveriſhed by his exactions, and the next yeare ſucceeding, he with *M. Brutus* were vanquiſhed and ſlain, their Armies routed, the ſide disbanded by *Octavius Cæſar*, and *M. Antonius*, in that memorable field fought nigh Philippi in Macedonia; upon which Victory ſo obtained and the other ſide cleane defeated, *Antony*, in partition betwixt himſelfe and *Octavius*, of the Romane State and Dominions, had allotted the Eaſt for his ſhare: *Herod*, who had been of

Caſſius ſlaine, *Herod* applies himſelfe to *Antony*, and keeps his places.

of great confederacy with *Caſſius*, knew how to take occaſion by the fore-locks: and to make his own riſings out of other mens ruines, uſed ſuch effectuall, preſent, powerfull and prevailing meanes with *Antony*, that notwithſtanding his great favour with *Caſſius*, his ſiding with him, his ſervices done for him, his employments by him, all which were notorious; and being beſide grievouſly accuſed and complained upon by the Jews, by ſolemne Embaſſage for the nonce; yet he not onely came fairly off, made good his actions, augmented his power, but prevailed ſo farre that his accuſers were rejected, deſpighted as calumniators, and the moſt forward of them put to death. Διαπέπραχτο ταῦτα χρήμασιν Ἡρῴδης παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, So much hee procured, ſaith *Ioſephus*, with his money; bribing *Antonius*, and thoſe about him. For *Antony* was a man of prodigall, indeed of prodigious expence, of waſtfull courſe and laviſhing every way, ſo that conſuming his preſent meanes, he muſt needs have ſupplies to furniſh his expences. This *Herod* underſtood to purpoſe, and ſo took a ſpeeding courſe, by profuſe bribery, to buy out all accuſations, though never ſo true or pregnant, as he did. And this courſe ſucceeded ſo well with him, that *Antony* not onely diſcharged him of all accuſations, true or falſe, diſgracing firſt and uſing his accuſers in manner ſpecified, but further entertains him as an ancient friend and allie; becauſe, which he profeſſed, he had been much beholding unto *Antipater* his father when he ſerved as a Captain of lower rank & command under *Aulus Gabinius*, ſometime Preſident of Syria, in Egypt, and in Judæa. Thus at *Antonies* hands was *Herod* firſt hanſelled for his money, by which he obtained continuance and confirmation of his command in Galile, and the like in Judæa for his brother *Phaſaelus*. Yet the Jews, upon this repulſe and diſgrace, gave not over complaints and petitions againſt him, and his brother, a Millenary number of Complainants there were: which did but put them unto further expences: The brethren were faine to buy their peace, but the poore commons paid the fines. For *Herod* and *Phaſaelus*, to make hole themſelves, were enforced to extort from, and lay grievous exactions upon the people. And for the Plaintifes, they got nothing by their courſe taken, but loſt even themſelves and all. *Antony* cauſed moſt of them to be apprehended, and as raiſers of Sedition to be put to death. Theſe paſſages happened in Bithynia, and in Syria.

The calling in of the Parthians by *Antigonus*; and *Hyrcanus* taken Priſoner by them.

25. Shortly after *M. Antony* made a voyage into Egypt, invited thither by Queene *Cleopatra*; where he was ſo beſotted, being otherwiſe a man of diſſolute, and wanton life, upon that now broken ſtuffe, and Crone in yeares, the caſt beauty of that woman, who had forfeited her honour to *Iulius Cæſar*, and bare him a baſtard called *Cæſario*, that he neglected, and in a ſort caſt off all care of buſineſſe and affaires of State; upon which opportunity of his abſence, and diſſolute rechleſneſſe, *Antigonus* younger ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, younger brother unto *Hyrcanus*, but Pretender againſt him, and Uſurper upon him, in proſecution of his Fathers quarrell, by promiſe of

of a thouſand Talents, and five hundred Maidens, called in the Parthians to his part, who thereupon entred Syria with an Army, commanded by *Pacorus* the Kings ſon, and *Barſaphernes*, one of his Satrapaes. In this action they ſurpriſed Jeruſalem, took *Phaſaelus Herods* brother together with *Hyrcanus* Priſoners, by treachery, and breach of promiſe. *Herod*, hardly eſcaped with his mother, wives, and children, unto Maſſada a ſtrong Caſtle upon the Frontires of Judæa towards Arabia, in the lot of the Tribe of *Iudah*; by the way, his younger brother *Ioſephus* met him with ſome few companies, and accompanied him unto that fort. Here he left his friends and family with a ſtrong guard under the command of *Ioſephus* his brother, being eight hundred well appointed and experienced Soldiers, in a place of impregnable ſtrength and ſecurity, manned and victualed to endure a long ſiege, wanting nothing but water; for which they ſtood indebted to the clouds. There having diſpoſed of his affairs, he addreſſeth himſelfe to *Malchus*, an Arabian King, (of the ſame name with him, who had poyſoned *Antipater*) a man who had much and often been beholding to *Antipater*: in reſpect whereof he had hope to find ſome favour and aſſiſtance in this his extremity. But the man, according to the cuſtome of great ones, who love not to remember they have been beholding, had forgotten thoſe outworn and over-dated courteſies of *Antipater*, and did *Herod* the kindneſſe not to admit him to preſence, but countermanded his comming or tarrying in his Countrey, becauſe the Parthians, which was a falſe pretence, had threatned him with war and hoſtility, if he gave him at all any entertainment. *Herods* intent principally was, to have borrowed of him mony for redemption of his Brother *Phaſaelus*, and to have left him a gage for the money, young *Phaſaelus*, his brothers onely ſon, a child then ſeven yeers old.

This Caſtle is deſcribed at Large by *Ioſephus* in his 7. Book and 31. Chap. of the Jewiſh Wars.

26. *Herod* much perplexed with this unfriendly, uncourteous, and ungratefull dealing of the Arabian, could not reſolve what courſe to take for repayring of his broken and deſperate caſe: For ſuch it ſeemed, and ſuch it was. His brother, chiefe Arch of his houſe, was treacherouſly ſurpriſed, and in his deadly enemies hands; *Antipater* his father, a man of great valiancy and experience, ſome years before, made away by poiſon; *Antigonus* his mortall and profeſſed enemy, in preſent ſtate and poſſeſſion of all, backed with the favour of the common people, ſupported by a powerfull Army of Parthians, who carried all before them whereſoever they came; His goods, jewels, plate, money, were all in their hands, and Maſſada beleaguered by them: For inſtantly upon his eſcape, the Parthians followed, and were ſet downe about the Caſtle; Himſelfe abandoned, in his greateſt need, by him from whom he had reaſon to have expected reliefe. Amongſt ſo many deſperate affronts of ill fortune, one hope he had remaining, that *M. Antony* would take his caſe into commiſeration, being a creature of his, though now he had nothing to give for to purchaſe his favour, as formerly. This courſe he reſolved

Herod reſolveth for Ægypt.

ſolved on, and ſet up his reſt upon *Antonius*; reſiding then, as he ſuppoſed, and it was probable enough, in Egypt, at Alexandria, or ſomewhere elſe, with his Miſtreſſe *Cleopatra*. So he reſolved upon Eygpt.

Hyrcanus ears cut off by *Antigonus*, & why.

27. As he went, a Poſt overtook him from *Malchus* the Arabian, who was, or ſeemed to be ſorry for his diſcourteous uſage, and intreated him to returne, with promiſe of his utmoſt furtherance. *Herod*, out of high ſtomach, juſt diſdaine, or diſtruſt of his honeſty, refuſed his kindſhip, and continued on his journey into Egypt, where he met with new croſſes and calamities; for he found not *Antony* there, and there he underſtood of his brother *Phaſaelus* death: For the Parthians had put *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſaelus* into *Antigonus* hands, who with his own hands cut off the ears of *Hyrcanus*, to make him uncapable for re-aſſuming or executing the Prieſts office any more. For the Jews held it not lawful for any man to miniſter in the Prieſts office, who was maymed, or imperfect in his limbs. A Law indeed of *Moſes*, but referring to naturall imperfections, not accidentall, or occaſioned violencies. *Phaſaelus* was deſigned to be publiquely executed, but he prevented them, beating out his braines againſt the wall of his priſon, having nor weapon, nor knife to doe it: concerning whoſe death, and the manner of it, theſe are *Ioſephus* words. Thus he, as *Herods* brother, moſt manlike and valiantly ended his dayes, anſwerable to the whole courſe of his life. But concerning his death, there goes another report, that he died not inſtantly of the blow, but that a Chirurgion ſent by *Antigonus* to cure him, poyſoned his wound, and ſo he dyed. Whether of theſe two reports be the truer, it mattereth not; both argue a generous ſpirit in him. Before his death, he underſtood of *Herods* eſcape, upon which news he ſaid, Now I joyfully die, leaving him behind who will revenge my death to purpoſe. Thus *Ioſephus* in commendation of *Phaſaelus*: which fact he ſtyleth Ἀρετὴν, vertue, valiancy, or courage, which Chriſtianity condemneth of baſeneſſe, impatiency, &c. But the Jewiſh doctrine of thoſe and elder times, was according to the opinion of *Ioſephus*, as appears by the Author of the ſecond Book of Maccabees, Chap. 14. in the fact of *Razis*.

In 2. Antiq. c. 11. p. 681.

Herod miſſing of *Antony* in Ægypt, followeth him, and findeth him in Italy.

28. *Herods* other croſſe in his journey was, that comming into Egypt, he found not *Antony* there. He was gone for Italy, where all things were ſaid to be in hurry and combuſtion. *Octavius* and he disbanded, at variance, in the fields with Armies, one againſt another, the cauſe and occaſion hereof were: *L. Antonius*, brother unto *Marcus*, Conſul that yeare, and *Fulvia*, wife unto *Marcus*, a moſt inſolent, unquiet, and turbulent woman, had entred combination againſt *Octavius*, and refuſing all termes of Pacification, had put him againſt his will into Armes; in which adventure, ſhe and *L. Antonius* were foyled. He, flying into France, was intercepted at Peruſium, a City of Hetruria, which gave denomination to that action of *Bellum Civile Peruſinum*, which determined with the ſack of that City, and ſurpriſall

ſurpriſall of *Antonius*. *Fulvia* forced to quit Italy, intended to have gone with her children to her husband *M. Antonius*, who careleſſe of all things, but of pleaſing *Cleopatra*, was with many meſſages, great importunity, and much adoe drawn forth of Egypt, to deliver or redeeme his friends in Italy. Being forward on his way in Græcia, he met with his wife and mother, who had undertaken, at the inſtance of *Sext. Pompeius*, to make a confederacy betwixt himſelf, and her ſon *Mark Antony*, and both to joyn againſt *Octavius*. This ſhe effected, and with confidence hereof, *Antonius* puts to Sea, lands in Italy, beſiegeth Brunduſium, takes in Siponto. *Cæſar* advertiſed hereof, being then newly come from France, draws up towards *Antony*. *M. Agrippa* recovers Siponto, but *Servilius Rullus*, ſent to releeve Brunduſium, not expecting it was ſurpriſed by *Antonius*, many of his men ſlain, the reſt went over to ſerve *Antonius*. In the interim dies *Fulvia* at Sicyone, in Achaia. She, the Incenter of the the War, and firſt mover therof, being ſo removed, overture of peace & accord, by friends, was made betwixt the Principals, *Cæſar* and *Antonius*, and upon conference accepted. *Antony*, by a new cõpoſition, as in the former agreement, had all Aſia and Egypt aſſigned for his part. And in this caſe did *Herod* ſucceſſefully find the affaires of Italy at his landing. For thither he addreſſed himſelf, when he miſſed of *Antony* in Egypt. *Cleopatra* laboured him earneſtly to have ſtayed with her, but in no caſe could he be drawn thereto; his affaires, being upon deſperate exigencies; his courſe, to follow his fortunes, and to meet with *Antonius*, whereſoever he might find him: with this determination he puts to Sea for Italy, at an unſeaſonable, and unnavigable time of the yeare, in winter, *Mari clauſo*, as the Saylers phraſe was: Sayling being then exceeding dangerous. And truth is, he had a ſore, and a hazardous voyage of it. He was conſtrained to put in at Rhodes, to ſtay there long, to amend, new trim, and furniſh forth again, his torn, beaten, and bruiſed bark; after his putting forth from Rhodes, he underwent many ſtormes, tempeſts, much foule weather, contrary windes, which in thoſe Levant Seas, are violent, raging, and moſt unconſtant. But arriving in Italy, he had a faire amends for all. He found affaires, betwixt *Cæſar* and *Antonius*, in as good termes as he could wiſh or deſire: Farre better then he did or could expect: *Antony* and *Octavius* were reconciled; Arms upon all hands laid aſide, both ready and willing to yeeld to treatiſe, as ſtanding in feare, the one of the other.

29. After his arrivall, preſenting himſelfe to *Antony*, he ſaw him gladly, heard him willingly, entertained him reſpectively, with faire and honourable welcome, promiſing him the beſt of his indeavours and poſſibilities. He made him known unto *Cæſar*, relating who, and whence he was, what good ſervice himſelfe perſonally, but eſpecially his Father *Antipater* had done to *Gabinius*, himſelfe, *Iulius Cæſar*, the Romane State: How faithfully and firmly he and his had evermore carried himſelfe to the Romane cauſe, and name. He told alſo, that being by himſelf conſtituted Tetrarch in Judæa, he was thence expelled

Herod by *Antipaters* commendation, ingratiated with *Cæſar*, and by the Senate made King of the Jews.

pelled by *Antigonus* and the Parthians, mortall enemies to the State of Rome. So farre did he commend him to, and prevaile for him with *Octavius*, that they two joyntly presented him in open and full Senate, as a friend and allie of the people of Rome, and *Messalla*, with *Atratinus*, proposing the grace, they procured a Decree of Senate to passe, by which he was constituted and declared King of Jews, and his issue male after him; which Decree was cut in brasse, and according to the usage of that State, laid up amongst publique Records in the Capitol. All which was transacted within seven dayes, saith *Iosephus*, of his arrivall; which must be understood of his arrivall in the presence of *Antony*, not of his arrivall, or comming into Italy. And yet, even so it is too short a time allotted for so great and consequent a dispatch. And therefore I think it should be 17. not 7. ζ in the originall, and not ζ; for even so, it is time short enough for such a dispatch. And thus became *Herod, King of the Iews*, in the 184. Olympiad; *Cn: Domitius Calvinus*, the second time, and *C. Asinus Pollio*, being Consuls, about 39. yeares as some reckon it, or 37. as others, before the Incarnation of our Saviour. After this his investiture with the Scepter of Judah, *Iosephus* never nameth him, yet having occasion to name him often, but gives him the title of King, though he were not fully and actually possessed of the Kingdome, kept out by the faction of *Antigonus*, till four years after. But this Romane donation is in effect confessed by sacred Scripture, which calls him ever, *Herod the King*; whereas the other *Herod* one of his sons, is styled *Herod the Tetrarch*, but not the King, as likewise another son *Philip* is.

Antigonus put to death by *Antony*, and *Herod* setled in his Kingdome.

30. *Herod* having thus fortunately, and beyond all expectation, obtained that which at his setting forth from home, he not so much as dreamed of, though happily afterwards animated by *Antonies* extraordinary kindnesse, he might cast upon it, which yet is not very probable, having dispatched all businesses, taken congee of his friends, makes homeward with all the speed that possible he could, there to setle his affaires, to releeve his friends whom he left shut up in Massada at his departure, whom ever since, *Antigonus* and the Parthians had besieged there: first at his returne he raised the siege, and then began to set on foot his title and claime to the Crowne, against *Antigonus*, his competitor, who by bribing *Silo*, *Machæra*, and other Romane Captains of Syria, appointed peremptorily by *Antonius* to assist him, held out his competition foure yeares almost compleat against him, till *C. Sosius* Lieutenant generall for *Antonius* came with a great Army to the action; for he had eleven legions on foot, six thousand horse, beside the Auxiliaries of Syria. He utterly defeated *Antigonus*; shut him up in Jerusalem; and after five moneths lying before the town, took it in, about the fourth of our *November*, in the fourth year of the hundred seventy fift Olympiad, (the very same day, being a Saturday, their *Sabbath*; upon which, *Cn: Pompeius* had taken it some twenty seven yeares before, in the sixe hundred and sixteenth yeare of Rome) *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, and *Canidius Gallus*,

Gallus, being then Conſuls. *Antigonus* upon the ſurrendring of the City, yeelded himſelfe Priſoner, and proſtrate on his knees before *C. Soſius* humbly begged life, whom for his baſeneſſe *Soſius* nicknamed *Antigona*, caſt him into bonds, and ſent him away Priſoner to *Antonius*: who was purpoſed to have let him live, and to carry him with him, in triumph to Rome; but *Herod* miſdoubting new troubles, and and fearing that ſo long as *Antigonus* ſurvived, he ſhould never be in ſecure, and quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, by large offers made ſo prevailed with *Antonius*, that he put him to death, a publique, cruell, ignominious death. For, as uſe for execution done upon ſlaves was, he tied him with cords to a gibbet, beat him cruelly with rods, and laſtly cut off his head. In the perſon of *Antigonus*, thus ended, ſaith *Ioſephus*, the Dukedome, or Principate of the Maccabees or Aſſamoneans, Prieſts by deſcent of *the houſe of Aaron*, and courſe of *Iojarib*; which Principate had held in that Family a hundred twenty ſixe years. A Noble Family, ſaith he truly, it was, renowned in Iſrael for deſcent and deſert. Many wayes had divers of that Line and Family, done their Country much good ſervice, abroad, at home. *Mattathias*, *Iudas*, *Ionathas*, *Simon*, and above all *Hyrcanus* the firſt, ſucceſſively. They ruined and undid themſelves, and ſo in concluſion loſt all, by inteſtine, mutuall diſcord, and debate; eſpecially through the aſpiring ambition of *Ariſtobulus*, and his ſons, in uſurping upon the true heire, becauſe elder brother, *Hyrcanus* the ſecond, a ſimple, ſilly, harmleſſe man, little differing from an Idiot. Through their inteſtine, and unnaturall diſſention, the Royalty of Judah, by gift of the Senate and people of Rome, was caſt upon *Herod* a private man, their ſervant, a forrainer by birth, an Idumæan by deſcent, born of *Eſau*. In him that Prophecy of *Iacob* began notoriouſly, and eminently to take effect, *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah, untill that Silo come*; And that Prophecy of *Iſaac*, *Gen.* 27.40. was fully accompliſhed, *It ſhall come to paſſe that thou ſhalt break his yoak from thy neck, and ſhall get the dominion over him.* And thus we have had the originall deſcent and advancement of *Herod* the King. Now followeth a maſſe of miſdemeanors in his life; but we muſt premiſe ſomething of his wives children, iſſue and poſterity, having many and often occaſions ſundry wayes to croſſe with, and fall upon them.

31. *Herod* the King, ſo *Ioſephus* and the Scripture call him, had nine or ten wives at one time. His firſt wife, while yet he was a private man, was named *Doris*, whom *Ioſeph ben Gorion* calls *Doſithea*. She was δημότις, *plebeia*, of no honourable Family, but yet of a good houſe, a Gentlewoman by deſcent, native of Jeruſalem, but deſcended in all likelihood from the Idumeans, as himſelfe was, and ſo a Proſelyte, but forrainer as himſelfe: by her he had one onely child, that we know of, *Antipater* his eldeſt ſon, of whom we ſhall heare much in proſecution, concerning his ejection, revocation, treachery againſt his brethren, plots againſt his Fathers life, ambitious practiſes for the Kingdome, and finally his deſerved execution, but five

Herod had ten wives.

dayes before the death of of his Father. His ſecond wife was *Mariamme* the Aſſamonean, of noble, high, and royall deſcent, daughter to *Alexander*, ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, the brother of, and uſurper upon *Hyrcanus*, by *Alexandra*, daughter of *Hyrcanus*. She was affianced unto him before he was King, and as his intended wife, conveighed by him unto Maſſada, but married unto him three years after, when with *Soſius* he lay before Jeruſalem. She was a woman, as in birth royall, ſo in all naturall graces ſurmounting: the goodlieſt creature of her time. *Herod* loved her moſt dearly, affectionately, and jealouſly; and could ſhe have carried her ſelfe accordingly, ſhe might perhaps have ruled him, otherwiſe cruell and untractable, as ſhe pleaſed: but ſome write, that beyond all meaſure ſhe was wayward, diſdainfull, and ſet to contradict, which at length coſt her her life. *Herod* not able to beare her peeviſh and incorrigible courſes, in a ſudden fit put her to death, ſet on and inſtigated in his rage by that accurſed Hagge, *Salome* his ſiſter; of which more anon. His third wife was *Malthace* a Samaritane. His fourth wife another *Mariamme*, of *Aaron*, daughter to one *Simon Boethi*, a Prieſt; whom to honour his wife and his owne marriage the more, he made High Prieſt, againſt the Law, but not the Cuſtome, depoſing him in place, who ſhould have continued for terme of life. His fift wife was *Cleopatra*, of Jeruſalem. His ſixt, *Pallas*, who bare him a ſon, *Phaſaelus*, whom of all his children he moſt tenderly loved, peradventure becauſe he bare his elder brothers name; for *Herod* did moſt dutifully honour father and mother, and moſt tenderly affected his brethren and ſiſter, howſoever, ſetting *Phaſaelus* aſide, they greatly loved not him. His ſeventh wife was *Phadra*. His eighth *Elpis*. His ninth and tenth wives were inceſtuous, one of them daughter to his brother *Phaſaelus*, and the other his neece, but how I cannot relate: *Ioſeph ben Gorion* makes them but one, and gives that one a forged name of *Erodophilea*.

Polygamie, whether ever lawfull or no.

32. It is probably conjectured by his ſo many wives, and ſome of them ſo neerly allyed to him in bloud, that amongſt other horrid and execrable conditions of this monſter of men, tranſcendent and prodigious luxury and letchery had a maine part in him, as *Baronius* obſerveth *ad Ann.* 8. for ſeldome is a tyrant chaſt or continent. *Ioſephus* recounting up his many wives, to whom we are beholding for that part of knowledg, hath this excuſe of it, πάτριον γὰρ ἡμῖν πλείους γαμεῖν, It is uſuall with us, the cuſtome of our countrey, to have many wives at once. Of what credit or authority this his vouchee is, I cannot tell: There is no *conſtat* of it, nor example for it, in the courſe or practiſe of the Jewiſh State, ſince the Captivity of Babylon; before there is. The cuſtome is ancient, for before the floud the practiſe was in uſe, brought in by wretched *Lamech*, of *Cains* accurſed line, in diſgrace of, and derogation from that originall inſtitution by God, *And they two ſhall be into one fleſh.* An high myſterie of Chriſt and his Church. After the Floud, ſome Patriarchs uſed it, ſome Kings of

of Iſrael, ſome private men. Amongſt private men in Iſrael, we have not many examples, at preſent I remember but *Elkanah*, the Father of *Samuel*. *David* and *Solomon* amongſt the Kings exceeded, not onely τὸ ἰσχύειν, but τὸ πάνυ πόρρω, amongſt the Patriarchs, *Abraham* and *Iacob*. For *Iſaac* kept himſelfe to one alone, κεκτῆσθαι δηλόγαμον, the wife of his youth. It is excuſed, that they did it not for wantonneſſe or carnall luſt, but to have iſſue and continue Poſterity; which will excuſe *Abraham* for *Agar*, but not *Iacob*. For he had two wives and iſſue by one of them five children, before he took their hand-maids to be his Concubines: but much leſſe can it be pleaded for *David* and *Solomon*. Whether they had diſpenſation for that practiſe, by Revelation, or otherwiſe, I cannot ſay, nor can they prove it, who ſo will ſay. This is ſure, both one and other ſmarted, if not for it, yet with it, as being a breach in, and tranſgreſſion of that prime inſtitution of marriage; and therefore whatſoever, whenſoever, or howſoever the practiſe was, *From the beginning it was not ſo*. The moſt that the ancient Fathers doe alledge to excuſe it, is that of S. *Paul*, *All things were then in types and figures unto them*. *Leah* and *Rachel* the two wives of *Iacob*, are ſaid to have *built up the houſe of Iſrael*: and doubtleſſe that houſe of Iſrael denotes the Church and Synagogue, the redeemed, and called, married to one, even unto Chriſt. The concluſion of Catholique Schooles is this, εἷς πρὸς μίαν, One to one; and whatſoever warrant, or not warrant they had, without ſpeciall diſpenſation, which is no common rule of action, it was not lawfull.

Scarce any of *Herods* ſtately remaining in *Ioſ.* time.

33. But for *Herods* Polygamy, palliate he might his laſcivious diſpoſition, and unlawfull acts, by the traditionary doctrine of thoſe times, which *Ioſephus* ſaith is πάτριον ἡμῖν. For the Jewiſh Phariſees, thoſe blinde leaders of the blinde, amongſt other depravations of the Law of the Higheſt, had brought in this, that a man might lawfully take as many wives as he would or could maintaine. *Much better it were*, ſaith *Iuſtin Martyr* to *Trypho* the Jew, *that you would rather follow God then your fooliſh and blinde directors, who permit every man, as he will or can keep, to have foure or five wives apeece. And if a man beholding a faire and beautifull woman, burn in deſire towards her, inſtantly they alledge the practiſe of Iacob ſurnamed Iſrael, and of the other Patriarchs, and conclude from thence, that whoſoever doth as they did, offendeth not at all againſt Law, Right, or Reaſon*. The practiſe then of Jewiſh Polygamy, was a Rabbinical, Phariſaicall Inſtitution, whereof the ſaid moſt ancient Father ſpeaks further, thus; *But if it were granted, that a man might lawfully take to wife whom he would, as he would, as many as he pleaſed, which is, we know right well, the common practiſe, whereſoever you ſojourne or inhabit, to lead about women, under pretenſe of wives, it was, I make no queſtion, much more tolerable, and pardonable in David*. This Jewiſh cuſtome, from Phariſaicall originall diffuſed to ſome other ſubject Countreys unto the Romane Empire, which occaſioned *Dioclesian*, and *Maximian* to make

Cod Lib. 2. de Incest nupt.

a Law, *Neminem, qui sub ditione sit Romani nominis, binas uxores habere posse, vulgò patet, cum etiam in edicto Prætoris, hujusmodi viri infamiâ notati sint.* And *Theodosius*, the best of Christian Emperours, forbad the Jews to use any such practise. But *Valentinian* the elder, otherwise a Catholique and Religious Prince, falling in love with a Gentlewoman, married her, having a wife before, and to give countenance to his own bad act, by rescript, gave any man leave to marry two wives, as *Socrates* reporteth, thus; *This Valentinian the younger who succeeded his Father, was the son of Iustina, whom Valentinian the elder, his former wife Severa yet surviving, married upon this occasion: Iustus, Father unto Iustina, under Constantius, was Governour of Piceritum, who dreamed one night, that an Emperiall purple robe came forth as at a birth from his right side. Which dreame being by him blabbed abroad, at length came to Constantius knowledge. He conjecturing the purport of that dreame to be, that an Emperour should issue out of Iustus loynes, caused him presently to be murthered. He left behinde him his orphan daughter Iustina, who in processe came to serve, as a maid of honour, Severa, the Emperour Valentinians wife, who cast a great affection to her; and foole as shee was, much and highly commended her for her beauty, and good shape, having seen her naked as she washed her selfe, unto the Emperour her husband; which set him on fire, and presently resolved to make her his wife, not divorcing Severa who had bore him Gratianus, not long since declared Emperour. To countenance this doing before he married her, he made a Law that any man who would might marry two wives; after publication of which Law he married Iustina, by whom he had one sonne, Valentinian the younger, and three daughters, Iusta, Grata, Galla.* Thus much concerning *Valentinian* out of *Socrates*; to returne to *Herods* children, by his so many wives, because many of them be remembred in Scripture, as *Archelaus* his successor, *Herod* the Tetrarch, his brother *Philip* a Tetrarch, *Herodias*, *Agrippa* called *Herod*, *Act.* 12. another *Agrippa*, and *Bernice*. He propagated, saith *Iosephus*, πολυσχιστον γενεὰν, as *Iosephus* hath it, a multiplied generation, whereof scarce any one survived when *Iosephus* wrote, within lesse then one hundred yeares: a just judgement of God, upon that Butcherly Tyrant, who having by cruelty unspeakable brought so many families to desolation, was so soone and suddenly ruined in his owne Posterity, so increased and largely diffused. *Iosephus* makes a pious and Christian observation hereupon; οὐκ ἰσχὺν πρὸς πλῆθος, οὐ δύναμιν τις ἄλλην ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑπολάβοι, δίχα σχὲς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖν: So little help there is in multitudes, or other humane prevalency to preserve a man, his name, or memory, without religion and feare of God. To come then unto his children and Posterity.

Lib. 4. cap. 30. ex. 26.

Herods multiplied issue by *Doris* and *Mariamne.*

34. By *Doris* his first wife, he had no moe children then *Antipater*, the eldest of his house; for he cast her off, and divorced her, at the suggestion of *Mariamne*, and at the same time put away his son by her; but afterward *Mariammes* carriage, and her childrens disobedience, made him recall home both mother and son. *Ant. pater* his

his eldeſt ſon had two wives; the firſt was daughter to *Antigonus* the Aſſamonean, that Competitor with *Herod* for the Kingdome. *Antiq.* 17. 7. By her he had a ſon and a daughter; The ſon, *Herod* did intend to marry with the daughter of *Ariſtobulus*, his owne ſon by *Mariamme*, and to have given the daughter, in croſſe marriage, unto the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*: but *Antipater* himſelfe brake off this match, diſſwading his father from it. His other wife, what ſhe was, what children he had by her, I ſhew anon; but what became of thoſe two by *Antigonus* daughter, is not remembred by *Ioſephus*, and to me unknowne. By *Mariamme* the Aſſamonean he had five children, three ſons and two daughters; his eldeſt ſon *Ariſtobulus*, married *Bernice*, daughter of *Salome*, his aunt, ſiſter unto *Herod*: the ſecond was *Alexander*, who married *Glaphyra*, daughter to *Archelaus*, King of Cappadocia: the name of his third ſon by *Mariamme* is not remembred; *Gorionides* ſaith his name was *Herod*, he died young at Rome, where he was educated with his two brothers: the daughters were *Salampſo* and *Cyprus*; theſe were his children by *Mariamme*. *Ariſtobulus* by *Bernice* had five children, as his father had by his mother, three ſons and two daughters; His eldeſt ſon was *Agrippa*, his ſecond *Herod*, his third *Ariſtobulus*: his daughters were, *Mariamme* and *Herodias*. *Mariamme* was married to her uncle *Antipater*, *Herods* eldeſt ſon, and was his ſecond wife, but by him ſhe had no iſſue. *Herodias* the ſecond daughter is ſhe of whom mention is in the Goſpel, in the cauſe of S. *Iohn Baptiſt*. She was firſt married to her uncle *Herod*, ſon of King *Herod*, by the other *Mariamme*, daughter to *Simon Boëthi* the High Prieſt, by whom ſhe had *Salome*, that mincing minion, who asked *Iohn Baptiſts* head in a platter. After that *Herods* death, ſhe married *Philip* another uncle, Tetrarch of Iturea, and ran away from him with a third uncle, *Herod* Tetrarch of Galile. *Ariſtobulus* the youngeſt of the three brethren, lived and died a private man, without any dignity or command, yet he married *Iotapa*, daughter to *Sampſigeranus*, King of the Emeſens, by whom he had one only daughter, *Iotapa*. *Herod* the next brother, ſecond ſon to *Ariſtobulus*, was not that *Herod* who put to death *Iohn Baptiſt*, as the voluminous Jeſuit *Salianus* ignorantly fableth; for he was *Herod Antipas* Tetrarch of Galile, ſon to King *Herod*, and not Grandchild by *Ariſtobulus*. This *Herod* was King of Chalcis, which is a Province and city of Syria, at the foot of Mount Libanus, created ſo by *Claudius* the Emperour, at the ſuit and intreaty of his elder brother *Agrippa*: And withall had granted by Patent to himſelfe, during life, and to his heires males, power to diſpoſe of, and command at pleaſure within the Temple, *Cuſtos* of the Treaſure, ſacred veſſels, Prieſts robes, and all utenſils in the Temple; to ſet up, depoſe, diſpoſe of the High Prieſthood as he pleaſed: Which ſacrilegiouſly he did, ſelling the place to him that would give moſt for it, and turning him out who had paid for it, if more were offered. Thus it continued till the deſolation, there being every yeare almoſt a new High Prieſt, put out,

clapt

clapt in; so that no marvaile if S. *Paul* affirmeth, *I knew not Brethren that he was the High Priest.* This *Herod* of Chalcis had two wives, the first, *Mariamme*, daughter of *Olympias*, the daughter of *Iosephus*, *Herods* younger brother: By her he had *Herod* and *Aristobulus*. *Aristobulus* married *Salome*, that dancing damsell, daughter to *Herodias*, and by *Nero* he was made King of Armenia the lesse: By her he had a daughter, named *Bernice*. His second wife was *Bernice*, his brothers daughter, by whom he had two sons, *Bernicianus* and *Hyrcanus*. The eldest son of *Aristobulus*, was *Agrippa*, called *Herod*, Act. 12. For this is he who put S. *Iames*, the brother of S. *Iohn*, to death, and would, because it pleased the Jews, have served S. *Peter* so. He was stricken to death by the immediate hand of God, and was consumed up with lice. This man was in singular favour with *Caligula* and *Claudius*, Emperours. He marryed *Cyprus*, daughter to *Phasaelus*, son of *Phasaelus*, *Herods* elder brother, by *Salampso*, daughter unto *Herod* by *Mariamme*. *Cyprus* bare him two sons and three daughters; His sons were *Agrippa* the younger, of whom mention is, *Act.* 25. brought up in the Emperour *Claudius* his Court at Rome. He was seventeen yeers old at his fathers death. *Claudius* made him Tetrarch of Iturea, after the death of his great uncle *Philip*, and King of Chalcis, after his uncle *Herods* death, new enlarged his dominions with *Abilene*, *Iulias*, *Tarichæa*, *Tiberius*. He survived the destruction of Jerusalem, being often mentioned by *Iosephus* in that fatall action: He died in the third yeare of *Trajan*. *Drusus* was his brother, second son to *Herod Agrippa*; He died young without issue. The three daughters were *Bernice*, *Mariamme*, *Drusilla*; *Drusilla* was six years old at her fathers death, and was betrothed to *Antiochus Epiphanes* the Kings son of Comagena, but married *Claudius Felix*, Procurator of Judæa, as we have it in the *Acts*. *Mariamme* was ten yeares old when her father dyed, and was betrothed to *Iulius Archelaus*, King of Chelcia. *Bernice* is she of whom mention is in the Acts of the Apostles, who came with her brother *Agrippa* in great pomp to heare S. *Paul*. She was sixteen years old at her fathers death, and married her uncle *Herod* King of Chalcis. Thus spred the issue of *Aristobulus*, eldest son of *Herod*, by *Mariamme* the Assamonite. Her second son by *Herod* was *Alexander*, a man of a generous spirit. He married *Glaphyra*, daughter of *Archelaus*, King of Cappadocia, whom *Herod*, after the death of her husband, sent home unto her father with her dowry. *Alexander* by her had two sonnes, *Alexander* and *Tygranes*; he became King of Armenia, and died without issue. *Alexander* had a son, named *Tigranes*, created King of Armenia by *Nero*. *Tigranes* had *Alexander*, who married *Iotapa*, daughter to *Antiochus*, King of Comagena; and by her had *Iotape* a daughter, borne deafe. This *Alexander*, by *Vespasian* was made King of Lesis in Cilicia. Of the third son, who died at Rome, we have spoken already. The two daughters were *Salampso* and *Cyprus*; *Cyprus* married *Antipater*, son unto *Salome*, *Herods* sister. *Salampso* married

married *Phaſaelus*, ſon to *Phaſaelus*, *Herods* elder brother: by him ſhe had five children, three ſons and two daughters; the ſons were *Antipater*, *Herod*, *Alexander*; the daughters, *Alexandra* and *Cyprus*. This was *Herods* multiplied iſſue, by *Mariamme* the Aſſamonean, his ſecond and beloved wife.

35. By *Malthace* of *Samaria* his third wife, he had *Archelaus*, who ſucceeded him, *Herod* and *Olympias*, *Antiq.* 17. 1. where *Olympias* is ſaid to have been married to *Ioſephus*, ſon to *Ioſephus*, *Herods* ſecond brother. *Archelaus* and his brother were educated at Rome, in the houſe of a private friend, *Aſinius Pollio* I take it. *Archelaus* married *Glaphyra*, who had been wife unto *Alexander* his brother by the Fathers ſide, and after his death was ſecondly married to *Iuba* King of Mauritania: for marrying of *Archelaus*, ſhe was infeſted by ſprights and her husbands ghoſt. This *Archelaus* is he of whom S. *Matthew* ſaith that he *reigned in Iury, in the roome of his Father Herod.* So *Herod* appointed by his will. For ſuch he was accepted of by the Commons, but conteſted againſt by his brother *Antipas*, pretending that it belonged to him. *Antipater* ſon in law to *Salome*, accuſed him of many miſdemeanors, and preſſed farre his unworthineſſe, and inſufficiency to *Cæſar*, inſomuch that though *Auguſtus* were diſpoſed for him, yet he gave him not the title of King, but made him Ethnarch of Judæa, Idumæa, Samaria, Sebaſte, Jeruſalem, with the yearly revenue of ſixe hundred Talents; promiſing yet to conferre the Kingdome on him, if he continued to deſerve it by good carriage. In this ſtate he continued nine years, and in the tenth, being accuſed to the Emperour, and convicted of many inſolencies, and cruell oppreſſions, he was depoſed, and exiled unto Vienna in France; his dominions made a Romane Province, his goods and perſonall eſtate confiſcated and ſeiſed on by *Cyrenius*. *Antipas* his brother, ſecond ſon to *Herod* by *Malthace* the Samaritan, was by *Auguſtus* inveſted Tetrarch of Galile and Peræa, and the yearly revenue of two hundred Talents. In a Voyage that he made to Rome, his brother *Philip* Tetrarch of Iturea entertained him, and he requited his brotherly love and kindneſſe by enticing his wife *Herodias* to forſake her husband, to come and live with him; which at his returne home from Rome, ſhe did with her daughter *Salome*, by a former husband, not *Philip*, but *Herod*. Hereupon he put away, for her ſake, his firſt wife, the daughter of *Aretas* King of Arabia. Hence enſued warre betwixt *Aretas* and him, wherein he received from the Arabians a great overthrow. Hence came the beheading of *Iohn Baptiſt*, which brought him into hatred and deteſtation of the people. Hence at length came his finall ruine and utter overthrow. For ſhe ſet her husband *Herod* againſt her owne brother *Agrippa*, who by the great power and authority he had with the Emperour, ſent *Herod* a baniſhed man into Spaine, but procured favour for his ſiſter, who refuſed it, accompanied her husband into baniſhment, where both dyed. This was Gods vengeance upon *Herod* the Tetrarch, and *Herodias*.

Archelaus his ſucceſſor the ſon of Malthace.

36. By

His iſſue by the reſt of his wives.

36. By *Mariamme* daughter to *Simon ben Boethi*, the high Prieſt, he had *Herod* of his own name, the firſt husband of *Herodias*; he had thought to have made him his heire, but his mother being convicted of confederacy with *Antipater*, he put him out, put her away, put her Father *Simon* by his place. *Cleopatra* bare him two ſons, *Herod* and *Philip*; of *Philip* there is mention in the Goſpel, a man he was of a mild and quiet diſpoſition, the beſt of that wicked generation. Hee died without iſſue the laſt yeare of *Tiberius Cæſar*, having been Tetrarch thirty ſeven yeares. *Pallas* bare him *Phaſaelus*, whom of all he loved beſt: by *Phædra* he had a daughter *Roxane*, by *Elpis*, *Salome*: all which it ſeemeth died without iſſue. Thus having premiſed his wives, and children, and Progeny deſcendents, we come to his courſe and carriage both publique and private in his life, noting this by the way, that in leſſe then an age, this multiplied iſſue of *Herod* was all gone and extinct. *Herod* by the the execution of *Antigonus*, being rid of a competitor, and though forcibly, yet quietly poſſeſſed of the Kingdome, caſt about all fetches and deviſes to get *Hyrcanus* into his power. He being taken by *Antigonus* and the Parthians, had his eares cut off by *Antigonus*, and by the Parthians was carried priſoner unto Babylon; King *Phraates* the Parthian, out of reſpect to his birth, and commiſeration of his preſent calamity, uſed him very nobly, gave him his liberty without ranſome, ſuffered him to live with all content at Babylon, amongſt the Jews; whereof that City, and all the Towns and Countries about Euphrates, were full; who greatly reverencing him for his place, calling, birth, honeſty, uſed him ſo, that he had no cauſe to deſire to be at home; yet deſire it he did affectionately, and imparted that his deſire to his Countreymen, who laboured to diſſwade him by many arguments: His maime by *Antigonus* ſhut him out from the Prieſthood, and all hope of recovering his former ſtate: That *Herod*, who by earneſt letters invited his returne, and by ſpeciall ſolicitation, laboured his diſmiſſion with King *Phraates*, howſoever he deſerved at his hands, which *Herod* confeſſed, and made his principall plea, to declare his thankfulneſſe; yet having him ſure, and in his cuſtody, would take another courſe, and this occaſion to be rid of him. For Tyrants ſeldome uſe to revenge private injuries, and leſſe ſeldome to requite private curteſies. And where debt is great, they chooſe rather to rid themſelves of the creditor, then to indeavor, or think upon ſatisfaction. But *Hyrcanus*, ever a weak man, could not induce him to beleeve, and hearken unto good counſell; home he would, and home he went, that being in *Herods* hands at home, he might not infeſt, trouble, or moleſt him abroad; not of or by himſelfe, but ſuch as might make him a ſtale. So the Parthian gives way to his own and *Herods* intreaty; his friends give over, finding him not malleable. At his return *Herod* entertaines him with all love, curteſie, kindneſſe, filiall duty and reſpect. For Father he called him, and Patron, and his Raiſer, but did not reſtore, which himſelfe did not look for, the high Prieſthood to him; that he conferred

conferred upon *Ananelus*, a Jew, a Prieſt, but of inferiour rank, and not borne in the Land, but ſent for by *Herod* from Babylon. But *Alexandra*, *Hyrcanus* daughter, Mother to *Mariamme*, *Herods* beſt beloved wife, diſdaining at the diſplacing of her Father, the advancement of an obſcure fellow, the neglect, and diſreſpect unto her ſon *Ariſtobulus*, wrought ſo much by *Cleopatra* with *Antonius*, that *Ariſtobulus*, aged ſeventeen yeares, was made high Prieſt, and *Ananelus* diſcharged of his place: but for this ſuggeſtion, *Alexandra* was baniſhed the Court, a guard appointed her, watch ſet upon her, leſt ſhe being a ſtirring woman, ſhould raiſe a tumult, and engarboile the State. This ſhe diſdaining and fretting at, ſecretly made *Cleopatra* acquainted with it, intimating that it was done in deſpight of her, and humbly beſought her to effect her liberty. *Cleopatra* wrote back ſhe ſhould make eſcape, and repaire with her ſon *Ariſtobulus* into Egypt. This attempt in the very execution was diſcovered. *Herod* hindred her journey, but durſt not call her to publique queſtion for it, or doe her harme; not willing nor daring to exaſperate *Cleopatra* too farre, commanding over *Antony* as ſhe did, becauſe he knew already that ſhe loved not him, and ſecretly intended for his Kingdome. Pretending therefore a generous and noble diſpoſition to forget things amiſſe, as alſo kindneſſe to his wives Brother and Mother, he ſhut up that buſineſſe; but reſolved to be rid of *Ariſtobulus*.

Ariſtobulus drowned by Herods meanes.

37. The rather becauſe in executing of the Prieſts office, he being, as he was the moſt perſonable Gentleman of his time, did ſo well become the place, his Prieſtly habit, ſo carry and demeane himſelfe with a ſtately gravity, but lovely deportment, that he won the hearts, and held the eyes of the preſence, moved at that ſight with commiſeration, in recounting what he was originally, and who were his Anceſtors, that had lived and died ſo gloriouſly, and ſo well deſerved of the Jewiſh State. This popular affection enhanced *Herods* jealouſie, hate, and purpoſe againſt him, quickly and ſecretly to deſtroy him. This ere long he put in practiſe, for he cauſed him to be drowned in earneſt, pretending jeſt, going to bathe himſelfe with others in the Fiſh-ponds of Jericho. This was the end of *Ariſtobulus*, after whoſe death *Ananelus* had againe the Prieſt-hood.

Herod accuſed by Ariſtobulus his Mother, goeth into Egypt to acquit himſelf to Antony.

38. This diſmall accident being divulged and publiquely made knowne, great out-cryes, lamentations, and bewailings were heard in every place. The inhabitants of Jericho, as in a common calamity, ſhut up their houſes and ſhops, came not abroad, accuſing and accurſing the authors and contrivers of his death: for well enough they underſtood who procured it. But *Herod*, vile Hypocrite as he was, made publique proteſtation and profeſſion of the contrary, and to proclaime forſooth his owne innocency to the world, put on mourning weeds for him, wept abundantly, as having tears at command; and ſometimes would ſwoune for ſorrow. And finally, to ſhew his affection to him, ſo unfortunately, as he ſaid, taken away in the

the ſtrength and flower of his youth, buried him moſt royally, and made a ſtately Monument for him. *Alexandra*, mother unto the young man, was above all other empaſſionated for his death: and underſtood very well, notwithſtanding all his faire ſhewes, that *Herod* had done it. Often ſhe was about to have made away her ſelfe, but hope of revenge altered that her purpoſe. She informes *Cleopatra*, who hated *Herod*, what was done unto her ſon, and *Cleopatra* lay ſore upon *Antony* to take this wicked practiſe into conſideration, and to ſee Juſtice done. Nor would ſhe give over importuning him, till ſhe procured a ſummons to be ſent for *Herod*, to anſwer for *Ariſtobulus* death. *Herod* durſt not diſobey the ſummons, goe he muſt, and goe he did: Knowing himſelfe guilty, and fearing the malice of *Cleopatra*, he left order with his uncle *Ioſephus*, his fathers brother, that if *Antony* dealt otherwiſe then wel with him, he ſhould inſtantly diſpatch *Mariamme* his wife, pretending that his life was ſought, becauſe *Antony* would enjoy her: So away he goes, betwixt hope and feare, into Egypt. *Ioſephus*, in his abſence, being as his place and charge required, and as occaſions fell out, often with *Mariamme* and her mother, inſiſted much upon *Herods* love and affection to her: Which the more to indeare, and ſenſibly to repreſent, as he thought, he fooliſhly blabbeth what charge was left with him by *Herod*; which the women, as they had good cauſe, tooke for no teſtimony of love, but held it an argument of a bloudy beaſtly tyrant, and thereupon grew in more deteſtation of him then before.

At his return he puts his uncle *Ioſephus* to death for diſcovering a ſecret to *Mariamme*.

39. Some few dayes after, a common rumour was ſpread in the City, that *Antony* had put *Herod* to death. Upon which newes, *Alexandra* adviſed for her ſelfe, her daughter, and other friends, to put themſelves into the hands of *Iulius*, who commanded the Roman Garriſons, in that Country; by which means ſhe hoped to have acceſſe to *Antony*, who would, ſhe made no queſtion, upon the firſt ſight, fall in love with *Mariamme*, and ſo the Kingdome to be regained to her houſe. But this purpoſe was daſhed by letters from *Herod*, that gave ſignification how partly by proteſtation, partly by gifts, he had ſo wrought with *Antonius*, that *Cleopatra* could not reach him; that *Antony* had told her ſhe ſhould doe well, not to be over-buſie in matters that concerned her not: that Kings are not ſubject to every cenſure, nor muſt be queſtioned upon every act; but as they have the title of Soveraignty, ſo ſhould they have the honour to be above controll: That Cœloſyria ſhould be hers, but with Judæa ſhe ſhould not medle. At *Herods* returne, the two Hags of the Court, his mother *Cyprus*, and ſiſter *Salome*, make complaints upon *Alexandra*. *Salome* went ſo far, as to accuſe *Ioſephus* her owne husband, that he had, in his abſence, been naught with *Mariamme*. At which information, *Herod* took fire inſtantly, and puts the queſtion to *Mariamme*: She innocent Lady, foreſaid, and foreſware it, as well ſhe might; but in proceſſe of intercourſe of ſpeech betwixt them, *Herod* proteſting with deep oathes his indeared love unto her, ſhe could not hold ſtanch,

ſtanch, but out it muſt. She asketh him if it were a ſigne of ſuch dear love, to have her throat cut after his death. *Herod* hearing her ſay ſo, knowing his ſecrets diſcovered, in a fury tare his haire, beat his breaſt, curſing and ſwearing, that without all queſtion *Ioſephus* had been naught with her, or he never would have diſcovered that ſecret unto her. Little he wanted in his rage to have ſtabbed her, but he gave inſtant order to put *Ioſephus* to death, and ſent *Alexandra* to cloſe priſon, as privy to it, and contriver of it.

Cleopatra commeth to *Herods* Court.

40. *Antony* intending a voyage in perſon againſt the Parthians, *Cleopatra* went with him out of Egypt, and accompanied him unto Euphrates. There ſhe left him, and in her return, having viſited Damaſcus, ſhe purpoſed to ſee Judæa. *Herod* gave her reſpective entertainment, and took of her to farme thoſe Countreys, together with the Balſame gardens of Jericho, which ſhe held by gift from *Antonius*. Hereupon, *Herod* being much and frequently with her, ſhe pretended love, and happily out of luſt, falſe queane as ſhe was, ſolicited him to lie with her. *Herod* conceived ſhe did it out of malicious policy, intending thereby to work his utter ruine. Howſoever with indignation he rejected her motion, deteſting as he ſaid the inſatiable impudency of a proſtitute Stale. And in the point went ſo farre, that he put it to queſtion in his Councell, whether now he had her in his hands, it were not the beſt courſe to put her to death. Firſt in ſatisfaction of thoſe many wrongs which ſhe had done unto him and many others. Then for avoyding miſchief ſhe was like enough to doe to moe. Nor could *M. Antony* juſtly be offended, who thereby ſhould be rid of a troubleſome and unfaithfull hangby. But his Councell abſolutely diſſwaded the attempt, alledging very ſtrong reaſons, of profit and conveniency; and he at their adviſe changed his minde, and ſo ſet himſelfe otherwiſe, by all the meanes he could to give her content, and doe her honour, giving her Royall entertainment, and farewell, conducting her almoſt to the Frontires of Egypt. He payed her duly and truly the Rents and Impoſitions upon the Lands, which he held of her in farme, and ſhe had by gift of *Antonius*.

Herods warres with *Aretas*.

41. Not long after, in the firſt year of the hundred eighty ſeventh Olympiad, great ambition, and mutuall fear of one and others greatneſſe, gave beginning to that war betwixt *Ceſar* and *Antony*, which the next year brought forth, the Sea-fight of Actium, or Lepanto. *Herod* offered his ſervice in perſon, but was excuſed by *Antony* in regard that at the preſent he had warres with *Aretas* King of Arabia. He detained *Herods* rents, would make no ſatisfaction, killed his meſſengers. *Cleopatra* put to her helping hand; and that *Aretas* and *Herod* might conſume one the other, and ſhe might ſeiſe upon both their ſtates, perſwaded *Antony* to diſmiſſe *Herod*, to recover his right, and defend his owne. *Herod* overthrew *Aretas* Army, who making new Forces took the field againe, but was put to the worſe; when *Athenio* a Commander in thoſe parts for *Cleopatra*, making ſhew to

be preſt for ſuccour of *Herod* if need were, ſuddenly falls in upon *Herods* Army having the Arabians in chace; and ſo *Herod* loſt the Victory firſt gained. This miſ-hap came not alone, the loſſe was ſeconded by another calamity, ſuch a fearfull Earthquake as ſeldome had beee ſeen, felt, heard of in Judæa; which overthrew and ſwallowed houſes, townes, Cities, and above ten thouſand men. Much diſmayed were the Jews by theſe dyſaſters, but animated and encouraged by *Herod*, once more they gave the Arabians battell, foyled them, ſlew five thouſand in field, and afterward about twelve thouſand more; forced them to ſue ſubmiſſively for peace, and to take it upon any termes.

Army defeated at Actium. *Herod* reſolves to ſubmit to *Cæſar*, but firſt kills *Hyrcanus*.

42. The next yeare, *Octavius* the third time, and *Meſſalla Corvinus* being Conſuls, was that great and memorable Sea-fight at Actium, wherein all the world upon one ſide or other was engaged, by perſonall preſence or aſſiſtance. *Herod* had a great ſhare therein, who but countermanded by *Antonius*, would have been there in perſon, but ſent him ſuccours, of men, money, munition: upon *Antonies* defeature, through his owne folly, in his dotage upon *Cleopatra*, *Herod* was much diſmayed, and in great perplexity, as he had good cauſe; and in his own opinion, the judgement of his friends, the hopes of his oppoſites, and ill willers, utterly ruined and undone for ever; yet he reſolved, as a wiſe and undaunted man, to put all to hazard, and in ſubmiſſive ſort to preſent himſelfe to *Cæſar*. Before he put himſelfe into the action, he had a diſpute what to doe with, or how to diſpoſe of *Hyrcanus*, the onely ſurvivor male of the Aſſamonean Family. The good man had deſerved well of *Herod*, of *Antipater*, of his whole houſe. He needed not feare any innovation from him being of ſuch a quiet and ſoft diſpoſition, that he never took any thing in ill part which God ſent, but gently ſuffered what ungently came, or was done unto him. *Herod*, ſuch was his envy, was loth, if himſelfe miſcarried, to leave *Hyrcanus* his ſucceſſor, yet as unwilling he was, without cauſe or provocation, to offer hard meaſure to that good and innocent man. But while he thus hung in ſuſpence what to doe with him, occaſion was preſented which gave him way to doe with him what he would, and juſt excuſe to doe what he did. *Alexandra*, mother of *Mariamme*, daughter to *Hyrcanus*, was of a ſtirring and reſtleſſe diſpoſition. Her hands had been in many an attempt, and now muſt be tampering to undoe her Father: with many acceſſes, and much adoe, though often rejected in her counſels, ſhe at length perſwaded her Father to ſolicite *Malchus* the Arabian for a ſafe-conduct, and for a troop of horſes for convoy, to meet him at the lake of Sodome. The meſſenger employed in this negotiation, was one that had good cauſe to be faithfull and true unto the ſide, and as good cauſe to hate *Herod*, but hope of preferment and reward made him betray the truſt repoſed in him. He ſhewed the Letters unto *Herod*, who opening them and perceiving the contents, ſealed them up again, charging the meſſenger, as he hoped for acceptance

or

or reward of his ſervice, to deliver them to *Malchus*, take his anſwer, not to impart the buſineſſe unto any, for it was that which meerly concerned his affaires. The faithleſſe varlet performed his inſtructions. *Malchus* returned, that himſelfe, his friends, and followers, ſhould be all welcome; nor would he faile at the appointed time and place, to receive him, and conduct him ſafely. This anſwer in the letters being delivered to *Herod*, incontinently he ſends for *Hyrcanus*, demands if any negotiation and intercourſe of letters were betwixt him and *Malchus*: *Hyrcanus* denyeth, but is convinced, by producing and ſhewing of the letters. Upon ſuch conviction, command was given to have him away to execution. Thus *Herod* related the paſſage in his owne Diaries or Memorials, ſaith *Ioſephus*. But others deliver it, there was no ſuch reall act, but it was a plot and contrivement for his life; that with ſome colourable pretext he might rid him out of the way: which I rather believe; for it cannot be conceived well, that he who in his younger dayes, and hotter bloud, had been ſo far from attempting or plotting in caſes of State and danger, would in his decrepit, or very old age, fall a plotting; for he was above eighty yeares old. Howſoever, this was the end, by violent death, of *Hyrcanus* the ſecond, laſt of the Aſſamonean race: A man who had paſſed through all fortunes in the courſe of his life. Living his mother *Alexandra*, he had been with the High Prieſthood nine yeares, ſucceeding her, as heire in the Kingdome, but diſpoſſeſſed of both one and other, after three moneths poſſeſſion, but reſtored and reſeated by *Pompeius*: So he continued, *Antipater* being his Lieftenant Generall, forty years, and then was again ejected by the Parthians, after *Antipaters* death taken priſoner, maymed by cutting off his eares, carried into Parthia: from whence he would needs, upon his owne fancie, and *Herods* blandiſhments, returne to Judæa, where he made this end.

43. *Herod* having in this barbarous ſort made away *Hyrcanus*, determined preſently to put himſelf upon *Cæſars* mercy; of whom, becauſe he nor did, nor could aſſure himſelfe of grace and favour, he diſpoſed of his mother, wives, children, and family once more in Maſſada, under the charge of his brother *Pheroras*, except *Mariamme* and *Alexandra*. They, as not according with the reſt, were otherwiſe diſpoſed of, under the charge and protection of two his moſt confident friends, who had order from him, as when he was ſummoned by *Antony*, if he miſcarried, to cut their throats; to be aſſiſtant what they could to his brother *Pheroras*, for the good of his children, whom he had committed to his charge and tuition. So having ordered and diſpoſed of his affaires at home, he put upon his journey, and preſented himſelfe to *Cæſar* at Rhodes: His deportment was befitting his perſon, ſtate, and condition: He came as a King, onely forbearing to weare the Diadem. Having audience granted, he nor proſtrated himſelfe, nor craved pardon with tears, but acknowledged himſelfe beholding greatly to *Antonius*, which *Cæſar* himſelfe

Cæſar reſtoreth to him his Kingdome.

himſelfe knew to be true; and that he ever had indeavoured to expreſſe his thankfulneſſe: I was not, ſaid he, actually, nor perſonally in armes againſt you, but I aſſure you my purpoſe was to have been there; and there I had been, if my purpoſe had not been croſſed and diverted by the Arabians. But I confeſſe I ſent him men, money, and munition; for all that I have, as your ſelfe know well, I owed unto him: And therefore I did not abandon him after his defeature, but gave him the beſt counſel and aſſiſtance I could, to rid himſelfe of that clog *Cleopatra*, to poſſeſſe himſelfe of her treaſure, the ſooner to make a better an accord with you. But unadviſedly he neglected mine adviſe, and in ſuch neglect was a greater friend to you then to himſelfe. If then, out of hatred to *Antonius*, you will be pleaſed to take thoſe offices which I have done for him in ill part, I nor can, nor will, nor doe deny them; But if without reſpect unto his perſon, you will be pleaſed to take into conſideration how faithfully I have adhered to him in his diſtreſſe, you cannot but think, that in all probability, he being gone, I am as likely to be faſt and faithfull to your ſervice, as I was to him while he lived. *Caſar*, being naturally of a courteous, noble, and magnanimous diſpoſition, was much taken with this free, ingenuous, and generous ſpeech and confeſſion of *Herod*; and doubting not but that he would be as firm unto his ſervice, as he had been to *Antonius*, he made him anſwer thus: Nay live and reigne, more ſecurely and with greater aſſurance then heretofore: Certainly a man ſo faithful to his friend, deſerves to have command of many. Indeavour to continue conſtantly faithfull unto more happy friends, anſwerable to that very great hope I have of your worth. Certainly *Antonius* did well, though not wiſely, in following *Cleopatra's* humour, rather then your good counſel; for through his folly I am poſſeſſed of you, who it ſeems have begun to deſerve well of me, and doe me ſervice already: For *Ventidius* hath ſent me word, that he received aid from you againſt the Swordmen. Wherefore I ratifie and confirme unto you the right and poſſeſſion of your Kingdome, and will indeavour to deſerve ſo well at your hands, that you ſhall have no cauſe to want or miſſe *Antonius*. Having ſo ſaid, he embraced him, put on his Diadem, cauſed an Inſtrument to be made of his ratification, wherein were many things contained to his commendation. *Herod* thus graciouſly uſed beyond expectation, was no way remiſſe or wanting in making remonſtrance of his acknowledgment, in giving great rewards to ſuch as were neere about *Caſar*, in all obſequiouſneſſe to himſelfe, whom he waited upon into Egypt, and from thence came home into Judæa, being received with extraordinary applauſe, all men expecting, hoping or fearing, that he would have miſcarried in this buſineſſe.

Γεγόνει μοι Βεντίδιος συμμαχίαν σὺ πεπομφὼς πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ. α. 15. è quo loco corrigendus Joſeph. in 15. Antiq. ca. 10. προσδεῖσθαι καπίδιος (lege καὶ Ζεντίδιος) χαλεπὸν ἀπάσαι πρὸς δυμῖα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μονάρχας αὐτῷ συλλαβεῖν ἡ Ηρώδην. legendum μονομάχους.

His return and entertainment by *Mariamne*.

44. During his abſence, things went not ſo well at home as they ſucceeded abroad. *Mariamne* and her mother *Alexandra* took it ill, that

that they were ſo ſequeſtred, or rather empriſoned in the Caſtle Alexandrium: and *Mariamme*, for her part, calling to minde the charge ſometime given by *Herod*, to *Ioſephus*, when he was ſent for into Egypt, to diſpatch her away if he miſcarried, began to miſgive upon the like directions at preſent unto her preſent Jaylers. Which that ſhe might the better ſift out, ſhe grew in with *Soemus*, one of her Keepers, ſo far, that at length he confeſſed, and blabbed out the charge by *Herod* left with him and his fellow. This ſo affected her, that ſhe fell foule upon him abſent, with fearfull curſes and execrations; and conceived an irreconcileable hatred againſt him. Who being no ſooner come home, but he poſted downe to Alexandrium to viſit his beloved *Mariamme*, ſuppoſing out of affection to her, that ſhe would be wondrous glad at his good unlooked for ſucceſſe, and moſt heartily bid him welcome. But ſhe at his relations ſeemed nothing well affected; for conceale or diſſemble her paſſions ſhe could not. When he ſpake kindly unto her, and proteſted his love, ſhe would deeply ſigh, ſo that *Herod* betwixt indignation and affection, was much diſtracted at thoſe motions: His diſpleaſure incited him to puniſh this contempt, his affection ſtraight checked all ſuch conceits. His reflection at laſt was all upon himſelfe. For he feared leſt in being ſevere againſt her, he might prove too rigorous upon himſelfe, his love unto her being ſo impaſſionated. His mother and ſiſter obſerving his diſtractions, and many wayes conflicting reſolutions, of this, of that, now off, now on, not like himſelfe, nor fitting his degree, as they ever were malitious, and procurers of miſchiefes, ſo upon theſe preſent occaſions they ſet themſelves to play their maſter prices, to bring her to death, whom they deadly hated, inforcing all ſuſpitions to his jealouſies, and inducements by little and little to deſtroy her. *Mariamme* was not ignorant hereof, but as innocents are nothing provident for the moſt part, truſting to their own integrity, ſo was ſhe careleſſe to prevent or avert, and being of an open, free, ingenuous diſpoſition, could not diſſemble her griefes, nor put her diſcontentments in her pockets. No impaſſionate lover in any fabulous narration was ever ſo dotingly enamoured upon his miſtreſſe, as *Herod* upon his wife *Mariamme*; who if in any moderation ſhe would have carried her ſelfe, and concealed her paſſions, ſhe might have overtopped her moſt malitious enemies, and have carried all things at pleaſure before her. Honeſt and honourably diſpoſed ſhee was, chaſte, and faithfull to her marriage bed: but of a moſt wayward diſpoſition, bent to croſſe *Herod* and deſpight him all the wayes ſhe could; a common fault with wives, too much made of; above all, ſhe would object to his mother, his ſiſter, himſelf, their baſe birth, ignoble deſcent compared with hers: which contumely eſpecially netled the women, though *Herod* was not much moved therewith, but digeſted her taunts with patience and great forbearance, though at length it contrived her death, which was brought about thus:

Soemus and *Mariamme* put to death.

45. *Herod*, after the death of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, went to tender his ſervice and attendance upon *Octavius* into Egypt, and waited upon him as farre as Antioch homeward. About a yeare after this his returne home, he one day about noone withdrawing to repoſe himſelfe in his Chamber ſent for *Mariamme* to beare him company. She came at his ſending for, but would in no wiſe ſit downe by him; not paſſing his much and often intreaties ſhe continued her refuſall, and growing into womaniſh impatiency upbraided him with murthering her brother *Ariſtobulus*, her grandfather *Hyrcanus*, and that in ſuch bitter termes, as much he had to doe to hold his hands. *Salome*, the ſiſter, hearing them chide, took preſent occaſion of executing a project, which before-hand ſhe had contrived, and waited opportunity to performe it; it was this. As *Herod* and *Mariamme* were chiding together, a ſervant of his preſents himſelfe, and with a ſet countenance tells him that *Mariamme* had dealt with him, being his Cup-bearer, to give him a powder in his wine, which ſhe ſaid was a Love potion, what it was, he could not tell, but had it ready to ſhew, and fearing the worſt, he thought it his duty to diſcover it. *Herod*, formerly incenſed with her perverſneſſe, and now more enraged, commanded her moſt private, and neare ſervant, an Eunuch, to be had unto the rack, to get out of him ſomewhat thereabout; for he could not be ignorant of it. The Eunuch upon the rack ſaid nothing that way tending, but he delivered that in his opinion *Mariammes* diſcontent grew from that which *Soemus* had diſcovered, which was, that if he miſcarried with *Caſar*, he ſhould not ſuffer her to live after him. *Herod* hearing *Soemus* thus appeached, whom he ever found faithfull, truſty, confident, grew preſently into a vehement jealous ſuſpition, that doubtleſſe hee had beene over familiar with *Mariamme*, or hee would not ſo have betrayed his truſt. In this mood hee put *Soemus* to death. *Mariamme* was called before the Councell, where *Herod* with earneſtneſſe, and violence inforcing matters againſt her, they, by his carriage and conteſtation ſuppoſing his deſire was to be rid of her, paſſed ſentence of death upon her, but ſuſpended execution till further pleaſure known, committing her interim to cloſe Priſon. But *Salome*, *Cyprus*, and the reſt of that ungracious faction, never left ſoliciting her execution, making him beleeve he could not be ſecure ſo long as ſhe lived, that the Commons would mutine if they knew her empriſoned; ſo with much importunity, they extorted his conſent, and *Mariamme* was had to execution; thitherward ſhe went with an undaunted, a chearfull countenance and carriage, not diſmayed, fitting her birth, place, and diſpoſition. That which moſt might have moved her, though it did not much, was that her Mother *Alexandra*, fearing like meaſure, thought it wiſdome to play a Bedlams part, and to comply with the preſent affection of the Court: So, as *Mariamme* went toward her death, ſhe meets her, in bitter termes railed upon her, calling her ungratefull ſtrumpet, unworthy ſuch a loving husband, telling her ſhe had

had no more, nor ſo much as ſhe deſerved, being ready, in ſhew at leaſt, to fly in her face, and pluck out her eyes. But *Mariamme*, regarding not her frantick moods, went on undauntedly, to her death patiently, and ſo ended her dayes. This was the end of that honeſt and honourable Lady, the goodlieſt creature of her time; no way taxable, but for too much froward diſpoſition toward her husband, who dotingly loved her, could ſhe have tempered her ſelfe, and made uſe of his affection: which being exceſſive, procured jealouſie as exceeding: and jealouſie brought her to her end, and him to thoſe calamities which continually purſued him in the after courſe of his life.

Herods diſcontent and ſickneſs. *Alexandra* put to death.

46. Fooles doe acts upon the ſudden, which they repent at leiſure. So did *Herod*, in precipitating the death of his deareſt wife *Mariamme*; for he ſoon repented his haſtie and furious making her away. His love and affection unto her was ſuch, that he began impatiently to hate, lothe, and abhor himſelfe. No courſe he could take, gave him any content, eaſe, or relaxation. Day and night his mind ran upon her; he called for her, ſent for her, as if ſhe had been living: *omnibus umbra locis aderat.* He accuſed and accurſed himſelfe, his barbarous cruelty towards her. Which calamities were the more aggrandiſed upon him, and put more home unto him, by a ſore plague of peſtilence which inſtantly enſued, which took away moſt of the Court, ſwept away multitudes of the Commons; which he ſo interpreted, as juſtly ſent by God for his impious carriage towards his wife. To allay his paſſions, he withdrew himſelfe from Court, gave over affaires of State to his Councel, retired into the Countrey, betook himſelfe to hunting, but all to no purpoſe; nothing could put away the memory of *Mariamme*. In concluſion, he grew deſperately ſick, ſo far, that Phyſitians gave him over, would preſcribe him no more phyſick, but let him uſe what diet he would, and ſo left nature to work her wayes with him. He lay at Samaria in this ſickneſſe. *Alexandra*, *Mariammes* mother, was at Jeruſalem, and hearing there was no hope of his recovery, ſhe had a plot to ſurpriſe and get into her hands the two Caſtles which commanded the whole City. Hereabout ſhe dealt with the Lieftenants of the Caſtles, that if *Herod* miſcarried, they would declare themſelves for her Grand children, the ſons of *Herod* by *Mariamme*, and keep the Caſtles for their behoofe, or deliver them into her hands. Both of them rejected her, as not deſpairing of the Kings recovery; and if he ſhould miſcarry, yet her they hated. One of them, *Herods* neere kinſman, *Achiab* by name, preſently gives information of her plot and negotiation with him, about the caſtle. *Herod* returns anſwer to put her to death; and ſo ended *Alexandra*, not pitied of any, for her impudent, unnaturall carriage toward *Mariamme* at her death. *Hyrcanus* thus, his daughter *Alexandra*, his two Grandchildren, *Ariſtobulus*, *Mariamme*, all ended in bloud, by that horrid, barbarous, ingratefull *Herod*; who at length very hardly recovered of his deſperate diſ-

eaſe,

eaſe, but was never after that the man he had been, partly through anguiſh and vexation of mind, terrors and affrights of conſcience, partly through the violence of his diſeaſe, which did ſo throughly work upon the powers of his both ſoul and body, that ever after, all his life time, he became pettiſh, wayward, frantick, bloudy, barbarouſly cruell towards all. So that hitherto, the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, wee have found him a man indowed with many good parts and commendable qualities, intermixed with bad; but hereafter to his dying day, we ſhall have him a beaſt, a monſter of men and nature. He began with *Coſtabarus*, an Arabian, ſecond husband to his ſiſter *Salome*: Him, accuſed by that foule Hag his wife, he put to death upon bare ſuſpition of conſpiracie, together with three principall Jews, *Lyſimachus*, *Antipater*, and *Doſitheus*. Next, as if he could not otherwiſe reigne in ſafety, he rooted out whoſoever was any way allyed, or of kin unto *Hyrcanus*. Thirdly, ten principall Citizens of Jeruſalem, one of them a blind man, zealous for the Law, and Traditions of their Fathers, which *Herod* deſpighted, and indeavoured to aboliſh, at leaſt in their opinion, by bringing in Pagan and Romane Cuſtomes, Amphitheatricall huntings, chacings, fightings, killings of men and beaſts, by Theatres, Theatricall plays, Interludes, games, wreſtlings, by Trophees erected, as they had been Images, forbidden by the Law. Theſe and other innovations brought in by him, (which confirme againſt *Baronius*, that *Herod*, if he were of any Religion, he was firſt a Proſelyte, then a Pagan) ſo exaſperated the Jews, that many confederacies were againſt him: and thoſe ten remembred intended to have ſet upon him, and ſlaine him in the Theatre, but being detected, were all put to publique execution. The Informer for his ſervice was by the multitude hewed in pieces, and his fleſh given unto dogs. In this conſpiracie, divers women were agents, and were all cruelly tormented firſt, and then put to death. Generally he was hated of all: but the multitude inconſtant and headlong; Time and continuance allaying ſudden flaſhes of paſſion; his bounty and magnificence many wayes ſhewed, did make ſome change: Of which, before we proceed with his other butcheries, which continued to his death, we will ſpeak, it being indeed remarkable and ſtrange, that he could undertake and performe, ſo many great and magnificent works as he did.

Herods proviſion for the people in the dearth.

47. In the thirteenth yeare of *Herods* reigne, the whole Country of Judæa was ſorely afflicted with many calamities, whether upon revolution of times, ſuch things returning in courſe at ſuch a period, or rather out of Gods juſt anger and indignation, ſaith *Ioſephus*, I determine not. Firſt, exceeding dry ſeaſons, without timely raines, brought forth dearth of all things. The ground yeelded nor graſſe, nor herbs, nor yet weeds, or any thing that uſeth to ſpring of it ſelf. Secondly, upon change of diet, through this dearth and affamiſhment, many great, raging, and contagious ſickneſſes grew on, and with others a violent Peſtilentiall plague; which, ſaith *Ioſephus*, was the

the ſorer, becauſe want of means, food, ſuſtenance, made them caſt off all care to ſeek remedy, or prevention. The old ſtore was ſpent, no hope of new ſupplies. For the ſeaſons continued unſeaſonable; *Herod* was not before hand. His Coffers were empty, with many expenſes, eſpecially his profuſe bribery; his Cuſtomes, Rents, Impoſts failed. For where nothing is to be had, even the King muſt loſe his right. And becauſe they hated him, the Commons generally curſed him, as originall cauſe of all. This he knew, and would gladly doe ſomething to make them better conceited of him. Therefore he caſt about what he could, to finde ſome meanes of help and relief for them, and thereby, if poſſible, to gaine their loves. Hereupon, whatſoever gold or ſilver he found in his houſe, or could make in plate, fringes, embroyderies, veſtments, or otherwiſe, he melted it all, and made it into coyne, ſent into Egypt to buy corne. When corne was bought and brought, he took order for diſpoſing of it, and ſelling it diſpenſatorily for mens neceſſities. Firſt, ſuch to be ſerved, as were in greateſt extreamity and had moſt need; ſecondly, to have it well husbanded in diſtribution, every man ſerved as his proportion of company was, whom he muſt feed. Nor did his bounty extend unto bread, or food alone; he purveyed the poorer ſort, of fire and cloathing againſt cold winter. In which ſort, ſaith *Ioſephus*, he ſuſtained about fifty thouſand perſons, old, impotent, and poor. Which his charity and bounty, joyned with provident care, wiſe handling, and diſcreet diſtribution, ſo turned mens affections, that forgetting whatſoever they ſuppoſed he had done amiſſe, they began to reſpect, love, and admire him, and ſtrangers to commend his providence. Thus for his bounty.

48. His maagnificence appeared in many expences, but eſpecially in his buildings, with which he much beautified the Countrey in generall, and Jeruſalem in particular. At Jeruſalem were two works of principall note done by him: the one, *The Kings palace*, Βασιλεια, in the higher Town, a vaſt, a ſtrong, a coſtly piece of building, which ſerved in the Warres, for a fortification, much remembred by *Ioſephus* at the ſiege; Two ſpeciall houſes, it conſiſted of, the one *Cæſars*, the other *Agrippa's* Caſtle: But his magnificence exceeded in the Temple, the frame, materialls, and workmanſhip whereof, the Diſciples of our Saviour ſo much commended. He began this work in the eighteenth yeare after he was declared King, and in the fifteenth after his quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdome. *Ioſephus*, who knew it, ſerved a Prieſt in it, deſcribes it, in the fourteenth or laſt Chapter of his fifteenth Book. *In the eighteenth yeare of Herods reigne, after he had finiſhed his other works, he undertook a work of extraordinary aſſiſe, to new build Gods Temple at Ieruſalem, to enlarge the circuit and extent, to raiſe it higher for the roofe, ſuppoſing it would immortaliſe his name more then any thing elſe, and be a piece of building, as it was, unmatchable. And becauſe he ſuppoſed truly, that the people would not eaſily condeſcend to pull down the old Temple, as deſpairing to ſee*

Herods magnificence: it never rained by day to hinder the workmen while the Temple was building.

ſee another erected in place thereof, it being ſo unlikly an attempt, he firſt would aſſay their opinions, and have their approbations before hee ſet in hand with it; and to this purpoſe having aſſembled them, he ſpake thus. I need not good Countrymen, put you in mind, what elſewhere and elſehow I have effected in my Kingdome, onely this, I muſt profeſſe, that I have not done any thing ſo much for mine own honour, as your ſecurity and welfare. I never was behinde, nor defaltive in any thing which might conduce unto, or advance your benefit, nor in what I have done, did I ever ſeek my owne advantage, or did any thing which with Gods help I may truly ſay, did oppreſſe or puniſh you, but by me, my meanes, and under my Government, Iudæa flouriſheth more then ever it did. But let all that paſſe, my purpoſe at preſent is to go beyond my ſelf, in a work of piety to God, for the credit and renowne of your Nation. This Temple, our Fathers after the returne from the Captivity of Babylon, builded as they could: Which is not ſo high by ſixty Cubits, as that firſt Temple which Solomon King of Iſrael built. Nor ought our Fathers herein to be blamed, as for devotion wanting in them; It proceeded not from them that the Temple was ſo leſſened, but Cyrus King of Perſia, and Darius ſon of Hyſtaſpis preſcribed the meaſure. Our Fathers being their ſubjects, and after them ſubjected to the Macedonian Princes, had not meanes nor opportunity to build this houſe anſwerable unto the largeneſſe of the firſt houſe. But ſeeing God in Providence hath appointed me to be King of this Country, hath given me peace every where, indowed me with wealth and revenues ſufficient, ſtrengthened me with many friends, but eſpecially the Romanes, Lords of the world, I will indeavour to perfect what neceſſity and times would not ſuffer our Anceſtors to performe, and to ſhew my ſelfe thankfull unto God who hath thus advanced me. This was his ſpeech to the multitude there and then by him aſſembled, which put them into an amazement, it was ſo ſtrange and ſudden, beyond expectation, exceeding hope. They much feared that if he demoliſhed and took downe the old work, he would never be able to ſet up a new, as he intended: which the King anſwered thus, *I will not meddle with altering or pulling any thing downe, untill the whole frame and fabrick be ready fitted to ſet up.* And he was his words maſter, his proviſion for that inſtantly ſet upon, was a thouſand Carts to carry ſtones and timber, and ten thouſand workmen of skill; over the worke, as ſupervisors, he ſet a thouſand Prieſts, providing them of all things neceſſary or required, every man willingly ſetting to his helping hand. When all things were framed, he pulled downe the old work, and laid a new foundation, which was in length an hundred Cubits, in height twenty Cubits more, which afterward abated by ſinking of the ground in *Nero's* reigne; the Temple was built of white ſtone very hard, the bigneſſe of each ſtone twenty five Cubits for length, and eight for thickneſſe, in breadth twelve Cubits. The Temple was lower at both ends, and higheſt in the middle, ſo that ſuch as came towards the City might ſee it in proſpect a great way off, eſpecially if they came directly upon it. The gates which lead into the Temple, and the

the windowes over the gates, were wrought with great variety of carved work and the pillaſters painted curiouſly. Thus goeth he on deſcribing the particular pieces and rooms in the Temple; which are not ſo materiall to know, and another place will be fitter therefore. *Ioſephus* concludes. *It is reported, that for all the time the Temple was in building, it never rained by day, but alway by night, that the workmen were not hindred in their work.* Thus much, he relates, their fathers were wont to report. Nor is it incredible, conſidering the work, and Gods courſe and diſpenſation in things of that kind. His other principall building was Cæſarea, builded by him from the ground, where formerly was but a Fort or Caſtle called *Stratons Tower*. He began it about ſome twenty two years before the birth of Chriſt, and was twelve years in finiſhing of it. It became the chiefe towne of Paleſtina, and was the ordinary Court or reſidence of the Roman Deputies, as we reade in the Apoſtles Acts. Other buildings and works very many of magnificence, ſtrength, charge, were by him undertaken and finiſhed; which I medle not with, but returne to his manners, his carriage, his many calamities that befell him in his life.

49. By his wife *Mariamme*, *Herod* had, as hath been ſaid, two ſons, *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*, who after their mothers death, being but young, were ſent by their father to be brought up at Rome. Some years after, *Herod* deſirous to ſee his children, and withall, to viſit, and tender his ſervice unto *Caſar*, made a journey to Rome. *Caſar* received him very graciouſly, and at his return he brought back with him his two ſons. When they were come to Jeruſalem, the people were exceeding joyfull to ſee them well, and upon all occaſions made remonſtrance of love and affection to them, being very perſonable, affable, and courteous: which moved *Salome*, that devill incarnate, *Herods* ſiſter, to malicious envy: ſhe and her complices, as guilty of their deſerts, expecting revenge from them, for the wrongs done to their mother *Mariamme*. Hereupon they began to conſult, and lay plots againſt them. Firſt they began their malicious texture with ſecret whiſperings, and giving out in corners; for as yet they durſt not ſuggeſt or inſinuate ſo much to *Herod* himſelfe; that the young men, in deteſtation of his unnaturall cruelty upon their mother, hated him inwardly, and were the worſe for being in his company. This their deſire and intent was, ſhould come into his knowledge rather as a popular rumour, then by any complaint or ſuggeſtion of their owne: for ſo it would in all likelihood be more apprehended of him, and more ſuſpiciouſly hearkned unto, then if it came by immediate or direct information from themſelves; for as yet, being his children, by his once moſt deare and beloved wife, he loved them tenderly. In this interim or interciſion of their malicious practiſes, becauſe they were now come to mans eſtate, he provided them wives, and married them, as hath been related in the paſſage of *Herods* iſſue and poſterity. One of them, the eldeſt *Ariſtobulus*, had to wife the daughter of *Salome*, by her firſt husband; yet this affinity no whit

Salome practiſeth mallice againſt *Herods* ſons by *Mariamme*.

aſſwaged

aſſwaged her malice to his brother and him. Envy and feare of revenge overſwayed all: and as an inſtrument ſhe uſed his wife her daughter, to undoe her husband. Preſently upon their marriage, *M. Agrippa* came the ſecond time into the Eaſt, whom *Herod*, being his great friend, went to viſit, intreating, and prevailing with him, to make a voyage in perſon to Judæa: *Agrippa* yeelded: *Herod* entertained him royally, and ſhewed him all his works and buildings, Sebaſte, Cæſarea, the Haven, as great a piece as any, the Caſtles Alexandrium, Herodium, Hyrcanium, and others; then he conducted him to Jeruſalem, whereto he was received with proceſſion by the people, and Prieſts in their Prieſtly attires. *Agrippa* offered at his owne charges, an hundred oxen, a true, entire Hecatombe to God: invited the whole City to publique feaſts. And becauſe winter approached, and needs he muſt into Ionia, ſooner then otherwiſe he would, he took Congee, and left the ſeaſon of the yeare might come on too faſt, took Ship at Cæſarea, and departed. All that winter *Herod* reſted quietly at home, without moleſtation in his houſe, amongſt his children. At beginning of Spring he made a ſecond voyage into Pontus, with ſea and land forces, to tender his ſervice to *Agrippa*, of whom he obtained many priviledges for the Jews. Here he ſpent about a yeare, before he returned. At his returne to Jeruſalem, in a common Councell, he gave a liſt of his negotiations, and employments abroad; what he had obtained of *Agrippa* for the Jews of Aſia, and Ionia: which to addulce the more, he remitted a fourth part of the Cuſtomes and Taxes due to him for the laſt yeare. So with many good prayers and acclamations he came home to his owne houſe, which is the laſt good and commendable act we ſhall heare of him.

Herod goeth to Rome with his ſons to accuſe them.

50. In his abſence, home miſchiefes ſomewhat more emproved through the wicked practiſes of *Pheroras* and *Salome*, *Herods* brother and ſiſter, (for his mother was dead) whereto, through unheedineſſe, the two young men had given great fomentation, by publiquely bewailing their mothers caſe, blaming their father for his unnaturalneſſe, and that ſometime with more paſſion then was fit: which being publiquely taken notice of, and knowne, *Pheroras* and *Salome* might freely, without ſuſpition of malice or envy, relate unto *Herod*, as they did, not ſimply, but with improvements of malice and ſclander: ſuggeſting withall, that *Archelaus*, King of Cappadocia, whoſe daughter the younger of the brethren, *Alexander*, had married, was of the combination and confederacy againſt him. *Herod* was much perplexed at theſe reports and ſuggeſtions, accounting all his good fortunes, and ſucceſſefull proceeding abroad, nothing in reſpect of his dyſaſters at home. In debating with himſelf what courſe to take, he reſolved at length to call home againe to Court, *Antipater*, his eldeſt ſon by *Doris*, borne before he was King, that ſo he might croſſe or qualifie the two brothers, their hopes, attempts, or intendments; and by ſeeming to favour, countenance, and prefer *Antipater*, might

might have them more tractable and obedient; which fell out cleane contrary to his expectation and intent. This act of his was that which utterly and finally marred all. The brothers took it in great ſcorne, as a foule indignity offered by their father, to prefer the ſon of an ordinary woman, before the children of their mother. And if they could otherwiſe have admitted it with any moderation, yet the diſpoſition of the man could never downe with them, being of ſuch ſpirits as they were. For *Antipater* was inſolent, arrogant, proud, oppoſing, who would not be content with competition, or corrivality, but would wholly engroſſe the Father to himſelfe. This made them worſe affected then they were, or otherwiſe would have been towards *Herod*. *Antipater* outwardly carried himſelf in termes indifferent; to, or before his Father he never ſpake ill word of them. His deſire, indeavour, and procurement, was, that other men, not himſelfe, ſhould doe it, of which kinde inſtruments he had good ſtore; being in ſuch high favour with his Father, followed and courted as heire apparent. The brethren, open and plain men, not digeſting ſuch overtopping and neglect, ſpared not, upon all occaſions, in all companies, to complaine of their diſreſpect, and uſage by their Father, to condole & complain of the death of their Mother, to traduce and condemne the cruelty and tyranny of their Father towards all: all which diſcontentments were made known, with exaggerations to *Herod*, by the faction of *Antipater*, which made him goe on the more in that croſſe courſe of heaping favour upon favour on *Antipater*. His intent was to make them more tractable, better to know both him and themſelves, but an unskilfull Phyſitian, increaſed the violence of the diſeaſe; they could not conceive otherwiſe then that *Herods* intent was utterly and finally to reject them, and advance *Antipater*; whereof he gave them two great inducements or rather demonſtrations. Firſt, that he received home to bed and board, *Doris*, Mother of *Antipater*, whom long ſince he had divorced and ſent away. Secondly, that going to viſit, and take leave of *Agrippa*, being upon his returne to Rome, after ten yeares reſidence in Aſia, he took with him along *Antipater* onely, and commanded him to wait upon *Agrippa* to Rome, deſiring *Agrippa* effectually to commend him to *Cæſar*, and himſelfe wrote unto his honourable friends at Rome to reſpect him all they could; much for the reputation of *Antipater*, but not for the advancing of his affaires, as he imagined, though in concluſion erroneouſly. And yet he had ſome cauſe to miſdoubt the other. For howſoever, through ſuch commendation he was much and many wayes honourably reſpected in Rome; yet he wanted opportunity by abſence, to increaſe the diſlike of *Herod* toward the two brothers, and he feared leſt in his abſence, through their preſence, his Fathers affection might relent and alter toward his brethren. But what he could not doe *coram*, or *ore tenus*, he more then abundantly performed by often Miſſives, and inſinuating letters againſt them; therein pretending onely a care of his Fathers

ſafety, and ſtate, but directedly intending for his owne advancement; which courſe he ſo ſucceſſefully held, that *Herod* was wrought by him, to profeſſe againſt them. Yet not willing to make his diſlike, or hatred towards them, made publique or common table-talke abroad, he determined a ſecond voyage in perſon to Rome, under colour of affaires, and viſiting *Cæſar*, but indeed to complaine to *Auguſtus* againſt his ſons, and ſo to publiſh it to all the world at Rome; which he was loth ſhould be talked of at Jeruſalem: ſo was he at war with his own diſcretion.

His Accuſation.

51. At Aquileia, he preſented himſelfe to *Auguſtus*, and petitioned that he would be pleaſed to give him audience, in a buſineſſe, that nearly and deeply concerned himſelfe and his affaires; which being granted him, at the day appointed he brought his ſons in preſence, and there charged them with diſobedience, ſtubborn carriage to, hatred of their Father, of intending, and ſeeking, and plotting means to take away his life, to ſucceed him in the Kingdome; which he purpoſed at his death to leave, and bequeath to the beſt deſerving and moſt dutifull of his children; but theſe two ungracious brothers went about by treaſonable practiſes, to deprive him of the one, and to ſeiſe upon the other: which wicked and ungracious purpoſe, though long ſince diſcovered by him, and underſtood, he had concealed hitherto, but was now conſtrained, with recitall thereof to pollute his imperiall eares. As for them, he could not tell, what hard meaſure he had uſed toward them, wherein he had carried himſelfe grievous or heavy handed. Reaſon they had none, not to leave him free and to himſelfe, to be maſter of his own, and to diſpoſe of what he held as he ſaw cauſe, and found deſert in them, or other of his children; in filiall duty and piety, they ought not to intermedle herewith. Doubtleſſe that child whoſe minde runs ſtill upon ſucceeding his Father in the Kingdome, cannot but withall buſie him about, and deſire the death of his Father. According to their place, birth, condition, his owne honour, he had hitherto bred them, and maintained them, as a Kings children; they have not been ſparingly, or defectively accompliſhed in attendancies, ſervices, delights, or pleaſures. He had moreover married them honourably, fitting their degree, the one to his onely ſiſters daughter, the other to the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia. Nor is it the leaſt ſigne of his affection to them, that for and upon ſo many and great exceſſes, himſelfe did not, as he might, by Paternall and Regall power, call them to account, and take condigne puniſhment of them, but hath referred and conſigned them to the cognizance of *Auguſtus*, the raiſer of his houſe, the common Benefactor and gracious Lord to himſelfe, and them; whom he beſought not to diſmiſſe them, without all puniſhment, nor to ſuffer himſelfe to live in perpetuall anguiſh and feare. To this effect, with violence, bitterneſſe, and much paſſion ſpake *Herod* in *Cæſars* preſence.

52. The

52. The brethren all the time he ſpake, ſobbed, and bitterly wept, being much abaſhed at his accuſation. They were not guilty they knew in conſcience, of the crimes objected to them; but the plaintife, their owne father, objecting them, made it hard and impoſſible for them to apologiſe with any favour, or likelihood for themſelves: Therefore nothing remained for them but to ſigh, ſob and weep, which made the Audience, *Cæſar* eſpecially, to commiſerate the poore diſtreſſed young men, and *Herod* himſelfe ſomewhat to relent; moſt preſent to ſhed tears for them. The younger of the two, *Alexander*, recovering ſpirit, at length began thus to make defence unto his father: Father, quoth he, your love and paternall affection towards my brother and my ſelfe, remonſtrates it ſelfe abundantly, even in this your criminall proceeding with us: For had you intended our ruine or undoing, you would never have brought us coram him who is the common Father and Conſervator of all. It was in your owne power, as King, and in your owne authority, as our Father, to have put us to death for our miſdemeanours; but by bringing us to this Barre, it is apparent you meant to acquit us: For no man that intends to take anothers life, will put him into a Church, or to take Sanctuary. This dealing makes our caſe the worſe, if we deſerve it. Doubtleſſe unworthy we are to, and pity it is that we doe live, if we deſire to hurt ſuch a father: and little better it is for us to live with ſuch ſuſpition aſperſed, then to end our dayes as guilty, though meerly innocent. If my free ſpeech in this point find acceptance for our clearing, happy are we in perſwading your good opinion, and in avoiding our preſent danger: but if our accuſation doe more ſway with you, it is our miſery that we behold the Sun, which we are unworthy to look upon. The accuſation is plauſible and feiſeable, conſidering our yeers, which is laid upon us, of affecting the Kingdome upon our father, and commiſerating the caſe of our unfortunate mother. I beſeech you conſider, whether every man may not object thus much unto us. Any King that hath ſons, ſuch as we, whoſe mother hath been made away as ours was, may juſtly fall into the ſame ſuſpition of which we are taxed, in ſeeking the life of their father: But ſuſpition is no good or ſufficient proofe of ſo grand impiety. Can any man prove that we have prepared poyſon? that we have made any act of aſſociation? or confederated our ſelves with any conſpirators? that we have ſuborned, corrupted, or dealt with any miniſters or attendants upon him? that we have written any letters in this buſineſſe? accuſations ſoone laid, if ſo ſoone proved. Where a Court is divided into many factions, that regality which you, Father, call the reward of filiall duty and obſervance, is very often made, by wicked men, a cauſe of hopes, which ſet them on, without admitting interplea of conſideration, upon horrid attempts. There is none that accuſeth us of any impious act; and ſuch imputations as be caſt upon us, we cannot refell before him who will not heare us ſpeak. We have talked largely;

Alexanders defence.

admit ſo; not yet againſt our Father, that were impious; but againſt ſuch as be inſtruments of miſchiefe. We have condoled and commiſerated our mothers caſe, not becauſe ſhe died, but becauſe being dead, ſhe is traduced and ill ſpoken of by unworthy and baſe people. We affect the Kingdome which our father enjoyeth; why doe we ſo? if at preſent we enjoy, as enjoy we doe, the ſtate of Princes, and a Kings children, we are not unregarded; if we enjoy it not, we have no great cauſe to hope after it. Should we, by murthering our father, thruſt our ſelves into his throne, nor Land nor Sea would receive us: and ſuch is the affection of his ſubjects unto him, ſuch the diſcipline of our Law and Religion, they would never endure Father-quellers to rule over them, or enter into that ſacred Temple built from the foundation, by the murthered. And if all other puniſhment were cleane ſuſpended, could we think to eſcape ſcot-free ſo long as *Cæſar* lived? Certainly you never begot ſuch wicked Impes, nor ſo ſenſeleſſe fools, though more miſerable and unfortunate then is for your honour. If accuſer of us there be none, nor are we detected of conſpiracie, what argument ſufficient is there of our ſo great impiety? Our mother hath been put to death; Certes the proceeding againſt her ſhould not exaſperate, but make us more wary. Enlarge our Apologie I could, but what needeth it, when no ſuch thing is done? Wherefore, here before *Cæſar*, Lord and Mediator of both parties, I make this offer, and obligation for my ſelfe and my brother: if ſo be that, Father, out of evident and convicting truth you will be pleaſed to lay aſide this ſuſpition of us, live we will, though not ſo fortunately as we could wiſh: For a blemiſh it is, and will be, to have been queſtioned upon ſo horrid a point, though proved falſe. But if you ſtand in feare of us, you ſhall not need to violate fatherly affection; we will take ſharp revenge enough of our ſelves: Our life is not ſo high valued by us, that we will deſire to have it, with wronging him who beſtowed it upon us.

Herod reconciled to his ſons by *Cæſar*, at his return names his ſucceſſors.

53. At this proteſtation, *Cæſar*, who at firſt gave little credit to the accuſation, was altogether off from thinking it probable: and often, as *Alexander* was ſpeaking for himſelfe, caſt his eyes upon *Herod*, and might perceive him confounded in himſelfe. The auditory was alſo much affected, and the King traduced in open talk, who had laid ſuch an accuſation againſt his innocent children. The improbability of the fact, the age and condition of the defendants, young men, in the prime of their age, of excellent parts of body, but eſpecially of ſuch indowments as appeared in them, by *Alexanders* ſpeech, made every man to pity and commiſerate their fortunes. The two brethren well diſcerned the affections of the preſence, and began to conceive better of their caſe and ſtate, yet wept they ſeriouſly, and caſt their eyes downe unto the ground. *Cæſar*, refraining a while after *Alexander* had made an end, howſoever he held them innocent, in his owne judgement, for the capitall fault laid againſt them, the conſpiring of their fathers death, and depoſing him from his Kingdome;

dome, yet he blamed them much, in that their carriage had been ſuch toward him, which might give him any probable cauſe to ſuſpect them. He intreated *Herod* to pardon what was paſt, to take his ſons to grace, and not to run ſo violently into ſuſpition againſt them hereafter: Then beckned he to the brethren to humble themſelves upon their knees unto their Father, and to crave his pardon. But *Herods* affection prevented their duty. For before they could come unto him, he met them, embraced firſt the one, then the other, bitterly weeping all the time. And thus were all parts, at leaſt outwardly, agreed; *Antipater*, with the formoſt, feigning himſelfe glad. *Cæſar* at diſmiſſion, gave *Herod* an augmentation of eſtate, increaſe of revenue, enlargement of territories, and ſo all parts came home well appaied and contented. At his return, in open audience in the Temple, he related the whole negotiation, and concluding addreſſed his ſpeech to thoſe of his Court, exhorting them to mutuall love, agreement, peace; and he went ſo farre, that unadviſedly he declared there his minde about his ſucceſſion, that he deſigned for ſucceſſor, *Antipater* as his eldeſt ſon, after him, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Alexander* to ſucceed: a courſe directly tending to break aſunder that which he intended to ferruminate and to foment, agreement and love amongſt his children, and in his houſe.

54. This reconciliation continued not long, through Gods vengeance and juſt judgement upon him, ſaith *Ioſephus*, for ſacrilegiouſly breaking up, and robbing the Sepulchre of *David* in hope to find great ſtore of hidden treaſure there, which was by him done about the twenty ninth yeare of his reigne. *Antipater* ſoared high in his Fathers favour, openly declared, through *Herods* indiſcretion, heire unto the Crowne; which might have contented his ambition, but that, A beggar ſet on horſeback will ride till he break his own neck; as *Antipater* did, really contriving the deſtruction of his Father, which through his procurement had falſly been charged upon the two brothers, who ſtanding upon the royall deſcent of their Mother, could not indure to be overtopped by the ſon of a poore private Gentlewoman. This they could not cloſely carry, nor hide or colour as he did his purpoſes, being of a free and generous diſpoſition. For evermore obſerve it, μισάνθρωποι, honeſt and well meaning men, are παρρησιαστικοὶ, open hearted, and free tongued. *Antipater* was caſt in another mold; hate them he did, as his malignants and competitors, but he made no Proclamation of his affection. Cunningly he intended to undoe them: when any complaint was made unto the King againſt them, he in publique was ever ready to anſwer for them, or excuſe them; by this courſe he made them leſſe cautelous and wary, and wound himſelfe more into his Father, as intending all for his ſecurity, and repoſe. *Herod* perſwaded himſelfe ſo of him, and made him, his Mother, *Ptolemæus* his Steward, brother to *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* the Hiſtorian, his principall adviſers: ſo that nothing paſſed but through their hands, none were graced or diſgraced, advanced

Salome maketh *Alexanders* wife ſeek to undoe him and his brother.

or dejected but by them; another *Cordolium* to the brothers, who were not upon very good termes with themselves, but had jealousies and distastes by meanes of their wives, about precedency, an ordinary apple of strife amongst women. *Glaphyra*, wife to *Alexander*, the younger brother, being daughter to *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, disdained the baseneſſe, as she esteemed and called it, of *Bernice*, wife to *Aristobulus*, daughter of *Salome*, and scorned to give her place, though she were the elder brothers wife. *Pheroras* also, *Herods* youngest brother, had his hand in these brabbles, upon a case peculiar to himselfe, in stubborne demeanor toward his brother. He fell in love with a maiden slave of his owne, so farre, and so extreamly, without regard at all of his honour or reputation, that he refused the Kings daughter in marriage, being motioned to him, and married that slave. *Herod* was much enraged hereat, but could not move him; wherefore he put him out of his Councell, and married his daughter intended for *Pheroras*, unto *Phasaelus*, his elder brothers son. Sometime after, when he thought his hot frantick fit of love toward his slave had been cooled, he dealt with him to put her away, and the child he had by her, offering another of his daughters in marriage; to which at length with much adoe, he yeelded. *Ptolomæus* perswaded him so farre, that he promised to marry her after thirty dayes, and to separate himselfe wholly from the other woman; but the prefixed time being come and gone, he kept no promise, kept the other still, and accompanied with her, nor would he part with her and her child; which enraged *Herod* against him exceedingly, so that he often discovered his passions, and spake bitterly against him: such homebred troubles he every day met with, new, renued, betwixt these, them; every one at oddes amongst themselves, all against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*. *Salome* his sister, that graceleſſe woman, suborned her daughter *Bernice* to betray her own husbands secrets, and private, both actions and speeches: which she accordingly did, telling that her husband and his brother, would in private talk odiously of and against their Father; that they bewailed the ill fortunes of their unhappy Mother, cruelly and unnaturally put to death by their Father; that when he died they would make the children he had by other women, Scriveners, & writers of Indentures, in the good towns of the Realm; that when they met, or beheld abroad any of their Fathers wives, in any Gowns, with any Jewels, or Ornaments which had been their Mothers, they would mourn, put on sackcloth, mew themselves up, not goe abroad or converse with any. Such fabulous observations were made, by the daughter related unto the Mother, and by her imparted unto *Herod*. These demeanours much moved him, but no further then to reprehension, and made him pliable to heare and entertaine, whatsoever otherwise should be suggested against them, and thereby grew every day worse then other: He gave eare to all tales, beleeved all imputations, fomented all suspitions, but proceeded no farther then to convent, and reprove

reprove them for ſuch courſes, reſting otherwiſe ſatisfied in their anſwers.

55. Seeing theſe courſes would not take, according to deſire and expectation, they ſet upon them with a ſtronger and a ſtranger deviſe. It was this. *Pheroras* comes to *Alexander*, and ſmoothly tels him, that his father was far in love with his wife *Glaphyra*, and intended to take her from him forceably. This ſet the man in a rage of jealouſie againſt his father for ſuch his purpoſe, and upon ſuch information grew to interpret every kindneſſe which his father ſhewed, as he often uſed, unto his ſons wives and children, lovingly converſing with them, in ill part, as proceeding from that laſcivious and diſhoneſt affection and intention of his father. At length he reſolved to break with his father thereabout, which he did: coming to him with tears, beſought him not to deprive him of his wife. *Herod* was amazed at this ſtrange petition of his ſon, and asked what he meant by it: *Alexander* up and told him what *Pheroras* had informed him of. *Herod*, as he had good cauſe, was very much enraged with hearing himſelfe ſo ſhamefully belyed in and about ſo foule and impious a fact; much exclaiming againſt, and bewailing the wicked diſpoſitions of thoſe ſo neere him, ſo diſpoſed to wrong and diſhonour him, who had ſo well deſerved of them all. He ſent inſtantly for *Pheroras*, and when he was come, fell very foule upon him, rating and reviling him with anguiſh and bitterneſſe: Thou worſt, quoth he, of men, thou moſt ungratefull wretch, art thou ſo ungraciouſly impudent, as to harbour ſuch a conceit, and to caſt upon me by word of mouth ſuch a ſhameleſſe ſclander? I well perceive thy drift and intent what it is; It was not thy purpoſe ſo to bely me unto my child, to diſgrace me, but to ſet him againſt me, to make way for a project againſt my life, to work my deſtruction. What ſon, upon ſuch an accuſation, would not have riſen up againſt his father? And doubtleſſe, but that God in goodneſſe directed his innocent courſes, ſo might my ſon *Alexander* have dealt with me. Thou haſt done thy beſt to put a ſword, for that purpoſe, into his hands. What couldſt thou other thing intend, for I know thou hateſt both him and his brother, but by faining good will, to make him run deſperate courſes againſt me, his father, thy brother, whom thou haſt moſt impudently ſclandered and abuſed? But goe thou ungratefull wretch unto thy brother and advancer: Live, and an ill conſcience accompany thee. I will not take thy life, as thou deſerveſt that I ſhould, but will indeavour by my kindneſſe to make the wicked courſes of thine, more deteſtable to the world. Thus he ſpake; and ſo if he had continued, he had paſſed his dayes with much more tranquillity. Having this experiment of their malice againſt his children, and confeſſing ſo much in upbraiding *Pheroras*, it is ſtrange he ſhould hold on the courſe he did with them; but that God in juſtice had given him over. *Pheroras* ſeeing himſelf thus taken, and his wicked purpoſe croſſed, laid the blame on *Salome*, ſaying that he had it from her. She being then preſent, ſet an impudent

Alexander by *Pheroras* meant: jealous of his father.

dent face upon it, denyed the words and information; ſaid that all of them were bent and ſet againſt her, by thoſe that loved not the Kings life, to be rid of her, who bent all her counſels and actions, as they knew well enough, for his content and preſervation. She indeed had ſometime dealt ſeriouſly with him, to marry ſome Kings daughter, fitting his ſtate, to put away all his other wives and women: this was all; this ſhe confeſſed; and ſaid that for this, which they knew to be ſo, all of them hated her, and banded againſt her. Then Bedlam-like fell ſhe to weeping, ſobbing, howling, tearing her haire, beating her breaſts, bemoaning her owne unhappy caſe and misfortunes, to be made the object of every lying and ſclanderous tongue. This was as a Pageant, onely repreſented as in a Play; for all was hypocriſie and counterfeiſance. *Pheroras* ſtood like an Aſſe in the brakes, not knowing what to ſay: Deny he could not, that he had ſaid ſo unto *Alexander*: perſwade *Herod* he could not, that *Salome* told him ſo, and ſet him on. He fell foule upon her, and ſhe upon him, ſo long, till *Herod*, weary of their ſcolding, bade them both avant, commending *Alexander* for diſcovering it unto him: and ſo it being late, he retired himſelf from this Tragi-comicall Play: But every man condemned that miſchievous woman, conceiving truly, that ſhe was the originall of this plot. *Herods* wives, and other Ladies of the Court, underſtanding what ſhe her ſelfe had blabbed out concerning their diſmiſſion, hated her extreamly, and upon all occaſions did her what ill offices they could; and not long after, a good opportunity was preſented thus:

A match that ſhould have been betwixt *Syllæus* an Arabian and *Salome*, croſſed by *Herod*.

56. *Syllæus* an Arabian, who commanded all under *Obodas* King of the Country, had neceſſary affaires in *Herods* Court, where often meeting with *Salome*, and underſtanding that ſhe was a Widow, began to court her upon termes of good will, and marriage; ſhe was ſoone enough drawn to the lure, and had the like affection unto him. This was quickly diſcovered by the Ladies, and in ſcorne and diriſion talked of, and by them reported unto *Herod*. He gave no great credit unto womens words, but bade *Pheroras* obſerve at ſupper, with diligent vigilancy, if he could, by ſecret glances, and mutuall intergeſtures, diſcover any ſuch affection. *Pheroras* did ſo, and made report to *Herod*, he thought the information was true. *Syllæus*, having diſpatched his buſineſſe, went home; but after two or three months, made a ſecond voyage, purpoſedly to conclude the match, whereabout he brake with *Herod*. *Herod* asked *Salome* if ſhe would marry him; ſhe granted ſhe would. *Syllæus* being called, was told, that if he would marry her, he muſt turne Jew, and be circumciſed: This condition he refuſed; for, ſaid he, my Countreymen will ſtone me to death, if I forſake my Religion. So he returned, as he came, without a wife, and left her to marry at pleaſure and liking. This information which *Pheroras* gave *Herod*, increaſed the former breach betwixt them, which every day grew on more and more. *Salome* was often upbraided with this her intended marriage of *Syllæus*, and her looſe

looſe intemperancy much derided, that being old, as ſhe was, ſhe ſet her affections upon *Syllæus*, almoſt a boy.

57. But long could not *Alexander* and his brother live quietly, without new complottings againſt their lives; their next troubles were procured upon this occaſion. There were three young Eunuchs attending upon *Herod* in ſeverall offices, beautifull boyes, and beloved of him; as it was ſuppoſed, Sodomitically abuſed by him: The one was Cupbearer, the other Carver, the third attended upon him in his Bed-chamber. Some information was given *Herod*, that *Alexander* his ſon had won them to his luſt with great rewards, and ſo buggered them. Being by him queſtioned hereabout, and demanded what *Alexander* had ſaid unto them, or dealt with them in, concerning himſelfe, they confeſſed his buggery, but abſolutely denied that he ever acquainted them with any ſpeech or attempt againſt him. Being put unto the rack, and by the Tormentors in favour of *Antipaters* deſignes, extreamly tortured, with unſufferable paines, made them, whether truly or falſly, charge *Alexander* that he hated his Father, and that this hatred was rooted in him; that he had perſwaded them to forſake that old Leacher, worne out and unabled, though he dyed his haire black that he might ſeeme to be young; if they would come over unto him, when he was King, they ſhould command all. For reigne he would, whether his Father would or not. That all things were almoſt ready for the enterpriſe, that many Captaines, and not a few of *Herods* counſell would declare themſelves upon the party. Which extorted confeſſion (and for the moſt part ſuch is the ſucceſſe of thoſe barbarous courſes, when men in extreamity of paine will ſay any thing) made *Herod* at his wits end, ſuſpect all, truſt none, put every one to death which was accuſed and complained of without proofe, who were themſelves ſerved with the ſame ſawce by others complaining upon them, and thoſe informers, accuſed by others. So that himſelfe, and ſuch about him, as had moſt employment, were in ſtrange amaſement what to doe, or ſay. He miſtruſted them; they feared him; his ancienteſt counſellors, neareſt friends, faithfulleſt ſubjects, were warned out of preſence, diſcharged the Court, and were glad ſo to be diſmiſt, with their heads upon their ſhoulders. All this made for *Antipater*, who cunningly and advantagiouſly wrought upon his Fathers jealouſies, and feares, procuring every day ſome or other to be put unto the rack, who had any reference unto, dependance upon, or did but vaile bonnet unto *Alexander*: moſt of them dyed in the Tormentors hands upon the rack, with horridity of paine, but all acquitted him of attempt, deed, word, againſt his Fathers life; one onely forced through torture, charged him with ſome contemptfull words uttered againſt *Herod*; and thereupon being further preſſed, ſaid that *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* had conſpired to kill him, as he road on hunting. Letters were produced bearing *Alexanders* name, to his brother; wherein

A plot laid againſt *Alexanders* life by meanes of *Herods* boyes.

wherein he complaines that his Father had augmented *Antipaters* eſtate two hundred Talents yearely. *Herod* ſuppoſing all true, and that theſe informations and detections were of proofe, commits *Alexander* to priſon; but anon againe he began to thinke all might be falſe. For what cauſe had they to ſeeke his life; much leſſe did he beleeve, that having diſpatched him, they would or durſt put themſelves upon *Cæſar*, and goe to Rome, as it was ſuggeſted they intended to doe: wherefore, howſoever *Alexander* was reſtrained of liberty, yet hee forbare to proceed againſt him, untill he could finde more certaine matter, and better proved to proceed againſt him in, which he indeavoured to doe, by holding on his courſe of daily queſtioning and torturing.

Alexander upon *Herods* bad uſage of him, deſperate.

58. Amongſt many ſo interrogated, one charged *Alexander* with Letters written to ſome friends at Rome, to procure *Cæſar* to ſend for him to Italy, that his purpoſe was to charge his Father with confederacy with *Mithridates* King of Parthia, againſt the Romane State. And he further told that *Alexander* had poiſon ready prepared at Aſcalon, to give his Father. Theſe were accuſations, if true, that put home, but no ſuch poiſon could bee found or heard of, upon ſearch made. And yet ſuch was the ſucceſſe of theſe proceedings, that *Alexander* ſeeing and feeling, how things went with him, and were like to goe, grew in a ſort deſperate, nor cared he what became of himſelfe, but determined to put all things into combuſtion. And out of ſuch apprehenſion and reſolution, hee wrote to his Father, willing him to deſiſt his bloody courſes, to make no more inquiſition, by torturings or rackings, but to uſe the Law upon him, for hee did confeſſe Treaſon intended againſt his Perſon. Hee charged *Pheroras* with confederacy, all his moſt truſty ſervants, ancient Counſellors, and moſt private confidents to bee in the plot. Hee accuſed *Salome*, to have come ſecretly many times unto him by night, and that hee had lien with her. That by theſe, upon all hands it was concluded to kill him, and by ridding him away to free themſelves of feare. *Herod* with theſe Letters was put beſide himſelfe. He knew not whom to truſt, hee durſt not truſt any, little help would put him cleane out of his wits; towards which he was in a good forwardneſſe, his conſcience accuſing him; imaginations ſo farre prevailed, that he often cryed out, *Alexander* came in with his ſword in his hand drawne to take his life. This was his carriage and deportment day and night.

Archelaus his Father in law reconciles him to *Herod.*

59. Theſe ſtrange franticks in *Herods* Court, being imparted to *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, whoſe daughter *Glaphyra*, as hath been ſaid, was married to *Alexander*, it very much amated him, and in perſon he reſolved to viſit *Herod*, to try if he could any way accom-

accommodate, or bring things into better temper. When he came to Court, he found things worſe then had been reported unto him; And to amend what might be, he thought it not the beſt way to reprove or chide with *Herod*, though he well perceived where the cauſe lay, for feare to exaſperate him the more, and make him the worſe, being already in caſe bad enough: But he took the courſe to lay all upon *Alexander*, to be exceedingly angry at, and offended with him, ratled him ſoundly, threatned to take home his daughter from him; and if he found her guilty of confederacy againſt *Herod*, to forget all fatherly affection, and make her a publique example by putting her to death. *Herod* underſtanding how *Archelaus* tooke the matter, as he thought, to heart, upon his part, and ſeeming ſo highly offended for his ſake, with his ſonne, began ſomewhat to grow into better temper, to bethink himſelfe, and by little and little to recover Paternall affection toward his children. *Archelaus* having begun to worke well upon him, and having brought him into better mood, began gently to blame thoſe of his kinne and Court, for doing ſuch ill offices, in ſetting himſelfe and his ſon at ods: which he made more feiſeable by cauſing *Pheroras*, who came unto him, to mediate a Peace and reconciliation betwixt his brother *Herod* and himſelfe. This he did promiſe, if *Pheroras* would, as he ought, goe and humble himſelfe unto his brother, and then acknowledge the wrong he had done *Alexander*. *Pheroras* yeelded both, and ſo with much adoe, firſt *Archelaus* made at leaſt a ſeeming reconciliation upon all hands, and having wrought a good work, returned home with honour, many wayes greatly rewarded by *Herod*.

60. In the interim that things were in reaſonable terms with *Herod* and his children, forraine buſineſſes held them on the longer. The Inhabitants of Thrachonitis, a Countrey that *Cæſar* had conferred upon *Herod*, depriving *Zenodorus* thereof, were by him reſtrained of out-riding, robbing, and ſpoyling of their neighbours, their ancient practiſe, and conſtrained to labour and fall to husbandry. Which courſe got *Herod* both crownes and credit, in civilizing them, formerly theeves. When hee went to Rome, in *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* caſe, the report was over all Trachonitis, that hee was dead. Hereupon the Countrey revolted, and the people fell to their old trade of robbing. *Herods* Lieftenants and Captaines, in his abſence, brought them ſoone enough into obedience; onely ſome forty or fifty Arch-theeves, abandoning the Countrey, made retrait into Arabia, a people of their owne diſpoſition. *Syllæus* entertained them, being diſcontented with *Herod* for miſſing the match with *Salome*; aſſigned them alſo habitation in a ſtrong place, which they fortified, and thence made many inroads into Judæa and Cœloſyria. *Syllæus* gave them not onely liberty, but countenance to doe thus.

Syllæus patroniſeth the Trachonite thieves againſt *Herod*, and complaineth of him to *Cæſar*.

thus. *Herod* returning home from Rome, underſtood what had hapned in his abſence. Surpriſe thoſe theeves hee could not, ſuch was their ſtrength in fortification, and under another Princes covert; but lead an Army he did into Trachonitis, and put to the ſword all the friends, allyes, and kindred of thoſe theeves. This enraged the theeves, and made them worſe, inſomuch that *Herod* was perplexed exceedingly, and adviſed with the Romans Generalls, *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, what courſe to take; for they continually ſpoiled his people, killed all they tooke, harraſſed the Countrey, being growne one thouſand ſtrong. *Herod* ſent to *Obodas*, demanding delivery up of theſe theeves, and thoſe ſixty Talents which *Syllæus* had borrowed for his uſe. *Syllæus* perſwaded *Obodas* to deny the delivery of them, and for the ſixty Talents, he referred himſelfe to *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*. They ordered, that within thirty dayes, *Obodas* ſhould repay him his money, and each returne to other, ſuch of their ſubjects as were found within their ſeverall dominions. *Herod* upon inquiſition was returned to have none of *Obodaes* men; but the Arabian had entertained thoſe theeves. The day came, and paſſed: *Syllæus* performed neither one nor other condition, but gets him away towards Rome. *Herod* hereupon, with conſent of *Volumnius* and *Saturninus*, raiſeth an Army, ſuddenly comes on them, and ſurprizeth the theeves, hangs them all, demoliſheth the Fort, did no other hurt or violence to any. The Arabians, two thouſand, under conduct of *Nacebus*, ſet upon his Army: *Herods* ſoone routs them, kills ſome twenty five, and their Captaine with them; ſo returnes home, tranſplanting three thouſand Idumeans into Trachonitis, to keepe them from theeving any more. Of all which he gave a particular to *Saturninus*, who upon ſearch made, finding his particular true, approved of the action. Meſſengers of this miſ-hap, overtooke and informed *Syllæus*, enhauncing every particular beyond truth. *Syllæus* had formerly wound himſelfe into knowledge of *Cæſar*, and when he came to court, went in mourning apparell: At his audience hee reported to *Auguſtus*, what havock and ſpoile *Herod* had made in Arabia; that he had defeated and ſlaine all the Kings Army, being two thouſand five hundred, (This hee ſpake with teares) of the nobleſt and beſt men of the Countrey: that hee had ſlaine the Generall *Naceb*, his Confederate and Kinſman; that hee had carried away as ſpoile, great treaſure from Rapta, (ſo was the name of the Theeves Hold.) *Cæſar* was at this complaint much incenſed againſt *Herod*, and thereupon writes a ſharp Letter unto him, in which, amongſt others, were theſe words: *I have formerly reſpected you as a friend, now hereafter I will uſe you as a ſubject.* *Syllæus* wrote into Arabia, what good ſucceſſe he had found. Hereupon they refuſed to deliver the Theeves

Theeves which had made eſcape, to pay the money due, to diſcharge the rents for ſuch lands and paſtures as they had hired of him. The Inhabitants of Trachonitis, taking opportunity upon *Cæſars* diſpleaſure, roſe in Armes againſt the Idumæan garriſon, appointed to keep them in order, and with help they had from Arabia, made roads into, and ſpoiled Idumæa. *Herod* with patience muſt beare all, *Cæſar* being ſo highly offended with him, ſo highly, that he refuſed to heare his Agents, whom he had ſent to make anſwer to the accuſations, and bad them be gone home without anſwer; *Syllæus* preſent in Court, followed his advantage, and began to project for greater matters. King *Obodas* was lately deceaſed. Him ſucceeded *Æneas*, ſurnamed *Aretas*. *Syllæus*, by bribing the Minions at Court, went about to make way for himſelfe, and eject *Aretas*. *Cæſar* had indignation againſt *Aretas*, becauſe without his leave he had entred the Kingdome. And yet he wrote unto *Cæſar*, ſent him preſents, and in thoſe letters accuſed *Syllæus*, as a treacherous ſervant, for poiſoning *Obodas*, to ſucceed him, in whoſe life time he commanded all; for adulteries, rapes, rapines, other enormious crimes. *Cæſar* would not beleeve any of theſe informations, ſent away the Meſſengers, refuſed the Preſents. In Arabia and Judæa, all things went to wrack, no man taking care of the publick. *Aretas* was but newly inveſted with, ſcarce warme in the Kingdome. *Herod* durſt not undertake any thing, for feare of incenſing *Cæſar* more, he had no way but once more to ſend to Rome, if by mediation of friends he might obtaine acceſſe unto *Cæſars* preſence. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* was herein imployed.

61. Thus in ill termes ſtood *Herods* affaires abroad, and in no better, if not worſe at home. One *Eurycles*, native of Sparta, of noble birth, but ignoble and baſe conditions, had by flattery, obſequiouſneſſe, and other ſuch like baſe carriage, wound himſelfe greatly into *Herods* favour; next hee grew in, both with *Alexander* and *Antipater*. In all companies a great obſerver of all mens carriages, tooke notice of their actions, and kept memorialls of all paſſing ſpeeches, to ſerve him for his uſe, when hee had occaſion. His inſinuating and indearing himſelfe with every man, made every man imagine, himſelfe had onely, or at leaſt greateſt intereſt in his love. *Alexander* ſuppoſing he might truſt his life with him, complained of his Fathers extreamity to him, deplored the lamentable caſe of his Mother, ſtomacked that *Antipater* was all in all with his Father, that his brother and himſelfe were but his vaſſalls. This, quoth he, I cannot indure, nor beare to ſee my Father ſo farre to forget himſelfe and us, as to ſhew us no countenance nor reſpect. Theſe ſpeeches, that pick-thank reported to *Antipater*, with exaggerations of his owne, to make them more odious; withall wiſhing him to

Hatred renewed betwixt *Herod* and his two ſons.

look unto himſelfe, and be well at his owne keeping; for *Alexander* queſtionleſſe meant to miſchiefe him. *Antipater* gave him good reward for theſe Informations, and requeſted him to report them to his Father. So hee did. *Herods* credulity was ſoone taken, and for encouragement to proceed, beſtowed a largeſſe on him of fifty Talents. Having fingred theſe moneys from *Herod* and *Antipater*, he ſhewes them his back, leaves *Herods* Court, addreſſeth himſelfe to *Archelaus* of Cappadocia, tells him what good offices he had done *Alexander*, that he had ſetled in his Father a good opinion of him. *Archelaus* beleeving his ſmooth tale, highly alſo rewarded him for his good ſervice, which having faſtned upon, he got him away home to Lacedæmon before his double dealing were diſcovered.

Herods uſage of his ſons, and expoſtulation with *Archelaus*.

62. He being gone left ſore effects behinde of his villany. His calumniation wrought ſo with *Herod*, that he became worſe then ever affected to his ſons, gave eaſie credit to any tale informed againſt them. It was told him that *Tyrannus* and *Iucundus*, two of *Alexanders* ſervants, were deſigned to kill him being hunting, and ſo much upon the rack (being forced through violence of paine) they confeſſed, and told that the Maſter of the game had furniſhed them with bore-ſpeares for that purpoſe; that the gold was hidden in the Stable which they were to have. Letters were ſhewed, written from *Alexander*, to the Guardian of the Caſtle *Alexandrium*, willing him to have all things ready; for ſo ſoone as the deed was done, hee would be with him. *Herod* viewing the Letters, concluded they were true; *Alexander* denied it, ſwearing he never wrote them, but his hand was counterfaited by *Diophantus* a Scrivener, whom *Antipater* had hired to doe it, a falſe knave; he was formerly convicted of like forgery. The two Confitents *Tyrannus* and *Iucundus*, as falſe accuſers, were by the madded multitude ſtoned to death; who would have dealt ſo with *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, but that *Pheroras* and *Ptolomæus* with much adoe diſſwaded them, telling them, the Law ſhould paſſe upon them, they were to be examined upon greater diſcoveries. Strange humours in a madde multitude. The brethren thereupon both were committed cloſe priſoners. *Ariſtobulus* was ſo inconſiderate, as to bid *Salome* his wives Mother, look well about her, for ſhe was in good caſe, for matters betwixt her and *Syllæus*, to dance the ſame meaſures after them: with which his ſaying ſhe preſently acquainted *Herod*. He gave charge to clap irons on their heeles, and to empriſon them aſunder, ſeverally to be examined, the examination to be ſet downe under their hands. At examination, both conſtantly, and utterly denied all Treaſons, treaſonable attempts, or purpoſes againſt his life, and State. Confeſſe they did an intent to make an eſcape. For they had long and wofull experience they could not be quiet, nor ſafe at home; and

ſo

ſo much *Alexander* a ſecond time confeſſed, in preſence of *Melas*, ſent from *Archelaus*. *Herod* commanded to deſpight him the more, to have him in ſhackles, as he was, into *Glaphyra* his wives chamber, *Melas* to accompany him, and there ſhe to be queſtioned whether ſhee with her husband had not conſpired againſt *Herods* life. She ſeeing her husband ſo accouſtred, burſt forth into bitter weeping, not able to utter one word: At length, ſomewhat recovering her ſelfe, I will, ſaid ſhe, ſpeak any thing that you will have me for his good, though it coſt me my own life. *Alexander* preventing her further ſpeech, ſaid this, All that ſhe can ſay, or I be juſtly charged with, is this, that we purpoſed to conveigh our ſelves to our father *Archelaus*, and by his meanes to be conveighed to Rome. *Herod* grew into rage againſt *Archelaus*, and by letters expoſtulated with him. *Archelaus* replyed, that true it is, his children had ſent unto him about their acceſſe, and hee had ſent them word againe, that if they came, they ſhould be welcome. This was all. As for tranſmitting them to Rome to complain to *Cæſar*, he never intended it.

Herods peace made by *N. Damaſcenus* with *Cæſar*, & leave granted him to proceed againſt his ſons.

63. It hath been touched, that *Herod*, at preſent, was in disfavour with *Auguſtus*, through *Syllæus* informations: and that he would not admit *Herods* meſſengers into his preſence; and that *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, his confident friend, a man much reſpected by *Auguſtus*, was by him imployed, who had in this interim appeaſed *Cæſars* choler, and detected *Syllæus* for a falſe Calumniator. The meanes he wrought was this: When he came to Rome, he found *Aretas* Agents there, to complaine of *Syllæus* and his miſdemeanours. *Nicolaus* undertook their cauſe, and made ſuit to *Cæſar* to be heard againſt *Syllæus*, ſaying nothing concerning *Herods* buſineſſe, leſt it might have croſt his courſe, but purpoſed to fall in for *Herod* in his plea againſt *Syllæus*. Having obtained audience, he laid to his charge miſuſing of his place and authority under *Obodas*; the ſhortning of his dayes by poiſon, that himſelfe might ſucceed: to which purpoſe he had borrowed great ſummes of money in *Obodas* name, as ſixty Talents of *Herod*, which hee denyed to re-pay, and had farther maliciouſly and falſly informed much againſt him. When he came to this point concerning *Herod*, *Cæſar* interrupting, ſaid, Concerning *Herod*, anſwer me onely to theſe points: Did he not lead an Army into Arabia? Did he not put to ſword two thouſand five hundred men? Did he not harraſſe and ſpoyle the Countrey, and carry the people away captives? which were all the parts of *Syllæus* information. *Nicolaus* anſwered, he was glad theſe queſtions were propoſed to him; for he anſwered briefly, There was not any word of truth in the Accuſations. *Cæſar* marvailing at his anſwer in generall, bade him prove what he ſaid in particular; whereupon *Nicolaus* went on thus: For his comming into Arabia, thus it was: *Obodas* bor-

rowing ſixty Talents of him upon Bond, the Condition was, that if the money were not paid by ſuch a day, he might diſtraine any where in the Countrey for his debt. Thus with leave he came into Arabia to take his owne; for which hee ſhewed forth the Obligation, and proceeded. Nor was he his owne Judge in diſtraining, but firſt he called *Syllæus*, before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, your Lieftenants of Syria, at Berytus, where he ſware by your fortune, within thirty dayes the money ſhould be paid, and the Theeves, his Fugitives, ſent home: But nothing being accordingly performed, after thirty dayes expired, he complained againe to *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, and they willed him to goe and diſtraine, and make himſelfe whole; which though loth, he at laſt was forced to doe. This is that in-road, that ſpoyle made, that Army led againſt Arabia, whereabout *Syllæus* hath ſo tragically clamoured. Now I proceed to the ſecond point concerning Priſoners and Captives carryed away. The caſe was thus: Certaine Theeves of Trachona, about forty in number at firſt, afterward many moe, flying out of the Countrey from *Herods* juſtice, found entertainment in Arabia with *Syllæus*: He aſſigned them a place of aboad, which they fortified, and thence made incurſions upon the neighbour townes and villages, burning, ſpoyling, robbing, carrying away all: in which robberies he had a ſhare. By Covenant expreſſed in the former Indenture ſpecified, he was upon oath to deliver them into *Herods* hands. Other Arabians, beſide theſe, he can name none to have been carried away, nor all them, for many hid themſelves, and eſcaped *Herod*, when according to direction from your owne Lieftenants, he went and made ſeiſure of his owne. So by meere lyes and calumniations hath this Sycophant abuſed you, and cauſed you to be angry with *Herod*. As for Captaine *Necab*, true it is, he came with forces to ſet upon and expell *Herod*, thus proſecuting juſtly his owne right; and *Herod* being forced to defend himſelfe, loſt about two or three men of his owne, and killed twenty five of the Arabian reſcuers. *Syllæus* hath made one hundred ofevery one, and ſo ſummed up a groſſe totall of two thouſand five hundred ſlaine. *Cæſar* much moved, turnes to *Syllæus*, and asked him how many men were ſlaine? He was at a ſtand, but ſaid he was miſ-informed. Then were the Indentures read, the Letters and directions of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* ſhewed forth, the Teſtimonialls produced of thoſe Towns and Villages which had been ſpoiled and robbed by thoſe Theeves. The concluſion was, *Syllæus* by *Cæſar* was condemned to death, *Herod* received againe to grace, *Cæſar* was ſorry he had written ſo ſharply unto him, had given *Syllæus* ſuch countenance, that hee durſt informe him of ſuch notorious untruths. Him hee ordered firſt to pay all debts, and afterward to be hanged. Hee was purpoſed to have put by *Aretas*, for preſuming to reigne without

without his privity, and to conferre that part of Arabia upon *Herod*, but receiving letters concerning the great garboyles *inter Herod* and his ſons, he changed his minde, thinking it no wiſedome to commit any more unto that old mans hands, who could not govern his owne houſe. For *Herod* had ſent *Olympius* and *Volumnius* to Rome with Letters, deſiring leave to proceed againſt *Ariſtobulus*, and *Alexander*, together with inſtructions, that if *Nicolaus* had made his peace, to deliver them, otherwiſe to conceale them; which being ſo diſpatched, the Letters were by them delivered.

They are ſummoned before a Councell and condemned.

64. *Cæſar* wrote back, he was ſorry that things ſtood in no better ſtate betwixt himſelf and his children; gave him free leave to proceed againſt them as Parricides, if they were duly and rightly convicted of attempting againſt his life: but if no more could be proved but onely an attempt to eſcape, hee ſhould doe well, and like a Father, to goe no further then to correction. He adviſed him therefore, for better due proceeding, to call a Councell at Berytus, and with aſſiſtance of *Saturninus*, *Volumnius*, and *Archelaus* of Cappadocia, to put them upon triall to anſwer for themſelves. *Herod* receiving this packet rejoyced exceedingly, for recovering againe *Cæſars* favour, and for obtaining grant to proceed againſt his ſons. Inſtantly he ſummons the Conſiſtory, invites all that were named, excepting *Archelaus* of Cappadocia, as hating him, or at leaſt holding him no friend to his intended proceedings. At the meeting, which conſiſted of a hundred and fifty perſons, himſelfe plaintife became accuſer; in which action hee tranſported with paſſion and enraged fury, demeaned himſelfe both unſeemly for a King, and unnaturally for a Father, often to ſeek, often at a loſſe, at a ſtand, fumbling or failing in his proofes, proving nothing but what they confeſſed, intent to make eſcape: Telling the Court, to no purpoſe, for they knew it well enough, that Nature and the Emperour gave him abſolute power to diſpoſe of his ſons as he pleaſed; but for diſcipline and example ſake, he had brought them thither, not doubting but the Court in deteſtation of their execrable Treaſons would concurre in opinion and judgement with him. Then was it put to the board; *Sentius Saturninus*, of conſular dignity, Lieftenant of Syria, a grave, wiſe, diſcreet old man, ſpake firſt, to this purpoſe: that he could not but condemne them, yet not to dye, which in his opinion they deſerved not; he would not adviſe *Herod*, being a Father, as himſelf was, of children, to adde this, as the greateſt, unto his former miſſortunes, to deprive himſelfe of them, by taking their lives, whereof he feared, he might repent too late. The old mans opinion was ſeconded by the three next, being all his ſons, and Lieftenants under their Father; but *T. Volumnius*, Procurator of Judæa, bribed by *Herod*, as was thought, gave

his ſentence for death againſt them; and to him agreed the major part in Councell; this was the Cataſtrophe of their troubles.

Herod enquireth of *Damaſcenus* what they talked of his buſineſſe with his ſons at Rome.

65. The Court being riſen, and aſſembly diſſolved, *Herod* went for Tyrus, and with him lead his ſons as Priſoners. At Tyrus met him *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* returned from Rome, of whom hee demanded what men commonly talked at Rome about him and his ſons. *Nicolaus* made anſwer, that generally all men ſpake hardly of the buſineſſe, that his beſt friends condemned his ſons courſes, thought fit to empriſon them, but not to precipitate further proceeding againſt them, leſt he might ſeeme to doe it rather out of enraged fury, then juſt indignation; after due proofe, to put them to death, if hee pleaſed, or to acquit them, if hee thought it fitter; onely they wiſhed him not to doe that haſtily, which ſoftly and at leiſure hee might repent in vaine. This is, quoth hee, the counſell and reſolution of your friends, at Rome; which put him, for a good ſpace, into a dumpe; at laſt comming out of it, he willed him to attend on him at Cæſarea, and there he would further reſolve about it, what courſe he would take with them.

Ariſtobulus and *Alexander* put to death, and with them *Tiro* and three hundred Soldiers more.

66. All men commiſerate the two brethrens caſe, but none durſt, or would adventure to ſpeak one word for them, till at length one *Tiro*, an old Soldier, who had a ſon of *Alexanders* age, and a follower of him, durſt firſt openly deplore the ſtate of thoſe times, wherein Truth and Juſtice were baniſhed the world; malice, and miſchiefe, with lies, and falſe tales carried all before: which free ſpeech of his, though ſeconded by none, was well approved of by the moſt. The old man ſtayes not here, but goes boldly to the King, and humbly deſireth private conference with him, which being obtained, he ſaid thus; *I am not able Sir, any longer to refraine, or keep in that, which yet being vented, will upon beſt acceptance, argue preſumption in me, and prove dangerous to my life*; *yet if you pleaſe ſo to take it, what I would deliver, it may prove for your ſervice, and good. Where is your minde then Sir? what is become of that adviſed ſtayednеſſe of yours, ever heretofore able to undergoe and to maſter the hardeſt aſſayes? Have you loſt all your faithfull friends, adviſers, and counſellors of late? For ſuch I cannot account them, who at preſent occupy the roomes of ſuch, who give you no better adviſe in theſe deſperate proceedings. Can you ſo farre forget your ſelfe, as publiquely to put unto execution theſe young Gentlemen, the children of your ſometime beſt beloved wife, men of ſuch excellent and noted parts; and having rid and diſpatched your ſelfe of their aſſiſtance, caſt your ſelfe in your old age upon him, who hath hammered ſtrange hopes in his head, and into the armes of ſuch of your blood, who in your owne better adviſed judgement heretofore, have beene accounted worthy to ſuffer condigne puniſhment of death? Take*

into

into conſideration, that all men ſtand as at gaze and amazement, at your ſtrange courſes; pitying their caſe, abhorring your unnaturalneſſe: ſo doe the Soldiers, Captaines, and Military men, in deepe deteſtation of them, who have beene the contrivers and inſtruments of theſe miſchiefes and miſeries. This free and bold ſpeech of that old Soldier did animate the King at firſt, and might have prevailed more with him, had not the man beene more malapert and preſſing upon him, out of his rough Soldier-like indiſcretion, then was fit; which made the King queſtion him, what Captains and Military men they were, that were ſo much agrieved as hee ſaid. When he had named many, *Herod* cauſed them all to be attached, committed to priſon, together with *Tiro*, and ſo to be put to death. For one *Tryphe*, the Kings Barber, to pick a thank from the King, laid to *Tiroes* charge, that he had ſeriouſly dealt with him to cut the Kings throat with his razor when he ſhaved him. For his information, himſelfe was arreſted, put to the rack, and bare *Tiro* and his ſon company in their execution, together with three hundred Captaines and Soldiers, or Military men by *Tiro* named: whom ſhortly *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander* followed, being led to Sebaſte, or Samaria, and there ſtrangled by ſpeciall command. Their bodies were buried in the Caſtle Alexandrium by night, their mothers father, and many of their Anceſtors being there interred. This was the tragicall end of theſe two brothers, men of very many excellent good parts, barbarouſly butchered by their brutiſhly unnaturall father, without due proofes, juſt cauſe, out of cauſeleſſe jealouſies, but eſpecially deviliſh diſpoſition. Vengeance did not give him long reſpite, before he fell into greater miſeries, and worſe extremities, from him, and by him, his life being really ſought, who had beene the chiefe contriver of the Brethrens ruine, to make haſte to his own ambitious deſigns; who inſtantly after their death, began to practiſe againſt his fathers life, though by him deſigned heire apparent. The party was *Antipater*, *Herods* eldeſt ſon by *Doris* his firſt wife, who comes next to act his part in this Tragedy.

67. *Antipater* being diſpatched of theſe two competitors, had an eaſier courſe to run in his ambitious race: But before he could put his purpoſes to any practiſe, he was to contend againſt, and maſter two great and dangerous oppoſites, popular hatred, for he was generally deteſted, and diſaffection of the men of warre, the more averſe for the late execution of thoſe three hundred of their livery, whom *Herod* had cauſeleſly put to death in *Tiroes* cauſe. Preſently, or on a ſudden he could not help this, but doubted not in time to over-maſter both oppoſitions, commanding all, as he then did, under his Father, wanting nothing but the Title of being King. His Father thought he might ſafely lay his life in his hands, and interpreted his practiſes againſt *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*,

Antipater practiſeth againſt his fathers life, and *Salome* againſt his.

Alexander, to have been grounded upon, and proceeded from nothing but an eſpeciall care of his ſafety and preſervation, from no deſignes, or ambitious practiſes of *Antipater*, whoſe reſolved purpoſe was to make away his Father ſuddenly, without noiſe. Then he aſſured himſelfe of the ſucceſſion, being declared Heire apparent by him already. Onely he feared long delayes, leſt time might bring his purpoſes, and practiſes to light, and ſo croſſe and defeat him of his hopes. Firſt then, hee put upon it to win unto his part wholly and thorougly his Fathers Counſellors, ſervants, Courtiers of name, whereto he ſpared nor coſt nor paines. Next hee reſolved to make himſelfe popular, being generally hated of all; then to make faſt the great men of Rome, but above all, *Sextius Saturninus* Lieftenant of Syria, and the Eaſt. Hopes he had to gaine *Pheroras* at leaſt, if not *Salome*, *Herods* brother and ſiſter, to his ſide. For he was made up and compoſed of inſinuating flattery, crowching, fawning, winning affections. *Pheroras* he gained, but *Salome* was not malleable any way. She countermined againſt all his carriages, and in the end blew up himſelfe, and all his deſignes, though he had after *Ariſtobulus* death procured a match betwixt *Bernice*, her daughter, his widow, and his Mother *Doris* brother. *Salome*, as ſhe loved none, ſo ſhe hated him above all, and out of hatred carryed a watchfull obſerving eye over him, and all his actions, who carried all things with an high hand, countenancing and dejecting, advancing and depreſſing all as he pleaſed: His father fondly perſwading himſelfe all was for his good, for his honour, for his preſervation in State.

68. *Salome*, who doated upon *Syllaus* the Arabian, as hath been ſhewed, was by *Herod* conſtrained to marry with *Alexias*; which the Emperours wife, *Iulia*, perſwaded her unto, leſt variance might fall betwixt her brother and her; for *Herod* had ſworn he would caſt her off, unleſſe ſhe gave conſent to take *Alexias*. *Glaphyra*, *Archelaus* daughter, wife unto *Alexander*, was by *Herod* ſent home unto her father, with her Joynture fully paid, that it might not be occaſion of any breach betwixt them. His ſonnes children he tooke eſpeciall care of, and gave them father-like education, tenderly affecting them. The little ones being one day playing before him, he fell bitterly on weeping, and ſaid to the by-ſtanders, *God ſend them better fortune then their Parents*. This vexed *Antipater* at the ſoule, but he could not help it, durſt not diſlike it; what he could under-hand, he wrought againſt them: And whereas *Herod* was purpoſed to make a match betwixt *Ariſtobulus* his ſonne and *Pheroras* daughter, *Antipater* croſt it, and procured that daughter for his owne ſon, thereby to aſſure himſelfe the better of *Pheroras*; who applyed himſelfe wholly unto *Antipater*, courted him, crowched to him, was at his beck: *Antipater* againe was as courteous to him, ſhewed him all favour and kind-

kindneſſe. *Pheroras* was altogether ruled and ordered by his wife, her mother, her ſiſter; which *Antipater* underſtanding, made himſelfe ſure of them, partly by himſelfe, partly by meanes of *Doris* his mother. But *Salome* brake this knot, and put them aſunder upon very ſmall, light, trifling cauſes, having founded the bottome of *Antipaters* purpoſes, which ſhe determined ſpeedily to impart unto *Herod*; and accordingly did ſo, making, as her manner was, every thing worſe. She related that they had ſecret meetings, banquets, conſultations, which were held by them, to his danger, and though knowne, were not forbidden: That in publique they ſeeme to be at difference, and ſpeak ill one of another, but in private all friends, great love and affection, much ſecret talk, which cannot import any good to him, or honeſt intents in them. *Herod* of himſelfe had ſented out ſomewhat, but durſt not oppoſe, or diſcover it; ſo farre was he abated in courage. There were then a ſect amongſt the Jews, men that thought highly of themſelves (ſo ſaith *Ioſephus*, himſelfe one of them) for righteouſneſſe, ſtrict and preciſe keeping of the Law, of great account, as they perſwaded themſelves with God. Phariſees were they called. The Ladies of the Court were at their devotion. They were *ad oppoſitum* to royall rank and authority, great adviſers, and apt fomenters of diſſention. All men taking an oath of loyalty and allegeance to *Cæſar*, and the King, they onely refuſed, being about ſixe thouſand in all. *Herod* for their ſtubbornneſſe ſet a round fine upon them. *Pheroras* wife paid the fine: and they to gratifie her againe, made her beleeve (for they pretend intereſt unto Prophecy) that *Herod* and his Poſterity ſhould be rooted out, and her iſſue enjoy the Crowne. *Salome* came to have knowledge hereof, and reports it unto *Herod*, with addition, that hereupon ſome in Court had been dealt with for aſſociation. *Herod* puts to death the principally culpable of the Phariſees, *Bagoas* an Eunuch, *Carus* his owne Catamite, and many others: then calls a Counſell-board to adviſe hereabout, tells what *Pheroras* wife had practiſed againſt his crown and life, and concluded that ſuch detection being made, *Pheroras* ſhould doe well of himſelfe without command, to put away his wife. *Pheroras* refuſed ſo to do; which much vexed *Herod*, but all that at preſent then he did, was to warne *Antipater* and *Doris*, not to come in their company, much leſſe to be at private meetings with them, as they had uſed to be. This they promiſed, but performed not. Eſpecially *Pheroras* and *Antipater* had often cloſe interviews and meetings. It was ſuppoſed, with great probability, that *Antipater*, his mother being the bawd, lay with *Pheroras* wife.

69. Things ſtanding in theſe tickliſh termes, could not long paſſe ſecret or undiſcovered. *Antipater* therefore warily adviſing upon his owne caſe, becauſe of this inhibition, if he ſhould bee found to neglect it, miſdoubted the change of his Fathers affection,

Syllæus plots againſt *Herods* life; and *Pheroras* death.

on, and fuller diſcovery of his practiſes; wherefore he deviſed, and ſo reſolved to abſent himſelfe a while from Court. Which he did, by procuring his friends at Rome, to cauſe *Cæſar* ſend for him thither; upon whoſe letters received, *Herod* ſent him away, and withall the draught of his Teſtament or laſt Will. In which he declared *Antipater* his ſucceſſor, and in caſe he dyed before his Father, then *Herod*, whom he had by *Mariamme* the daughter of *Simon Boethi*, the Prieſt. So away went *Antipater* toward Rome. In *Antipaters* abſence there was detected a conſpiracy againſt *Herods* life; which was, *Syllæus* the Arabian hating *Herod* deadly, had with promiſe of great reward, and great gifts for the preſent, hired *Corinthus*, one of *Herods* guard, to kill him, but it was diſcovered, and *Corinthus* hanged. *Pheroras* peremptorily, and abſolutely refuſing to put away his wife, was commanded to retire from Court. So he willingly did, and made a ſolemne vow never to returne while *Herod* lived, ſuppoſing, upon plots betwixt *Antipater* and himſelfe, hee ſhould not live long; but howſoever hee kept his word. Not long after *Herod* falling grievouſly ſick, hee was ſent for to come unto him; *Pheroras* denied, and would not come: yet did not *Herod* in any ſort eſtrange himſelfe from bearing brotherly love unto him. Not many weekes paſſed, but *Herod* recovering, *Pheroras* fell ſick, of which ſickneſſe he dyed: *Herod*, unſent for, went to viſit him, and buryed him, as his brother, honourably, at Jeruſalem. This his death was the beginning of *Antipaters* downfall, Gods vengeance juſtly purſuing him, for his many impieties, eſpecially for ſo treacherouſly contriving the death and deſtruction of his two brethren *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*; for ſo his Treaſonable purpoſes againſt the life of his Father came fully to bee diſcovered: the meanes were theſe.

Syllæus was put to death, he told us, by *Cæſar*; how comes he alive again? *Joſephus* diligence was here at a loſſe.

70. Preſently upon *Pheroras* death, two of his Freedmen, well eſteemed of their Lord and Patron, came and petitioned *Herod*, not quietly ſo to ſuffer his brother to be wickedly made away as he had been, without due puniſhment of the malefactors; that he would be pleaſed to cauſe inquiſition thereof to be made. *Herod* admitted their Petition, and bid them inſtance particularly what they had to ſay. They proceed, and relate, that the night wherein he ſickned, his wife invited him to ſupper in her chamber, and in a new kind of dreſſed diſh, gave him poiſon: this poiſon, they affirmed, was brought thither by an Arabian woman, who ſaid it was a Love-potion for his wife, which proved deadly to him that took it. The woman who brought it, they ſaid, was an excellent Confectionary, very cunning in poiſons; that ſhe was a great acquaintance of *Syllæus*; that *Pheroras* wives mother and ſiſter had been with her the day before, and had brought her along with them, home to *Pheroras* houſe, to doe the deed. *Herod*, upon telling of this tale, gave preſent order

Women queſtioned for *Pheroras* death, acquaint *Herod* with *Antipaters* practiſes againſt his life.

to

to have the waiting women queſtioned and racked. Moſt of them ſaid nothing; onely one of them wiſhed that *Doris*, *Antipaters* mother, were in her place, and might ſuffer like torture, for ſhe was cauſe of all theſe torments that they endured. Which ſpeech paſſing from her, more troubled *Herod*, and made him enquire more narrowly after the truth; which he followed to purpoſe, ſo far that at laſt he foorded it, and came to underſtand of all their ſecret meetings, privy banquets, their talk and diſcourſes, that *Antipater* had his hand in all, that he imparted to the women all paſſages betwixt his father and himſelfe, concealing nothing either of importance or triviall aſſiſe, as namely, that he gave him an hundred Talents to forbeare the company of *Pheroras*. The women confeſſed upon interrogatories, that *Antipater* hated his father; would often ſay unto his mother, When will he dye? he lives too long; that himſelfe ſhould be too old before he ſucceeded; that his children, if he died before his father, were not like to ſucceed, but ſome one of his many brethren; that he often complained of his father, for a cruell Tyrant. Which ſuggeſtions were the rather by *Herod* liſtned unto, becauſe moſt of them agreed with *Salomes* former Intelligencies.

71. Firſt of all he began with *Doris*, *Antipaters* mother: He ſeiſed all her jewels and plate, and once more ſent her packing out of doores. Next he went on in diſcovery of *Antipaters* plots and practiſes, and by examination of his Steward, *Antipater* the Samaritane, he underſtood that he had poiſoned *Pheroras*, and had given unto him poiſon to kil *Herod* withall, in *Antipaters* abſence at Rome, which was ſo contrived, that himſelfe might not be ſuſpected for it; that the poyſon was procured out of Egypt by *Theudio*, uncle unto *Antipater*, brother of *Doris*; that one *Antiphilus* brought it thence, a man of ſpeciall privateneſſe with *Antipater*; that *Pheroras* wife received that poiſon from her husband to keepe ſafely: And ſhe being queſtioned, confeſſed ſhe had it, which ſhe going pretendingly to fetch, ſuddedly threw her ſelfe downe from the roofe of her houſe, intending to have broken her owne neck, but ſhe lighted upon her feet, and was ſoone recovered. *Herod* threatned her all extreameſt tortures, if ſhee concealed any thing; but ſware hee would pardon her ſelfe and her ſervants, if ſhe freely and ingenuouſly confeſſed the truth. This ſhe promiſed faithfully to doe, and conceale nothing. *Antiphilus*, ſhe ſaid, it was true, brought that poiſon out of Egypt, which was confected and tempered by his brother, profeſſing Phyſick there. *Theudio* brought it to my houſe, I received it of my *Pheroras* to keep, but *Antipater* procured it, and it was appointed to kill you. My husband falling ſick, and you comming to viſit him, he was ſo ſurpriſed with joy of your brotherly love and kindneſſe, that not many houres before he died, he called me, and ſpake theſe words: O wife, *Antipater* hath undone me and mine, drawing me in to partake in his Treaſonable practiſes againſt his

The conſpiracy of *Antipater* found out, and the prepared poiſon.

his father, my deareſt brother, and moſt kind, *Herod*. I ſee plainly my brothers love unto me is no whit altered. I know I cannot live: that my deceaſed name be not fouly ſpotted with guiltineſſe of my brothers death, Goe preſently and bring me hither that poiſon, and caſt it into the fire. I went and fetched it, and in his preſence threw it in the fire, but reſerved a ſmall quantity to ſerve me a turn, if after my husbands death you did uſe me hardly. Thus much ſhe ſaid, and ſhewed forth the remainder of that poiſon, in a Violl. This was confeſſed, and the Violl acknowledged by a brother of *Antiphilus*, and his mother. Upon inquiſition, *Mariamme*, *Herods* wife, the High Prieſts daughter, was named to be in the Confederacie: She denyed it, but *Herod* ſent her packing after *Doris*, put her ſon *Herod* out of his Will, and her Father from the High Prieſthood. In this paſſe time, *Bathillus*, a follower and freed man of *Antipater*, comes from Rome, and preſently was laid hands upon, and put to the rack. He confeſſed that he had brought unto *Doris* and *Pheroras*, of whoſe death he had not heard, another glaſſe of poiſon, if the former failed of execution. All theſe paſſages were diſcovered ſeven moneths before *Antipater* returned home from Rome: In all which time, which is ſtrange, he had no notice or intelligence of any ſuch proceedings. The reaſon whereof might be, partly becauſe all men generally hated him, but ſuch as were his creatures, and depended upon him; and partly becauſe the roads and ports were vigilantly kept and guarded, and none ſuffered to paſſe forth without a warrant.

Antipaters arreſt.

72. *Herod* ſhortly after received letters from *Antipater*, ſignifying that he had diſpatched all his buſineſſe as he deſired, and to his beſt contentation; and that his returne, as he hoped, ſhould be out of hand. *Herod* wrote back in termes of accuſtomed love and kindneſſe, willing him to make all the haſte he could; that his mother *Doris* for ſome offence was ſequeſtred, but at his returne all ſhould be well. The meſſenger met him, and delivered his letters in Cilicia, being homeward upon his way; and before he had received formerly dated letters from his father, at Tarento in Italy, which gave him to underſtand of *Pheroras* death. Thoſe grieved him much, not for loſſe of *Pheroras*, whom he loved not, but becauſe he dyed before he could accompliſh what he promiſed, poiſon *Herod*. At Celenderis in Cilicia, upon the receipt of the laſt letters, he began ſomewhat to miſgive himſelfe, and to feare detection, the rather for his mothers ſequeſtration intimated in thoſe letters. Upon which ſuſpition, he put it to queſtion with his friends and confederates, whether he ſhould proceed homeward or not. Some diſſwaded him to goe; the greater part were of opinion to proceed: His abſence, they ſaid, gave advantage to his enemies, who would ſoone be quaſhed, and not once dare to open, if hee were at Court. Theſe prevailed. So in a luckleſſe hour on he went, arrived ſafe in Judæa, but had ſorry welcome,

welcome, at his first arrivall, being attached so soone as he landed. And whereas at his departure, at least for feare, not for love, all men cried, God blesse him, and send him well home againe; their tunes were altered at his arrivall, either no welcome at all, or God revenge his brothers blood upon him. This he observed, but said nothing. There was at Jerusalem when he arrived, *Quintilius Varus*, successor unto *Saturninus* in Syria. He and *Herod* were in Counsell together when *Antipater* came to Court; the cause of his comming was to advise with *Herod* about his owne private affaires. *Antipater* came gallantly attended, in purple, according as he used, but no man met him at the Court gates; where himselfe was admitted, but his followers kept out: an ill signe he took it, and boading him no good. On he went, and comming into presence he went to doe his duty to his Father, but he rejected him with exprobration of Fratricide and Parricide, and bad him prepare, for to morrow before *Varus* and the Councell, he should answer upon his life. With this he stood as it were thunder-stricken, and so was led forth. By the way there met him his Mother, and his wife, daughter of *Antigonus*, sometime King of the Jews. They informed him at full how the case stood with him, which did wondrously appall him.

73. The next day the Court being set, where *Herod* and *Quintilius* with their friends and neareſt Counsellors were present, with *Salome*, they were called, whose examinations had formerly been taken, and if any voluntarily would informe or detect any thing, and lastly, his Mothers servants very lately apprehended, since his arrivall; about them letters were found, written unto him from his Mother, advising him in no case to come home, for all his courses were detected; his onely way was to put himselfe into the hands, and under the mercy of *Cæsar*. *Antipater*, as soon as he came to the Bar, fell at his Fathers feet, beseeching him to suspend all hard opinion of him, and not to condemne him till his cause were heard and tried. *Herod* commanded him to stand forth: And then began with deploring his owne misery, and misfortunes, who was the Father of such impious and ungracious children, especially that now in his old age, he had fallen upon *Antipater*, the most unnaturall of them all. He related his breeding, his care, his provision for him, his great indulgence toward him; whereby he commanded all, did what hee would, was to inherit after him, both by nature, as his eldest son, and by delegation in his Testament. It could not have been long in expectation, considering his owne age, and broken state of body. This he might upon his death, have quietly, and with generall approbation have enjoyed, which by his impious, unnaturall practises, he went about to precipitate and forestall. What Devill did drive him on to such horrid attempts for that, which must and would have been his shortly with good approbation? nay, which was his at present, as much as he could desire. For excepting the

Accused by his Father and *Damascum*.

name and title of King, he was King indeed, doing, disposing, commanding all. His yearly revenues were five hundred Talents; at his last journey to Rome, he gave him three hundred Talents to beare his charge. Next he objected the carriage of that Tragedy of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, whose example he followed, if they were guilty; whose destruction he contrived, if they were guiltlesse. For he gave the evidence by which they were cast; he drew the sentence of condemnation and death against them. Then not able to goe on by reason of weeping and sobbing, he requested *Nicolaus Damascenus* to pursue the accusation against him, which were discovered upon examinations, particularly well knowne unto, and advised on by him. But *Antipater* preventing him, took the eve, to speak for himselfe, grounding his Apologies upon three heads. That it was not probable he could be so unnaturall to so good, and bountifull a Father, or so dis-regardfull of his owne state, to thrust himselfe causelesly into such hazards: for he knew himselfe designed successor by his Father; his Father old, who could not long survive, and that shortly he should enjoy what he had no reason so hazardously to put for. Secondly, he insisted upon his carriage at Rome in his late being there: He appealed unto *Cæsar*, whose commendatory letters of him were produceable. And the third point he stood on, was, that the depositions, informations, and detections produced were of no validity or regard, as being all forced, extorted by torture, against conscience, offering himselfe to the rack to prove his innocency; and therefore desired that those examinations might not be admitted against him, upon his life, and reputation, being contrived by such as hated him, as sought to ruine *Herod* and all his house. These points he followed and urged with great affectation, many and better teares, beating his breast, smiting his face, tearing his cloaths, in so much as the Court began to be empassioned and somewhat to relent, till *Nicolaus Damascenus*, a great Orator and boon pleader came to aggravate, explaine, and cleare the particulars so home, fully, and satisfactorily, that he turned the Court, and set them all in a bitter bent against *Antipater*: Especially, for that hee put home unto him his unnaturall practises against his brothers.

Herod acquaints *Cæsar* with *Antipaters* practises against him and *Salome*.

74. When *Nicolaus* had made an end, *Varus* demanded of *Antipater*, what more he could say for himselfe; who cast himselfe groveling on the ground, dejerated deeply, and called God to witnesse of his innocency, besought him to give evidence by some sign frō heaven, that he was not guilty of those horrible execrations. Such, saith *Iosephus*, is the use & practise of these malefactors, to appeal unto God in extremity, whom otherwise they never have recourse unto, nor so much as think upon. This course took *Antipater*, whose former life was such, as if he had never heard of any God, who at present, in his exigencies, being otherwise abandoned of all, cast in

Law,

Law, had recourſe unto Gods omnipotent power, and appealed unto his extraordinary mercy, from which he could not be drawne. *Varus* ſeeing nothing would come from him, but appealing unto God, bade bring forth the poiſon left by *Pheroras* wife in the Violl, provided for *Herod*, and bade them give it to a malefactor condemned by law to death; who no ſooner had drunk it, but he fell downe dead. *Varus* ſeeing this, inſtantly roſe, left the Court ſitting, and the next day departed to Antioch the Reſidence of the Lieftenants for Syria. But before his departure, he and *Herod* had private communication, whereabout no man knew; but doubtleſſe it was touching *Antipater*, who was committed cloſe priſoner, and preſently were Poſts ſent away to Rome, with a Packet, to informe *Cæſar* of theſe proceedings, and more particularly by word of mouth. About the ſame time were intercepted letters written out of Egypt by *Antiphilus* to *Antipater* in theſe words: *I have ſent you Acmes letter with ſome hazard of my owne life; for you know, if I be apprehended, I ſhall make two great Families my deadly enemies: it muſt be your care to diſpoſe of all things for the beſt. Fare you well.* This letter being intercepted and opened, the Bearer was demanded for *Acmes* letter: His anſwer was, he had no more. But a by-ſtander caſually caſting his eye aſide, obſerved an infold in his upper garment, and ſuppoſing the letter might be folded up therein, opened it, and found the letter there indeed. The contents were: *Acme to Antipater. I have written to your Father, as you willed me, and have withall ſent the forged Copie of a Letter fained in Salomes name, to my Lady:* (ſhe was *Iulia Auguſta*, the Emperors wife) *I know your Father upon reading it will put her to death, as ſeeking his owne life.* The Letter which ſhe ſaith ſhe wrote to *Herod*, was thus: *Acme to Herod. Being deſirous to conceale nothing from you, which any way may advance your ſervice, or ſecurity, having caſually met with this Letter, written by your ſiſter Salome, againſt you, unto my Lady and Miſtreſſe, with much hazard to my ſelfe I took a Copie of it, and ſent it unto you. Her requeſt was, that ſhe might marry Syllæus. When you have read it, I pray burne it, leſt I come into danger by it.* This *Acme* was by birth a Jeweſſe, attending in ordinary upon *Iulia Auguſta*. *Antipater* by large gifts had hired her to doe him theſe ſervices, upon his inſtructions. *Herod* upon this further detection was purpoſed inſtantly to have executed *Antipater*; and *Salome* was not wanting to ſet him on, being now enraged againſt him, as ſhee had good cauſe, who ſo cunningly and miſchievouſly contrived to call her life into queſtion. *Antipater* was brought by his Keeper, acquainted with theſe Letters, and demanded what he could ſay, how he could excuſe it, who were herein of confederacie with him; but hee would name none, except *Antiphilus*, the onely Agent and contriver: So back againe he went to priſon. Tranſcripts of theſe Letters he ſent unto his Agents at Rome, to impart them to *Cæſar*, unto whom likewiſe he had thought to have ſent *Antipater*,

but fearing leſt he might there purchaſe abſolution, he kept him at home.

Herods ſickneſs & Teſtament. Commotions by the Prieſts.

75. In the meane time, *Herod* in yeares, what with anger, anguiſh, griefe, and extreame melancholy, fell ſick, deſperately ſick, whereof at laſt he dyed. He made his Will, and declared for heir his younger ſon *Herod*, diſcontented with *Archelaus* and *Philip*, through former complaints made by *Antipater*. He bequeathed to *Auguſtus* a thouſand Talents, to *Iulia Auguſta* five hundred, to their children, his friends at Rome, and the chiefe men about the Emperour, five hundred Talents. To his ſons and grandchildren, money, lands, revenues. *Salome* his ſiſter, he eſpecially conſidered, becauſe ſhe had ever conſtantly adhered faithfull unto him, and done him good ſervice many wayes, never offending him with her will. To live hee had no hope: For he was above ſeventy yeares old, extreame choler, wrath, and teſtiveneſſe had cleane ſpent him. The cauſe was, he ſuppoſed men deſpiſed and hated him, that his miſeries, and miſfortunes, were exceeding contentfull to the Nation of the Jews; which was the more enraged in him through a tumult made in the beginning of his ſickneſſe. *Iudas* and *Matthias*, very skilfull and learned in the Law, Rabbies, and Teachers of younger men, were of great eſteeme, and very popular in the City, who taught daily in the Temple. Theſe two underſtanding that *Herod* was irrecoverably ſick, exhorted their Auditors to be zealous for the Law, and to undoe whatſoever he had done againſt the Law, as he had done ſomewhat: For inſtance, upon the battlements over the great gate of the Temple, when he builded it, he placed a great Weathercock, or Eagle of gold. The two Doctors willed their Scholars to beat and break it downe; the Law commanding to make no Images of any thing: and if they ſhould be queſtioned for it, nothing could be more honourable then to die for the Law and Religion of their Fathers. Animated with their Doctors ſpeeches, and occaſionally encouraged by report raiſed that *Herod* was dead, they got ladders, ſcale the pinnacles, beat downe the Eagle, cut and chop it into pieces, all this at high noone. The Captaine of the Gariſon being told hereof, leads out his Soldiers; and ſuppoſing it had been a generall popular revolt, falls upon them, kills all he met with; for many multitudes were gathered together, not with ill intent, but to ſee and know what the matter was. Forty of the Actors, together with their Doctors, the principall in this action, were taken by the Soldiers, and brought before *Herod*. Being demanded of him, How durſt they doe what they had done? they anſwered, If it were to be done again, they would doe it, for it was well done by them; and he ought not to blame them, if they preferred obedience to Gods Law, before his commands. Nor doe we feare to dye for what we have done, it being an act of Piety and Religion. This was the reſolution of them all, as bold in ſpeech, as they had been in action. *Herod* put them into

into fetters, ſent them to Jericho, whither himſelfe followed in his horſe-litter, ſummoned all the principall Jews of the Country round about, and there in the Theatre, lying upon a couch, for ſtand hee could not, he declares unto them, out of what affection to their Nation, zeale to Gods worſhip, with exceeding charges he had built them a magnificent Temple, which in a hundred twenty five years, the Aſſamonean Princes, or had no care, or were not able to do, that he had beautified the building with all the goodlieſt ornaments he could procure, or think on; for which he hoped, they would honor his memory and ſpeak well of him after his death; but ſo farre hee was miſtaken, that while he liveth, he findes they are ready to deſpight, diſhonour, and diſgrace, both himſelfe and his work, in publique, at noone, in the heart of the City; which not only was acted againſt him, but ſacrilegiouſly committed in profaning holy and conſecrated things to Gods honour. It was replied by the auditory, for their own parts they had no hand in it, were not guilty of it, thought the offenders worthy to be puniſhed for it. This anſwer he took in good part, but depoſed *Matthias* the high Prieſt, as not doing his beſt to repreſſe that tumult, if he had not his finger in it, and in his roome ſet up *Ioazar* his wives brother; as for the other *Matthias*, with *Iudas*, authors of that fact, together with their forty Diſciples, hee burnt them to death.

Herods diſeaſe increaſeth.

76. His diſeaſe increaſed dayly and grew violent upon him more and more. It was no ordinary, but a fearfull diſeaſe, juſtly ſent upon him by God, to plague him in this life for all thoſe horrid impieties which he committed, as a preface and *præludium* to thoſe torments in hell, which he ſuffers everlaſtingly, as he deſerved. *Euſebius* in his firſt Book, Chap. eight, ſaith it was eſpecially ſent upon him, for ſhedding the blood of thoſe Innocents in Bethlehem, in the caſe of our Saviour; and I beleeve he ſaith true; the manner and meaſure of his diſeaſe, hee relates in termes out of *Ioſephus* thus:

The manner of it. His counſell to *Salome*, to kill all the chiefe men of the City at his death.

77. *Ioſephus* in the ſeventeenth Book of Jewiſh Antiquities, writeth thus; *Herods* diſeaſe grew every day worſe and worſe, his pains and torments increaſing through Gods vengeance upon him for his wicked life. It was an inflamation gentle and moderate at firſt, nor could any great heat be diſcerned by the touch outwardly, though inwardly it were raging; his appetite was dogge-like, and unſatiable, nor could his maw be ſatiſfied with what was brought him; his bowels were putrified, eſpecially the colon gut, his feet ſwolne, and iſſuing forth a cholerick, ſhining humor. The like affection was in his midriffe. His yard putrified and bred worms and lice. Belchings, and hiccocks, often and unſavoury, did much afflict him. His breath was thick, and ſhort, and ſcarce paſſable. Contraction of ſinews, and convulſions over all his body. The ſame narration he hath again, in the firſt book of the Jewiſh Warres; yet for all theſe many violent

tormenting

tormenting diſeaſes, and ſore pangs, faine he would, and uſed all the means he could to live. He was carried over Jordan to the hot waters of Callirrhoe, which run into the lake of Sodome, and are not onely medicinable, but potable. The Phyſicians upon conſultation had, cauſed a bane of warmed oyle to be provided for him, into which he was put, not ſuddenly, but by little and little, he was let down thereinto, when his eyes began to dazle, to faile him, to ſtand in his head, as if he had been giving up the ghoſt; Comming again to himſelf through the ſhrieks, outcries, and noiſe, which thereupon his ſervants and attendants made, he ſate up; but afterward he ever thought there was but one way left him, he could not eſcape. Preſently he willed a largeſſe of fifty drachmes a man, to be diſtributed to the Guard or Soldiers about him, and a great maſſe of money to the Captains, and his retainers. Nor would he tarry there any longer, but returned back to Jericho, almoſt angry with, and threatning of, death it ſelfe: ſo farre did choler, rage, and melancholy prevail upon him; which put upon him the practiſe of an execrable cruelty, exceeding all that in his life time he had committed; it was this. He ſummoned together out of every City, Town, Village of Judæa, the principall and moſt ſubſtantiall men there inhabiting. When they were convened, he ſhut them up in the Horſe-race, built by himſelf after the Pagan faſhion; which done, he ſent for his ſiſter *Salome*, and her husband *Alexias*, and ſpake thus unto them: *I am well aſſured, that when I am dead, the Iews will generally triumph and rejoyce, and keep holy day for my death; but I can, if you two will doe ſo much for me, make them mourn, howle, lament, whether they will or no: by ſuch means I ſhall have an honorable, true, funerall. That which I would have you doe, is this; So ſoone as breath is out of my body, let all thoſe men whom I have convented and ſhut up into your hands in the Horſe-race, be by the Soldiers ſent in amongſt them, put to death, and ſo all Iudæa over, will they, will they, publiquely and privately, I ſhall have teares at my funerall: but till this be done, conceale my death, and let no man know of it.* This he intreated them, upon all loves, in place of all kindneſſes, to do for him. They promiſed to performe it, but did not; an horrid deviſe, ſufficient alone of it ſelfe, if there were nothing elſe, to demonſtrate the deviliſh diſpoſition of that bloudy man.

Antipaters impatience cauſes him to be beheaded.

78. Anon came inſtruction and letters from his agents at Rome, that *Acme* for her treacheries, and ſervice to *Antipater*, was put to death; that *Cæſar* left *Antipater* abſolutely in his hands, to diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed, either by baniſhment, or execution. This good welcome news ſomewhat revived him, and quickned his ſpirits, in his torments, but that ſoon paſſed over, and then his paines aſſayling him a freſh, he asked for an apple and a knife to pare it; which was brought him, becauſe he uſed often to pare and eate apples. When he had the knife he indeavoured therewith to have cut his owne throat, and had done it, but that *Achiab* his Nephew, miſdoubting ſuch attempt, kept a watchfull eye upon him, and as he would have done it, caught

caught him by the hand, and held him faſt. Hereat was ſhrieking out; which noiſe made a tumult over all the Court, and a rumour ſpread that the King was dead. This noiſe and rumour comming to *Antipater* in priſon, he began to apprehend that if *Herod* were dead, he might without much reſiſtance get the Kingdome; and hereabout began to break with the Gaoler for an eſcape, offering largely, and promiſing deeply, proteſting what he would doe for him when he was King. The Gaoler was not pliable, truſting him not, but preſently goeth and informeth *Herod*, that upon a noiſe of his death, *Antipater* had ſolicited him with promiſes and hopes to let him eſcape. *Herod* upon this information furiouſly enraged, ſent preſently the Executioner, who went into the priſon, and there took off his head.

79. Thus ended *Antipater*, being ſent by his Father as an Harbinger before to take up a lodging for his father in hell: for *Herod* ſurvived but five dayes after *Antipater* was put to death. So vengeance purſued *Antipater*, and caſt him upon folly and indiſcretion. For if he had patiently contained himſelf, and not ſo fooliſhly dealt with the Gaoler about his eſcape upon the rumour of *Herods* death, notwithſtanding his empriſonment and condemnation, he might both have out-lived, and alſo ſucceeded his father: but vengeance was his due, and he had it. *Herod*, as is ſaid, ſoone followed, by horrible torments deſerved in this life, paſſing to eternall in the world to come. A more mercileſſe Tyrant, never was heard or read of in any Story; no fabulous Legend repreſents ſuch an execrable monſter as he really was: So that God after long patience, and much forbearance, might well be ſaid to have caſt Iſrael off, when he appointed ſuch a monſter to beare rule over them, ſuch a devill incarnate to torment and afflict them. The Scepter of *Iudah* was taken away, and a rod of iron put into a Hangmans hand, to bruiſe, to break, to grind them in pieces. To this he was appointed by the Romans, in thoſe dayes, Lords of the world, and of Judæa, whom they had conquered not long before, ſometimes their good friends and allyes. Now that ſubjection being another branch of the Prophecie of *Iacob*, about departing of the Scepter from *Iudah*; as the reigne of *Herod* is incident unto the Story of the Church, ſo is the Rule of the Romans; the rather becauſe expreſſe mention is of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Tiberius Cæſar*, *Claudius Cæſar*, and acts done by them, or in their time; as alſo of many Roman Governors intereſſed in our Saviours, or the Apoſtles affairs, as *Cyrenius*, *Pontius Pilate*, *Claudius Felix*, *Portius Feſtus*: It is incident to our purpoſe to deduce a Liſt and Catalogue of the Preſidents of Syria, and Procurators of Judæa, ſuch as *Pilate* was, from the time it firſt became a Romane Province, unto the finall deſolation of State, Temple, Service and all, in the wars made there by *Veſpaſian*. The State and Story of which Province was thus.

Herods death.

CHAP.



CHAP. V.

The ſtate of Judea under the Romans.

THE SUMMARIE.

PARAG.

1 POmpeys *victories in the Eaſt: hee maketh* M. Æmilius Scaurus *Preſident of Syria, under which was Judea.*

2 Baronius *erreth in his Hiſtory of the Preſidents of Syria.*

3 Q. Martius Philippus *the ſecond Preſident*; Cn. Cor. Lent. Marcellinus *the third*; *both of Prætorian dignity. A Decree that none but Conſulares ſhould be Preſidents*; *and* Gabinius *the firſt Preſident of that order.*

4 M. Licinius Craſſus *his ſucceſſor.* Caſſius *his valour.* Bibulus *next in Commiſſion to* Craſſus.

5 Scipio *made Preſident by* Pompey.

6 Cæſar *overcame* Pompey *and made* Sext. Ju. Cæſ. *Preſident with* Cæcilius Baſſus *for his Director, who ſlew him.*

7 Lucius Statius Marcus *was ſent by* Cæſar *againſt* Baſſus. Cornificius.

8 Caſſius *after* Cæſars *death obtaineth Syria.*

9 *No Preſident of Syria made mention of till about the time of* Caſsius *his death.*

10 Antony *obtaineth the Eaſt, and leaveth* Saxa *his Preſident in Syria: him* Ventidius *ſucceeded: him* Caius Soſius: Quintus Decius *him.*

11 Meſſalla Corvinus *ſent by* Cæſar *after the battell at Actium as Preſident.* Baronius *errour concerning* Agrippa.

12 Agrippa qualis.

13 Saturninus *Preſident of Syria at our Saviours birth, and* Titus Volumnius *Procurator.*

14 Quintil. Varus *next Preſident.* Sabinus *ſucceedeth* Titus.

15 Quirinius, *not* Caius Cæſar *ſucceedeth* Varus.

16 Archelaus *his troubles.* Cyrenius *ſent in his time into Syria and Judea, and* Coponius *as Procurator.*

17 Pomponius Flaccus *ſaid to have been next Preſident: but it is like* Silanus *and* Piſo *were both before him.*

18 Lucius Vitellius *Preſident all* Tiberius *his time.*

19 Petronius *ſucceedeth him.* Caligula's *death.*

20 Urbius Marſus *Preſident of Syria.* Fadus *Proc. of Judea.* Caſsius Longinus *ſucceedeth* Marſus: *him* Numidius Quadratus: *him* Ceſtius Gallus: *him* Licinius Mutianus: *him* Cæſennius Petus.

21 *The Office of Procurator.*

22 *The firſt Procurator ſimply of Judea was* C. Coponius. *The ſecond* Marcus Ambivius. *The third* Annius Ruſus *at* Auguſtus *death.*

23 *The* 4th Valerius Gratus. *The* 5th Pontius Pilate. *The ſixth not* Marcellus,

cellus, *but* Cuſpius Fadus. *And* Tiberius Alexander *the ſeventh.*
24 Cumanus *the eighth, ſent to* Cæſar *by* Numidius *Preſident of Syria.*
25 Felix, *Founder of the Sicarii, ſucceedeth* Cumanus.
26 Feſtus *ſucceedeth him: him* Albinus. *In the inter-ſpace betwixt theſe two,* James *the brother of the Lord condemned to death by* Annas jun. Geſius Florus *a cruell Procurator.*
27 *The reaſons why the Authour wrote this Catalogue rehearſed.*

Pompeys victories in the Eaſt. He maketh *M. Æmilius Scaurus* the firſt Preſident of Syria, under which was Judea.

MArcus Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius Nepos being Conſuls in the DC. and xvii. yeer of the Citie, and the ii. and iii. current of the Clxxix. Olympiad, about lxii. yeers before the birth of Chriſt, *Cn. Pompeius* ſurnamed *Magnus*, or the Great, was Generall of the Roman Armies in Aſia. His employment was againſt *Mithridates* King of Pontus, who, for xl. yeers together, with interchanged ſucceſſe, had maintained warres againſt the Romans. *L. Lucullus* had brought him upon his knees; and being called home, *Pompeius* was ſent to ſucceed him, and to finiſh the war, being almoſt diſpatched by *Lucullus*. *Pompey* ſubdued him utterly, together with *Tigranes* King of Armenia, his Sonne-in-law and Confederate; and proſecuting the courſe of his victories in the Eaſt, ſubdued unto the Roman State Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Iberia, Hyrcania, Armenia, Syria, Phœnicia, Paleſtina, Arabia, together with many Exarchies, Tetrarchies, and other petit States. Armenia the More was left to *Tigranes*, formerly King thereof upon his ſubmiſſion. Armenia the Leſſe, together with Galathia, hee conferred upon *Deiotarus*: *Anabarſanes* had Cappadocia; and ſo in proportion, he appointed the like over other Countries yeelded, or by him ſubdued. Syria, that is, all the Countries from Euphrates to the borders of Egypt, hee made a Roman Province, diſplacing their owne naturall Princes, and appointing them a Roman Lieutenant to command over them, and to him they were yeerely to pay tribute. The firſt man ſo made to command in Syria, was *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, of an ancient houſe, but poore, prodigall, baſe and covetous. To him he aſſigned (the Country being frontiering upon barbarous Nations) two Roman Legions, with their auxiliary Cohorts. And thus having diſpoſed of Syria, under which Judea was compriſed, hee left the Country, and paſt into Cilicia, homeward on to Rome: ſo it is related by *Joſephus* in the 14. of his Antiquities, and agreeth with the Roman Stories.

Baronius erreth in his Hiſtory of the Preſidents of Syria.

2 *Cardinall Baronius* in his *Apparatus*, talks ſomewhat highly of his performance in collecting and repreſenting a Catalogue and Series of the Preſidents of Syria, collated together out of ſundry Authors. It had not been amiſſe for him to let us know what hee had done in this caſe, that ſo we might, as we do, acknowledge his pains, and thank him for

for it. But it is not to be borne, that thereabouts hee insults upon *Josephus* and others, as in error, who dissent from him, *Qua successionis ratione & præsidum Catalogo, non* Josephus *tantum, sed & alii qui eandem successionem aliter confinxerunt, erroris redarguuntur:* confidently spoken in his owne commendation, were it true, as it is not. His errors are many, his mistakings many, his assertions strange, contradictory, and prodigious many wayes, as in particular I shall remonstrate; especially about and concerning *Cyrenius*, under whose description our Saviour was borne. He might intend by those others beside *Josephus*, *Manutius* in his Commentaries upon *Tullies* Epistles, who sets downe the Presidents of Syria thus, *Pompeius, Scaurus, Philippus, Lentulus, Gabinius, Crassus, Bibulus, Sext. Cæsar, Decidius Saxa*; which list conteines not the halfe of them, and some of them, as *Pompey* and *Saxa*, were not Presidents. Hee might intend the Jesuite *Salmeron*, who is more confused and imperfect then *Manutius:* but whomsoever he meant, himselfe is more defective then any I have met with. *Causabon* said truly, *Nemo ex iis omnibus qui multi de Syriæ Præsidibus scripserunt, gravius in illis Tractatione offendit quam pater istorum Annalium*: nor is his collection much better. This hee hath done, given occasion to search further, and to amend what was amisse. *Scaurus* was the first; upon what occasion hee came thither, what hee did in the cause of *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, is already related in the life of *Herod*.

Ad Epist. 17. lib. 2.

3 Next unto *Scaurus*, first President of Syria, succeeded *Q. Martius Philippus*, and then *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus*, both of Prætorian dignity, having born that Office, but never Consuls; which yet was more then *Scaurus* had done, who was but *Quæstorius*, Treasurer to the Army under *Pompey*. They both succeeded by Commission from the Senate, not appointed by any Generall, as *Scaurus* was by *Pompey*. They continued in that place foure yeers, two yeers apeece, having enough to doe in repulsing and keeping out the neighbouring Arabians, being most of them theeves. Afterward it was passed in Senate, that because Syria was ill neighboured, continually pillaged by Arabian theeves and robbers, ever after the President of Syria should bee of Consular dignity, for better securing of the Province, because such as had been Consuls had power to levie and presse souldiers, to make warres upon occasions offered, which the Prætorians had not. The first President of that rank was *Aulus Gabinius*, Consul with *M. Piso*, in the yeer of the Citie 696. who was sent into the Province the next yeer after, 697. seven yeers after the subduing of Syria by *Pompeius*, which accounteth three yeers for *Scaurus* executing that place. This *Gabinius* had served in honourable place, under *Pompey*, Generall in the East, and was by him employed in the businesse betwixt *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, the *Assamonean* brethren contending for

Q. Mar. Philip. *the second Pres.* Cn. Cor. Lent. Marcellinus *the third, both of Prætorian dignity.*

Senatus *Scauro* successorem dedit *Marcium Philippum, & Philippo Lentulum Marcellinum*, amnos Prætorios; uterque biennium in Provincia mansit, collimitaneos Arabas bello infestans. Ob eam causam, belli namque molem, Syriæ deinceps præfuit è Consularibus aliquis: qui, eo quòd fuerant cum Consulatu exercitum scribendi, & bellum gerendi habebant potestatem. Horum princeps *Gabinius* cum imperio missus. *Appia.* in Syria.

A Decree that none but Consulares should be Presidents, and *Gabinius* the first President of that order.

the Prieſthood and Princedome of the Jewes. In which negotiation *Scaurus* had 500. talents, and hee 300. as complaint is made to *Pompey* by *Ariſtobulus* in *Antiq.*14.*cap.*5. *Marcus Cicero* was a bitter enemy to *Gabinius*, as alſo to *M. Piſo* his Colleague: hee ſpeaketh moſt bitterly againſt him, upon all occaſions taxing his flagitious miſdemeanours and calumniated life, as if he had been a monſter, *nulla virtute redemptum à vitiis*: In particular, for his governement in Syria: *In Syria, Imperatore illo, nihil aliud actum eſt, niſi pactiones pecuniarum cum Tyrannis, deciſiones, direptiones, latrocinia, cædes, cum palam populi Romani Imperator, inſtructo exercitu, dextram tendens, non ad laudem milites hortaretur, ſed omnia ſibi empta eſſe, aut emenda clamaret.* What credit is to be given to thoſe exaggerated imputations of his bitter enemy, I know not; *Joſephus* nor complaines, nor relates any ſuch miſdemeanours, but gives him a direct contrary commendation; Καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἔργα καλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηίαν δράσας ἀπῆρχεν εἰς Ῥώμην. So *Gabinius* having in Lieutenancy done many excellent and rememorable acts, returned home to Rome, leaving the Province to *Craſſus* his ſucceſſor: And particularly in *Antiq.*14.10. I rather beleeve the report of a grave Hiſtorian, then of a mercenary Orator, eſpecially being his profeſſed enemy, and the other nor obliged to him, nor fearing him, nor having cauſe to flatter him. And in particular, it appeares he was not ſo bad as *Cicero* makes him: When hee came firſt into the Province, *Alexander* ſonne of *Ariſtobulus*, in the quarrell againſt *Hyrcanus*, ſpoyled and over-ran the country, burned villages, townes, cities, *Hyrcanus* being not able to repreſſe him, nor to make head againſt him. *Gabinius* undertooke the cauſe, beate him, drave him out of his holds, Macherus and Alexandria; re-edified and repaired many towns of name, demoliſhed or waſted by the faction. *Joſephus* names Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Rhaphia, Dora, Mariſſa, Gaza, and others, which lay almoſt deſolate, and by him were reduced to good State. And to ſettle a forme of government for ſucceſſion the better amongſt them, he divided the whole Countrey into five Counties or Cantons, for execution of Juſtice, and eaſe of the Commons, appointing in certaine Townes, the chiefe of each Shire, ſtanding Courts or Parliaments, or Synedrions, as they called them; namely, at Jeruſalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Samphora. By *Pompeyes* perſwaſion, during his Lieutenantſhip of Syria, he made a voyage into Egypt to re-ſeate *Ptolemaus Auletes*, or the Fidler, driven away by his ſubjects; for which hee was well paid: but becauſe it was done without, nay, againſt command of the Senate, at his returne to Rome he was queſtioned for it, and condemned, *Cicero* his profeſſed enemy following the ſuit, doe *Pompey* what hee could to diſcharge him. When hee was abſent in Egypt, *Ariſtobulus* (whom *Pompey* had ſent priſoner to Rome) brake priſon, and with his other ſonne *Antigonus* made eſcape into Judea, and there making forces, ſeiſed on Macherus upon the borders of Arabia, and put himſelfe into the field againſt *Siſenna*, *Antonius*, and *Servilius*, ſent by *Gabinius* to repreſſe his

Orat. de Provin. Conſular.

*Antiq.*12.11.

insolencies.

inſolencies; by them he was beaten, and forced into Macherus; where, after ſome few daies aſſault, he was taken by *Gabinius*, with his ſons, and ſent the ſecond time priſoner to Rome. *Alexander*, the eldeſt, made eſcape, and returning to Judea, once more tried his fortune againſt *Gabinius*, having gotten together an Army of 30000. *Gabinius* encountered him at mount Tabor, and ſlew 10000. of his men, but himſelfe eſcaped. Having quieted the Country, and ſettled all things at Jeruſalem for *Hyrcanus* party, under the protection of *Antipater*, he made a voyage againſt the Nabathean Arabians, and ſubdued them; and ſo returning home to Antioch: when he left the Province, it was in very good caſe. Few Roman Generals came neere him for good government, howſoever *Cicero* is pleaſed to bely him: and *Dio* goeth after him upon the ſame termes. He did all this within leſſe then three yeers: for *Craſſus* his ſucceſſor was Conſul with *Pompey* in 699. and before his yeere expired, having Syria aſſigned for his Province, hee made haſte to begin, to his owne deſtruction, againſt the Parthians. *Gabinius* came into the Province 697. the yeere after hee had beene Conſull; ſo he could not be fully three yeers there.

M. Licinius Craſſus his ſucceſſor. Caſſius his valour. Brutus next in Commiſſion to Craſſus.

4 His next ſucceſſor, *M. Licinius Craſſus*, was a man remarkeable for nothing but his great wealth, which by uſury, oppreſſion, bribery and miſerableneſſe hee had raked together; ſo much, that hee was far the wealthieſt Roman of thoſe times; and his wealth gave him countenance in the State ſo far, that hee conteſted with *Caſar* and *Pompey* for priority; and in that *Triumvirate* or threefold partition which they made and ſhared to themſelves, hee had the Eaſt aſſigned for his part for five yeers; ſo large was his Commiſſion and warrant to make war upon the Parthians. He comming downe into the Eaſt, viſited Judea firſt; and, being at Jeruſalem, robbed and ſpoiled the Temple, ſacrilegiouſly taking away whatſoever hee found, contrary to his promiſe and his oath given to *Eleaſar*, Sacriſt or keeper of the Treaſury, who being given to underſtand the inſatiable covetous humor of the man, preſented him with a beam of plated gold which weighed 300. *mnas*, (every *mna* being two pound and an halfe) upon promiſe to touch nothing elſe: but impiouſly he tooke away 2000. talents in coyned ſilver, and 1000 talents of gold, and whatſoever was worth the taking, to the value of 8000 talents, which *Pompey*, when hee took in Jeruſalem, did not meddle withall, but rather gave them of his owne: ſuch difference was there betwixt them two. But Sacriledge never goes long unpuniſhed: it is the ordinary ſinne of great ones without controll, or by them tolerated in others, upon ſhares; therefore juſtice not being to be had of men, God is faine to right his owne cauſe himſelfe, which he doth to purpoſe in them and theirs. Had *Achan* peace with the conſecrated thing? Nor was *Craſſus* unpaid for Jeruſalem's ſpoiles. The beginning of the next yeere he was ſlaine by the Parthians, the Roman Army routed, his head ſmitten off, and, as they write, his mouth filled with molten gold, with this exprobration by *Sarena* Generall of the Parthian Army, *Gold thou didſt thirſt after, drink thy*

ſill of gold. *C. Caſsius Longinus*, Treaſurer of the Army, eſcaping into Syria gathered the broken remains of the Army together, and valiantly defended the Province, repulſed the Parthians, repreſſing their inſolencies, confining their inroads and excurſions, and by uncredible valour upholding the decaying and tottering affaires of the Romans in the Eaſt upon that great defeature: *Reliquiæ exercitus per C. Caſsium Quæſtorem ſervatæ ſunt; qui virtute ſingulari perditas res tanto animo reſtituit, ut Perſas rediens trans Euphraten, crebris prælis vinceret*, ſaith *Eutropius* of him. *Cardinall Baronius* accounteth him amongſt the Preſidents of Syria; but doth not reſolve when it was that hee bare that Office; whether he meant it (as like enough hee did) at this time, upon *Craſſus* defeature, or after *Cæſars* death, when hee came into Syria, and put by *P. Dolabella*. That which he did in Syria at preſent, was not by or with ordinary commiſſion in his Province; but out of meer neceſſity, to make head againſt a conquering enemy in the field: *Neceſſario, non legitimo ſtimperio*, ſaith *Eutropius*; otherwiſe the Romans might have beene turned out of all that *Pompey* had conquered.

Next unto *Craſſus* (in ordinary) came *M Calphurnius Bibulus*: his Province was quiet, and his Government peaceable, without any troubles at all, which is the cauſe that in *Joſephus* there is no noiſe of him, nor notice given. This was not from himſelfe, for any worth or dexterity of his owne: for hee was a very worthleſſe man, of no courage, valour, action, diſcretion: but the terror of *Caſsius* name, and his fortunate ſucceſſes, kept the Parthians, and other bordering Nations in awe. *Bibulus* had been Conſull about eight yeers before, with *C. Julius Cæſar* his Collegue, who did what he pleaſed, *Bibulus* not daring to contradict him: whereupon a pleaſant fellow wrote, That ſuch and ſuch things were done, not *C. Julius Cæſar*, and *M. Calphurnius Bibulus* being Conſuls; but *Julius*, and *Cæſar* being Conſuls; *Nam Bibulo fieri Conſule, nil memini.* Hee came into the Province about a yeere and an halfe after *Craſſus* death, and continued there about two yeers, till the battell of Pharſalia betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*. *Cicero*, (in deriding ſort, it ſeemes) though he were of the faction, writes unto *Cornificius*, ſo, that hee ſets him downe for a coward, as hee was indeed:

Si parcs copias ad conſligendum non habebis, non te fugiet uti conſilio *M. Bibuli*, qui ſe oppido munitiſſimo & copioſiſſimo tenuit, quamdiu in Provincia Parthi fuere. *Epiſt. 19. lib. 12.*

If you have not ſtrength enough to fight a field, then omit not to doe after M. Bibulus *precedent; who, ſo long as the Parthians were in Syria, held himſelfe within walls of a ſtrong towne very well victualled and purveyed of all things to hold out a ſiege.* Thus much his good friend *Cicero*, which hee very well might know, being at the ſame time Lieutenant of *Cilicia*, a neighbouring Country to Syria.

Scipio made Preſident by *Pompey.*

5 The next ſucceſſor to *Bibulus* is in a ſort uncertaine: certaine it is, that *Julius Cæſar*, by vanquiſhing *Pompey* in the field of Pharſalia, becomming Maſter of the State, and of the oppoſite faction, was determined to have ſent downe *C. Caſsius* as Lieutenant thither; not only

ly in way of reward for his good ſervice, not recompenſed by the Senate, againſt the Parthians after *Craſſus* ſlaine; but further, becauſe he had a purpoſe to make warre in perſon upon the Parthians: and he held *C. Caſſius* the fitteſt man he could employ for to put all things in a readineſſe in the Eaſt, againſt his voyage, both for his dexterity otherwiſe, and for his skill in the Countrey, his reputation there amongſt the people: But before this deſigne could take effect, *Julius Cæſar*, of moſt deſerving and famous memory, was moſt treacherouſly, villanouſly, barbarouſly murthered in the Senate or Councell-chamber by xxiiii. conſpirators; wherein *Caſſius*, a moſt ungratefull wretch had a chiefe hand, and was a principall actor: But this Parricide was committed afterwards, and not at this time wee ſpeake of. In the interim of *Bibulus* departure and *Cæſars* murther, the between-time being about five yeeres, wee read of others in Syria, either appointed Governors, or uſurping government. The firſt was *Scipio*, remembred by *Joſephus* in his Antiquities: This *Scipio* was Father in-law to *Pompey*, who married his daughter after the death of *Julia*, *Cæſars* daughter, who was *belli mora*, as *Lucan* ſaith: the ſame *Scipio*, whom *Cæſar* afterward vanquiſhed in Africa. His comming into Syria was at ſuch time as the Senate, upon *Cæſars* advancing with his Army out of France, left Italy, and fled over ſea into Aſia, to *Pompey*. For, by *Pompey* and the Senators with him, hee was ſent into Syria, to be for the ſide in that unquiet Province: Before the battell of Pharſalia he was ſent for, and left Syria in his ſhort Lieutenancy miſerably exhauſted and depeculated, being a greedy covetous wretch; upon the flight of the Senate, *Cæſar* comming to Rome, found there *Ariſtobulus* (competitor for the Jewiſh Kingdome) priſoner, whom *Gabinius* had taken and ſent up; *Cæſar* ſet him free, and ſent him away into Syria, being gracious popularly to diſpoſe the Province to his ſide: but he never came there, being made away by poyſon given him of thoſe who were for *Pompey*. His elder ſon *Alexander* was at the ſame time beheaded by *Scipio* at Antioch, which *Antipater* defends to have been juſtly done before *Cæſar*, when hee was in Syria, after *Pompeyes* death. *Joſeph. de bello. l. 1. cap. 7.*

Lib. 14. cap. 13.

6 *Pompey* vanquiſhed by *Cæſar* at Pharſalia, fled away into Egypt to King *Ptolomy*; where he was murthered by *Achillas* Guardian unto the King. *Cæſar* followed, and was reſiſted by the Egyptians. Hee tooke Alexandria, (where the goodlieſt Library was burnt that ever was, or will bee in the world) depoſed the King, ſet up *Cleopatra* his ſiſter; and having diſpoſed of the affaires of Egypt, came into Syria, and confirmed *Hyrcanus* Prince of Judea, making *Antipater* his Protector and Lieutenant Generall for him in Judea: Lieutenant of Syria he left *Sex. Julius Cæſar*, a neere kinſman of his owne, and with him, as director, *Cæcilius Baſſus*: this *Baſſus* had commanded upon *Pompeyes* ſide, and flying away from the battell loſt at Pharſalia, lived as a Merchant upon the Burſe at Tyre, till by mediation hee got his pardon, and was entertained by *Cæſar*: who, out of an Heroicall diſpoſition,

Cæſar overcame *Pompey*, and made *Sex. Ju. Cæſ.* Preſident with *Cæcilius Baſſus* for his director, who ſlew him.

diſpoſition, was apt to pardon offences; and as good natures uſe to doe, to take every one that pretends ſo, to bee an honeſt man: *Dio* it is who tels us what he was; Cæcilius Baſſus, *Equeſtris ordinis vir, ſub* Pompeo *militabat; illo autem in Pharſalica pugna profligato, Tyrum fugit, atque inibi, occultato habitu, inter Mercatores verſabatur. Multis autem conflictatus rerum difficultatibus, multa diſcrimina paſſus, in gratiam Cæſaris & favorem ſe inſinuabat:* which hee rewarded by procuring the Army to mutine, and to kill *Sex. Cæſar*, who was Preſident of Syria, when *Herod* was cited before the Conſiſtory, to anſwer the death of that arch-thiefe *Ezechias*, whom hee had ſlaine in Galile, whereof, in the life of *Herod*, and by Letters written in his behalfe, was a principall cauſe of not proceeding againſt him.

Lucius Statius Murcus was ſent by *Cæſar* againſt *Baſſus.*

7 *Sextus Cæſar* being ſlaine by *Baſſus*, or at leaſt by his procurement, out of affection (ſaith *Joſephus*) to *Pompeys* ſide, himſelfe aſſumed the government of Apamæa and Syria: but the other Captaines and Commanders made head againſt him; to them *Antipater* ſent ſuccours by *Phaſaëlus* and *Herod*, two of his ſons, who ſhut up and beſieged *Baſſus* in Apamæa. *Julius Cæſar* underſtanding this villanous aſſaſinay by *Baſſus* committed upon his kinſman, ſent downe againſt *Baſſus* (to command in Syria till hee tooke further order for the Province) one *Lucius Statius Murcus*, a Captaine of great ſervice and experience; [In the Copies of *Joſephus* it is printed every where *Marcus*, which hath deceived ſome; it ſhould be *Murcus*, which is a Roman ſur-name; what it ſignifies is delivered by *Ammianus Marcellinus: Pollicem ſibi præcidit, quos joculariter Murcos appellant*; ſuch as wanted the uſe of their thumb, were called *Murci*:] He, at his arrivall in Syria, found *Baſſus* abandoned of the Army, and beſieged in Apamæa, by their owne forces, of *Cæſars* Captains, and other aids which *Quintus Mutius Criſpus* had ſent from Bythinia, and *Antipater* from Judea. *Cicero* in his Epiſtles makes mention of *Cornificius*, the man, I take it, who was Conſul *in an.* 719. appointed by *Cæſar* for the Government of Syria. *Bellum quod eſt in Syria, Syriamque Provinciam tibi tributam eſſe à Cæſare, ex tuis literis cognovi.* This was after the revolt of *Cæcilius Baſſus*, and the murther of *Sext. Cæſar*, as appeares by the XVIII. Epiſtle. No where elſe is there any mention of *Cornificius* Lieutenant of Syria: whether hee came thither, what hee did there, I cannot tell: It is probable to have been a deſigne only, and no more, of ſending him thither.

Lib. 12. 19.

Cornificius.

Caſſius after *Cæſars* death obtaineth Syria.

8 *Cæſar* being murthered in Senate, *M. Antonius* (who had ſerved ſome time in Judea under *Gabinius*) being then *Magiſter Equitum* to *Cæſar Dictator*, a great ſtickler in thoſe hurrying times, procured Syria of the Senate for *P. Dolabella*, a man of his owne mold, a good fellow, and *bonus ſocius*, putting by *Caſſius* (as well hee deſerved) by *Cæſar* deſigned (as is ſhewed) for that place: But *Caſſius*, no loyterer upon his deſignes, prevented *Dolabella*; for hee was a man of ſingular dexterity, diſpatch, vigilancy and courage; and, for his former ſervice againſt the Parthians, well reſpected, of great reputation in thoſe parts,

and

and himſelfe well knowing both the Countrey, and diſpoſition of the people. Theſe things gave him a great advantage againſt *Dolobella*, an heavie man, whom he prevented, and ere long brought into ſuch ſtreights, that he made him in deſpaire diſpatch himſelfe, that he might not fall into *Caſsius* hands: *Murcus* and *Criſpus* gave way unto him. *Baſſus* by his owne ſouldiers was delivered up into his hands; the Armies in Syria all declared for him, and *Herod* with the formoſt, forgetting the great benefits his father, his brother, himſelfe, his houſe had received from *Julius Caſar*. *Cicero* 11. *Philip.* ſaith, *Caſsius* went out of Italy to defeat and put by *Dolabella*, *Eâ lege ac jure quod Jupiter ipſe ſancivit; ut omnia quæ reipublicæ ſalutaria eſſent, legitima & juſta haberentur.* Miſſion or Commiſſion he had none, but onely pretext for the common cauſe and publick good. But when hee was gone, and ſeiſed of the Province, *Cicero* procures a Grace to paſſe in Senate for him; *Senatui placere, C. Caſsium Proconſulem Provinciam Syriam obtinere, uti qui eam optimo jure obtinuerit, eumque à* Q. Marcio Criſpo, L. Staio Murco *Proconſule*, A. Allieno *legato exercitus accipere*: which, ſaith *Velleius Paterculus*, was ſo paſſed in termes, as *Cicero* had conceived it, without any alteration, that the Senate was pleaſed *C. Caſsius* Proconſul ſhould command in Syria, as having beſt right unto it; (meaning that which was intimated before, the good of the State; and that *Q. Marcius Criſpus*, and *L. Staius Murcus* Proconſul, together with *A. Allienus* ſhould deliver the Armies up unto him;) and this Decree of Senate made them ſo willing to give him way. *Caſsius* continued Lieutenant of Syria untill that fatall diſaſter at Philippi in Macedon, where he and *M. Brutus* were vanquiſhed, and both ſlaine by *C. Octavius* and *M. Antonius*. *Cremutius Cordus*, an Hiſtorian in *Tacitus*, calls them *ultimos Romanorum*, the laſt of the Romans; no great reaſon for it, but that hee was a factious fellow. *Caſsius* doubtleſſe was no honeſt man, but *Brutus* was. *Velleius Paterculus* gives this quick and ſharp, but true cenſure of them; Caſſius *was the greater ſouldier, but* Brutus *was the honeſter man: of them two, I ſhould wiſh rather* Brutus *my friend, then* Caſſius; *but I would feare* Caſſius *more then* Brutus. *The one was a man of greater value, but the other of greater vertue: Had they carried the day, it would have been better for the State to have had* Brutus *Prince rather then* Caſſius, *as it was better to have* Cæſar *then* Antonius. Miſerably did hee ſpoile and impoveriſh the Eaſt: *Joſephus* ſaith, He came Φορολογῶν with an intent to exact, and lay impoſitions upon them: From the Jewes onely he exacted 800. talents, and that with all rigour. When he left Syria, having ſpoiled it, I cannot ſay, whom hee left there to governe it: *Murcus* hee drew along with him, and had chiefe charge and command by ſea: What became of *Criſpus* and *Baſſus* I cannot ſay; *Murcus* after the defeature at Philippi, retired to *Sex. Pompeius* in armes in Sicilie; by whom, envying his worth, he was trayterouſly ſlaine.

Fuit dux *Caſsius* melior, quanto vir *Brutus* melior. In quibus *Brutum* amicum habere malles, inimicum magis timeres *Caſsium*. In altero major vis, in altero virtus. Qui ſi vicilcent, quantum reipublicæ interfuit *Cæſarem* potiùs habere quàm *Antonium* Principem; tantum reſtituiſſet habere *Brutum* quàm *Caſsium*.

Μάλιστα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπῆλθε.

There

No President of Syria made mention of till about the time of *Caſſius* his death.

9 There is no mention of any Preſident of Syria (for Judea was ruled by *Herod Phaſaëlus*, and *Antipater* their Father, under *Hyrcanus*) untill that Tripartite diviſion of the Roman State, *inter* the *Triumvirate*, *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, made in the yeere 711. about three yeeres after the death of *Caſſius*. I cannot thinke, that Syria, ſo expoſed to inroades of the Parthians and other barbarous Nations, was left utterly without any Governour, though not ſent thither with lawfull Commiſſion from the Senate, but appointed by ſuch as were Maſters of the Field; ſuch was *Fabius* whom *Joſephus* remembreth, inſtantly upon the departure of *Caſſius*, to have commanded in Damaſco; but how, in what ſort, under what name, hee ſaith not: where hee ſpeaks of a tumult raiſed in Jeruſalem by one *Helyx*, againſt *Phaſaëlus*, in revenge of the puniſhment done upon *Malichus* the Arabian for poyſoning *Antipater*; and that *Herod* was then in Damaſco with *Fabius*, Captaine there; and anon he ſpecifies that *Antigonus* had drawn *Fabius* to favour him by large and great rewards; but becauſe hee names him στρατηγὸντα ἐν Δαμασκῷ, as he likewiſe doth in 14. *Antiq.* 20. it is probable his authority did not extend to all Syria.

Καιτοὶ ἀναχωρήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, πάλιν στάσις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γίνεται, Ἕλικος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπαναστάντος Φασαήλῳ, κατὰ τιμωρίαν ἀμύνοντος θέλοντι τῷ Ἡρῴδῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρῴδης μὴ ἔτυχεν ὢν παρὰ Φασάηλον στρατηγῶν κατὰ Δαμασκὸν, ὑπὸ Φαβίου πεισθεὶς, ὑπὸ τούτου κατειργετο. de bello l. 10.

10 *Antonius*, unto whoſe ſhare the Eaſt was aſſigned in that *Triumvirate*, *Lepidus* being ſoon diſarmed, as the Weſt was into *Octavius*, came not much there perſonally, but ſpent his time vainly elſewhere; eſpecially in Egypt in dalliance with *Cleopatra*, upon whoſe caſt beauty, and broken honeſty hee ſo far doated, that hee ſet all things *in ſecundis curis*; Syria he governed by his deputy Lieutenants, *Ventidius Baſſus*, *Popedius Silo*, *Q. Didius*, or *Decilius Saxa*, and *C. Soſius*, men of better worth and deſert then himſelfe, eſpecially *P. Ventidius*, and *C. Soſius*. Much about that time, ſaith *Dio*, *M. Antonius* came into Aſia, ſold all Offices and chiefe places of command to thoſe that would give moſt: and having ſo furniſhed himſelfe with money, got him away into Egypt to *Cleopatra*, whom he had ſeene in Cilicia, and there fell in love with her. *Plancus* was left to govern Aſia, and *Saxa* made Deputy of Syria. *Interim*, the Parthians called in by *Antigonus*, pretending for the Kingdome of Judea, conducted by *Orodes* the Kings ſonne, and *T. Labienus* a Roman fugitive, invaded Syria, over-ran Judea, took priſoners *Hyrcanus*, and *Phaſaëlus Herods* brother, hardly himſelfe eſcaping into Maſada. This *Titus Labienus* (though others ſay it was his ſon, of the ſame name) had ſerved as Lieutenant under *Julius Cæſar* in France, and did very much good ſervice againſt the Galls; but revolting from him, took part with *Pompey*, followed the fortune of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; after whoſe death hee fled unto the Parthians, and incited King *Pacorus* to invade Syria; hee, otherwiſe ſollicited by *Antigonus*, ſoone agreed, made *Labienus* and his owne ſon *Orodes* Generals: by *Labienus*, *Saxa* was vanquiſhed and ſlaine; Cilicia, Syria, parts of Arabia, infeſted or ſubdued, Judea pitifully harraſſed, *Hyrcanus* taken priſoner, a great part of Aſia over-run, *An-*

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Lib. 48.

tony

tony in the meane time rioting with *Cleopatra*. *Saxa* was not ſlaine in fight, but, leſt hee ſhould be taken, ſlue himſelfe. Saxa, *legatus, ne veniret in poteſtatem, à gladio ſuo impetravit*, ſaith *Florus*. Some paſſe over *Saxa*, or confound him with *Didius*, ſo making one man the firſt and laſt that commanded in Syria under *Antonius*. *Saxa* being ſlaine, and the Eaſt in ill caſe, *Antonius* newly returned out of Italy (the occaſion why hee went thither is related in the life of *Herod*) hearing what racket the Parthians kept in Syria, he ſent away *P. Ventidius* thither to command in chiefe, whileſt himſelfe ſwaggered and revelled (drunken beaſt as hee was) at *Athens*, and in other Cities of Greece. *Ventidius* came with an Army into Judea, in pretence againſt the Parthians and *Antigonus*; but in deed to filch money from *Antigonus*, to doe nothing againſt him, by whom he was well hired: and being full, withdrew moſt of his Forces away into Syria: but leſt his courſes ſhould be too notorious, he left *Silo* with ſome few bands to give ſmall countenance to *Herod* againſt *Antigonus*; who tooke the ſame courſe that *Ventidius* did, and was well hired to ſit ſtill: but *Ventidius*, after his riſing from Jeruſalem, and returne into Syria, did great ſervice againſt the Parthians, foyled them often, ſlew *Orodes*, took or killed *Labienus*; and, as *Joſephus* ſaith expreſſely, *Pacorus* himſelfe King of Parthia, recovered Syria, and whatſoever they had ſeiſed on from the Romans. He was the firſt that triumphed over the Parthians, himſelfe ſometimes led in triumph, taken priſoner in the Sociall war, when he was a child, by *Pompeius Strabo*, Father unto *Pompeius Magnus*. *Antony* envying his good ſucceſſe, becauſe it tended to his owne diſgrace, who loſt all that *Ventidius* recovered, diſcharged *Ventidius*, ſending him to Rome to the triumph, and came himſelfe in perſon into Syria, where he atchieved juſt nothing, nor did he make any long ſtay there, haſting to be with *Cleopatra*; but left *C. Soſius* to command for him in Syria and Cilicia: hee, in *Herods* quarrell, took and ſacked Jeruſalem, took *Antigonus* (competitor with him for the Kingdome) priſoner; him *Antonius* executed, as hath been declared in the life of *Herod*. When *Antony* himſelfe came perſonally into Syria, *Soſius* was diſcharged, and returned to Rome: but *Antony* could not be long from *Cleopatra*; whither when he went, he ſent *Q. Didius* to comand in Syria, where hee continued till the ſea-fight at Actium, or Lepanto: For *Dio* ſaith, hee was then ἀρχων τῆς Συρίας, *Governour of Syria*: and the ſame *Dio Lib.* 51. relateth, that hee perſwaded the Arabians to ſet fire on ſuch ſhips as were bound in the red-ſea for the ſervice of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; as alſo, not to ſend any aid unto them. It is therefore certaine he fell off from *Antony*, if by him he was appointed Lieutenant in Syria: but I rather ſuppoſe that after the breach betwixt *Antony* and *Octavius*, and *Antonies* being proclaimed Traitor to the State, that being deprived of his generall Lieutenantſhip in the Eaſt, *Q. Didius* was ſent downe by *Octavius* and the Senate, to order Syria, in which Office hee continued till *Meſſala Corvinus* did ſucceed.

11 After

Meſſalla Corvinus ſent by *Cæſar* after the Battel at Actium as Preſident. *Baronius* errour concerning *Agrippa.*

11 After the Battell at Actium, *Auguſtus* following the courſe of his victorie, and in purſuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, who retired into Egypt, came perſonally into Syria, and other parts of Aſia, and in the latter end of that yeer, or rather in the next, made *Meſſalla Corvinus* Lieutenant of Syria, who had been Conſul with himſelfe that yeere wherein the Fight at Actium was; Judea at this time was under King *Herod*, and ſo exempted from the ordinary juriſdiction of the Preſidents of Syria; in which ſtate it ſtood for 37. yeers at leaſt, all the reign of *Herod*, and for 9. yeeres after under *Archelaus*: onely the Preſidents of Syria, upon intreaty, or ſpeciall direction, ſometimes meddled extraordinarily in that Province, as did *Sentius Saturninus*, and his ſucceſſor *Quintilius Varus*. *Herod* was formerly made King of the Jews, but confirmed by *Auguſtus* in that ſtate, as hath been related. *Meſſalla*, as *Baronius* will have it, continued Lieutenant about 8. yeeres; it is ſtrange he ſhould: and *Joſephus* neither in his *Antiquities*, nor *Jewiſh Wars*, makes any mention of him. It is not certain that *Meſſalla* was Lieutenant at all; *Dio* ſaith it not: but certaine it is, he was not there ſo long, till the yeere 731. that *Agrippa* came into the Eaſt. *Joſephus* makes mention of one *Varro*, after the Battell at Actium, who was ἡγεμὼν Συρίας *Governour of Syria*, unto whom the Theeves of Trachonitis had recourſe for refuge: *Baronius* names him *Varus*; and ſo doth *Salianus*, as if they had meant it of *Quintilius Varus*: but *Varro* and *Varus* are two different names of diſtinct Families. This *Varro* was not ordinary Preſident of Syria, but *Legatus Auguſtalis*; to whom was aſſociated *Herod*, or rather, put over him: for ſo *Joſephus* ſaith, that *Herod* was by *Auguſtus* made Procurator of all Syria: and ordered, that without his advice none of the other Procurators ſhould doe any thing. It is therefore apparent by *Joſephus*, that in Syria was no Lieutenant, but inferiour Governors of ſeverall Provinces. And for *Agrippa*, ſucceſſor to *Meſſalla*, and his ten yeers Lieutenantſhip of Syria, *Baronius* was deceived: In *Dio*, whom he voucheth, there is no ſuch matter. This *Dio* ſaith, That in the yeer 731. which was eight yeers after the Battell of Actium, *Agrippa* took his journy towards Syria, made Lieutenant generall over all the Eaſt. *Auguſtus*, recovered of his ſickneſſe (ſo are *Dio's* words) was informed of a ſecret grudge which *Marcellus*, ſon unto his ſiſter *Octavia*, bare towards *M. Agrippa*. The cauſe was, becauſe *Auguſtus* lying deſperately ſick, had given his ring unto *Agrippa*, as intending to make him his Succeſſor, reſpecting the deſert and worth of the man, (as doubtleſſe he was a man of eminent worth) rather then the neerneſſe of *Marcellus* to him in blood: Wherefore to prevent all further diſſention, and future quarrels betwixt them if both ſhould live together in Court, he ſent away *Agrippa* upon honourable employment into Aſia, with a very large Commiſſion of being Lieutenant generall over all the Eaſt. *Agrippa* went from Rome, but perſonally did not reſide in Aſia; at Lesbos was his chiefe abode, where hee continued ſo long as *Marcellus*

Lib. 15. Antiq. 25. 13. & de bello 1. 15.

Κατέστησε δ' αὐτὸν Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπον, ὡς μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης τῆς ἐκείνου συμβολὰς τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ποιεῖν. *1. de bello 13.*

Marcellus ſurvived, which was not very long. Marcellus, *ſororis* Auguſti *filius* (ſaith *Velleius Paterculus*) *quem homines, ſi quid accidiſſet* Cæſari, *ſucceſſorem potentiæ ejus arbitrabantur futurum; ut tamen id per* M. Agrippam *ſecurè poſſet contingere, non exiſtimarent; magnificentiſſimo munere ædilitatis, deceſſit, admodum juvenis: Sanè ingenuarum (ut aiunt) virtutum, lætusque animi & ingenti, fortunæque, in quam alebatur, capax. Poſt ejus obitum,* Agrippa, *qui ſub ſpecie principalium miniſteriorum profectus in Aſiam, ob tacitas cum* Marcello *offenſiones, præſenti ſe ſubduxerat tempori; reverſus inde, filiam* Cæſaris Juliam, *quam in matrimonio* Marcellus *habuerat, duxit uxorem: fœminam, neque ſibi utilem, nec fœlicis uteri.* This is that *Marcellus* whom *Virgil* ſo extolleth in his 6. Booke, for which his mother *Octavia* well rewarded him.

12 *Baronius* doth not ſpecifie when *Marcellus* died: but it was in the 731. of the City, that very yeere wherein hee makes *Agrippa* to ſucceed *Meſſalla* in Syria, without warrant or truth. *Auguſtus* the eleventh time, and *Cn. Calphurnius Piſo* were then Conſuls, about ſome 22. yeeres before the birth of Chriſt. It was ſuppoſed, and probably, though *Velleius Paterculus* (a great ſoother of *Tiberius*) be ſilent therein, that *Marcellus* was made away by *Livia*, wife unto *Auguſtus*, as were all other that ſtood in her way, to make roome for her owne ſonne *Tiberius*, as ſhe did: which *Tacitus* noteth, and taxeth in her; being the confuſion *Domus Auguſtalis*. *Baronius*, who gives *Agrippa* ten yeeres time in Syria, yet brings him back againe within two yeers; for, ſo ſaith he, *In the yeere* 733. Agrippa *was ſent for home, becauſe* Auguſtus *himſelfe went perſonally into the Eaſt, and there continued three yeers, at leaſt*. For he was in thoſe Eaſtern parts when *Saturninus* and *Veſpillo* were Conſuls; that is, in the yeer 735. *Componens res Provinciarum, circumferens orbi terrarum præſentiæ ſuæ, pacis ſuæ bona*, as *Baronius* noteth from *Paterculus*. But we find in *Dio*, that when *Marcellus Eſerninus*, and *L. Arruntius Nepos* were Conſuls, which was the next yeere after *Marcellus* death, that is, in 732, *Auguſtus* in perſon made his progreſſe into Sicilia, with a full intent and purpoſe to continue his journey into the Eaſt, as far as Syria, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέχρι τῆς Συρίας κατασκέψῃ, bee *Dio's* words; to view, conſider, order and reforme the ſtate of thoſe Countries remote; which was wont to bee the ſcope and work of Princes progreſſes in ſummer, perſonally to take notice of their Lawes executed or neglected amongſt their ſubjects. Certaine it is, that in Sicilia hee was when the Conſuls of the next yeere were to be choſen; about whoſe Nomination and Election much adoe was made, and the Citie in an uproare, ſo far that bloud-ſhed had like to have enſued. To compoſe theſe ſtirs, *Auguſtus* ſent for the Competitors, who came unto him, being in Sicilia, his affairs not permitting him in perſon to return to Rome. At that time hee made *Agrippa* his Lieutenant over all the Weſt till his owne returne out of the Eaſt, who inſtantly imbarqued for Italy and Rome. So that in the yeere 733. which was the troubleſome yeere at Rome about Election of Officers; or rather, the yeere be-

Agrippa qualis.

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11 After

Meſſalla Corvinus ſent by Cæſar after the Battel at Actium as Preſident. Baronius errour concerning Agrippa.

11 After the Battell at Actium, *Auguſtus* following the courſe of his victorie, and in purſuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, who retired into Egypt, came perſonally into Syria, and other parts of Aſia, and in the latter end of that yeer, or rather in the next, made *Meſſalla Corvinus* Lieutenant of Syria, who had been Conſul with himſelfe that yeere wherein the Fight at Actium was; Judea at this time was under King *Herod*, and ſo exempted from the ordinary juriſdiction of the Preſidents of Syria; in which ſtate it ſtood for 37. yeers at leaſt, all the reign of *Herod*, and for 9. yeeres after under *Archelaus*: onely the Preſidents of Syria, upon intreaty, or ſpeciall direction, ſometimes meddled extraordinarily in that Province, as did *Sentius Saturninus*, and his ſucceſſor *Quintilius Varus*. *Herod* was formerly made King of the Jews, but confirmed by *Auguſtus* in that ſtate, as hath been related. *Meſſalla*, as *Baronius* will have it, continued Lieutenant about 8. yeeres; it is ſtrange he ſhould: and *Joſephus* neither in his *Antiquities*, nor *Jewiſh Wars*, makes any mention of him. It is not certain that *Meſſalla* was Lieutenant at all; *Dio* ſaith it not: but certaine it is, he was not there ſo long, till the yeere 731. that *Agrippa* came into the Eaſt. *Joſephus* makes mention of one *Varro*, after the Battell at Actium, who was ἡγεμὼν Συρίας *Governour of Syria*, unto whom the Theeves of Trachonitis had recourſe for refuge: *Baronius* names him *Varus*; and ſo doth *Salianus*, as if they had meant it of *Quintilius Varus*: but *Varro* and *Varus* are two different names of diſtinct Families. This *Varro* was not ordinary Preſident of Syria, but *Legatus Auguſtalis*; to whom was aſſociated *Herod*, or rather, put over him: for ſo *Joſephus* ſaith, that *Herod* was by *Auguſtus* made Procurator of all Syria: and ordered, that without his advice none of the other Procurators ſhould doe any thing. It is therefore apparent by *Joſephus*, that in Syria was no Lieutenant, but inferiour Governors of ſeverall Provinces. And for *Agrippa*, ſucceſſor to *Meſſalla*, and his ten yeers Lieutenantſhip of Syria, *Baronius* was deceived: In *Dio*, whom he voucheth, there is no ſuch matter. This *Dio* ſaith, That in the yeer 731. which was eight yeers after the Battell of Actium, *Agrippa* took his journy towards Syria, made Lieutenant generall over all the Eaſt. *Auguſtus*, recovered of his ſickneſſe (ſo are *Dio's* words) was informed of a ſecret grudge which *Marcellus*, ſon unto his ſiſter *Octavia*, bare towards *M. Agrippa*. The cauſe was, becauſe *Auguſtus* lying deſperately ſick, had given his ring unto *Agrippa*, as intending to make him his Succeſſor, reſpecting the deſert and worth of the man, (as doubtleſſe he was a man of eminent worth) rather then the neerneſſe of *Marcellus* to him in blood: Wherefore to prevent all further diſſention, and future quarrels betwixt them if both ſhould live together in Court, he ſent away *Agrippa* upon honourable employment into Aſia, with a very large Commiſſion of being Lieutenant generall over all the Eaſt. *Agrippa* went from Rome, but perſonally did not reſide in Aſia; at Lesbos was his chiefe abode, where hee continued ſo long as *Marcellus*

Lib. 15. Antiq. 15. 13. & de bello 1. 15.

Κατέστησε γὰρ αὐτὸν Συρίας ἅπας ἐπίτροπον, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξεῖναι δίχα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διοικεῖν. *1. de bello 13.*

Marcellus ſurvived, which was not very long. Marcellus, *ſororis* Auguſti *filius* (ſaith *Velleius Paterculus*) *quem homines, ſi quid accidiſſet* Cæſari, *ſucceſſorem potentiæ ejus arbitrabantur futurum; ut tamen id per* M. Agrippam *ſecurè poſſet contingere, non exiſtimarent; magnificentiſſimo munere ædilitatis, deceſſit, admodum juvenis: Sanè ingenuarum (ut aiunt) virtutium, lætuſque animi & ingenii, fortunæque, in quam alebatur, capax. Poſt ejus obitum,* Agrippa, *qui ſub ſpecie principalium miniſteriorum profectus in Aſiam, ob tacitas cum* Marcello *offenſiones, præſenti ſe ſubduxerat tempori; reverſus inde, filiam* Cæſaris Juliam, *quam in matrimonio* Marcellus *habuerat, duxit uxorem: fœminam, neque ſibi utilem, nec fœlicis uteri.* This is that *Marcellus* whom *Virgil* ſo extolleth in his 6. Booke, for which his mother *Octavia* well rewarded him.

12 *Baronius* doth not ſpecifie when *Marcellus* died: but it was in the 731. of the City, that very yeere wherein hee makes *Agrippa* to ſucceed *Meſſalla* in Syria, without warrant or truth. *Auguſtus* the eleventh time, and *Cn. Calphurnius Piſo* were then Conſuls, about ſome 22. yeeres before the birth of Chriſt. It was ſuppoſed, and probably, though *Velleius Paterculus* (a great ſoother of *Tiberius*) be ſilent therein, that *Marcellus* was made away by *Livia*, wife unto *Auguſtus*, as were all other that ſtood in her way, to make roome for her owne ſonne *Tiberius*, as ſhe did: which *Tacitus* noteth, and taxeth in her; being the confuſion *Domûs Auguſtalis*. *Baronius*, who gives *Agrippa* ten yeeres time in Syria, yet brings him back againe within two yeers; for, ſo ſaith he, *In the yeere* 733. Agrippa *was ſent for home, becauſe* Auguſtus *himſelfe went perſonally into the Eaſt, and there continued three yeers, at leaſt.* For he was in thoſe Eaſtern parts when *Saturninus* and *Veſpillo* were Conſuls; that is, in the yeer 735. *Componens res Provinciarum, circumferens orbi terrarum præſentia ſua, pacis ſuæ bona*, as *Baronius* noteth from *Paterculus*. But we find in *Dio*, that when *Marcellus Eſerninus*, and *L. Arruntius Nepos* were Conſuls, which was the next yeere after *Marcellus* death, that is, in 732, *Auguſtus* in perſon made his progreſſe into Sicilia, with a full intent and purpoſe to continue his journey into the Eaſt, as far as Syria, ὅπως καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη τῆς Συρίας κατασκέψηται, bee *Dio's* words; to view, conſider, order and reforme the ſtate of thoſe Countries remote; which was wont to bee the ſcope and work of Princes progreſſes in ſummer, perſonally to take notice of their Lawes executed or neglected amongſt their ſubjects. Certaine it is, that in Sicilia hee was when the Conſuls of the next yeere were to be choſen; about whoſe Nomination and Election much adoe was made, and the Citie in an uproare, ſo far that bloud-ſhed had like to have enſued. To compoſe theſe ſtirs, *Auguſtus* ſent for the Competitors, who came unto him, being in Sicilia, his affairs not permitting him in perſon to return to Rome. At that time hee made *Agrippa* his Lieutenant over all the Weſt till his owne returne out of the Eaſt, who inſtantly imbarqued for Italy and Rome. So that in the yeere 733. which was the troubleſome yeere at Rome about Election of Officers; or rather, the yeere be-

Agrippa qualis.

fore *M. Agrippa* was returned out of the East; at leaſt one whole yeer before that *Auguſtus* came into Syria: and good cauſe for it, becauſe if *Auguſtus* intended (as he did) a voyage into the East, *Agrippa's* preſence needed not; his Lieutenancy ceaſed; and, *Marcellus* being dead, the cauſe was removed for which hee went into the East; and the cauſe ceaſing, what needed he be there any longer? *Auguſtus* could not well want him; and *Agrippa* was to marry with *Julia*, *Auguſtus* his daughter, widow to *Marcellus*, which he did, and had a ſon by her, *C. Caeſar*, before *Auguſtus* departed from Sicilia. Now hee returned out of the East (ſaith *Dio*) 735. but what order he tooke for the Government of Syria, whom he left there to command in chiefe, it is not expreſſed by *Dio*, nor any other. *Agrippa* arriving in Rome, and having quieted the factions and tumults there, made a voyage into France, the Countrey being invaded by Germans: and having ſettled all things well and in quiet, proceeded into Spaine againſt the Biſcayans. In the yeere 736. the next yeer after *Auguſtus* returne, hee was reſiding in Rome, and in 738. was ſent againe the ſecond time into the East, as *Dio* reporteth in expreſſe words, in the Acts of the yeere 741. in which yeere he returned, juſt ten yeers after his firſt miſſion, and was made the ſecond time *Tribunus plebis* for the next five yeeres to come: which he enjoyed not long; for in 742. *M. Valerius Meſſalla*, and *P. Sulpitius* being Conſuls, hee fell ſick and died, about 11. yeers before the birth of Chriſt. *Joſephus*, in the 16. Booke of his *Antiquities*, and laſt Chapter, ſaith, that *Agrippa* returned to Rome μετὰ τὸν διετῆσαν τῶν ὅλη τῆς Ασίας ἐνιαυτῶν γεγενημένον, after he had governed Aſia ten yeeres, which *Cauſabon* expreſſeth by *duo luſtra*; from 731. to 741. but hee little reſided there, being much and often otherwiſe employed in Rome, Italy, France, Spaine; and when hee was in his Province, his common reſidence was at Lesbos, having his deputy Lieutenants for him, *Silanus*, *Narbanus*, *Flavus*, and others, as formerly *Antony* had his, *Saxa*, *Ventidius*, *Soſio*. In 749. he was employed into Pannonia, againſt the rebels; and in his returne toward Rome deceaſed in Campania. It is a true and deſerved commendation which the Jeſuite *Salianus* gives him; *This was the end of* M. Vipſaneus Agrippa, *the beſt of men that lived with him: Hee ever uſed the high favour of his Prince to the weale and publick good of the State: in whoſe ſervice he employed his utmoſt wiſdome and valour, and yet had of him honourable recompence for his ſervice, not much or great: for, as hee intended nothing but his Princes honour, and the States profit; ſo hee never was troubleſome to* Auguſtus *by ſuits, nor was hee envied of any emulator. Hee was the man who chiefly founded and ſettled the Monarchy of* Auguſtus, *and yet was moſt intirely beloved of all.* A rare example, and ſcarce to bee parallel'd; for, commonly men in favour with Princes, and of great employments under them, are never gracious with the multitude, bee their deſerts never ſo great, their employments never ſo neceſſary, and themſelves never ſo ſincere. Certainly, for martiall Chivalry hee was compoſeable with any the ancient Romans,

Romans, *Camilli, Curſores, Fabii, Marcelli, Scipiones, Marii, Julii*, never foyled or put to the worſe in any action military; and for civill honeſty, and all morall vertues, their *Curii, Attilii, Fabricii, Serrani, Catones* did not goe beyond him: No Story extant aſperſeth him with any blemiſh; all Stories extant ſpeak much good of him many waies: he was both *ſword* and *right hand* to *Auguſtus*; he ſet him up, held him in, faithfully ſerved him all his dayes.

13 Next unto *Agrippa*, Cardinall *Baronius* ſuggeſteth for Preſident of Syria *P. Sulpitius Quirinius*, or *Cyrenius*, as S. *Luke* nameth him; for hee is the man that *Baronius* meaneth, of whom the holy Evangeliſt maketh mention in that generall Profeſſion and Enrollment of all living under the Roman Empire when Chriſt was born. He was Conſull that yeere wherein *Agrippa* died, and therefore could not bee Preſident of Syria as immediate ſucceſſor to *Agrippa*, unleſſe he went to be Preſident before hee had been Conſul, which was contrary to the obſerved cuſtome, originally grounded upon a Decree of Senate, That none but Conſulares ſhould be Preſidents there; or he muſt have ſtayed but one yeere, and ſcarce that, in the Province; or have beene made Conſul in Syria, and executed the Office there, which is ridiculous; or Syria muſt have bin at leaſt two whole yeers without a Preſident; which is againſt the courſe of Story, Roman practice, and reaſon of State, that a Province, expoſed to daily incurſions of many ſurrounding barbarous Nations (eſpecially the Parthians) as Syria was, ſo long ſhould have beene without a Preſident, or any ordinary Governour, as two whole yeeres. But *Baronius* would ſeeme to make his conceit feiſable out of *Tacitus* his teſtimony concerning *Cyrenius*; for, reporting the manner and ſolemnity of his funerall, he delivereth, that immediately after his Conſulſhip he ſubdued and brought to due obedience the *Homonadenſes*, a mountainous people of Cilicia; & that ſuch as were Governors of Provinces did uſe to make war, and not ſtrangers, within their owne province: in which paſſage is much ignorance and incompoſſibility. He was Conſull in 742. the very yeer wherein *Agrippa* died; the next yeer *Baronius* ſends him into the Province; againſt which I oppoſe not, becauſe *Tacitus* ſaith, it was immediately after his Conſulſhip; though that will not neceſſarily imply it was the next yeer: But that the Province was Syria which was Cilicia; For the *Homonadenſes* were of Cilicia: or that becauſe he was Lieutenant in Cilicia, then he was alſo of Syria, as if Cilicia had been appendant to Syria; which is ignorantly conceived ſo to be. Theſe two Provinces were divided at firſt by *Pompey*, who conquered both; and being once ſeparated, ſo continued evermore divided: never commanded by one man, except *M. Antony*, and *M. Agrippa*, Lieutenants generall over all the Eaſt; otherwiſe they had diſtinct Governors. When *Bibulus* was Lieutenant of Syria, *M. Cicero* was Preſident of Cilicia; The ſame *Cicero, pro domo ſua, ad Pontifices*, ſtrengthens this diviſion in objecting to *Clodius*, that hee procured Syria for *Gabinius*, having firſt reſolved for Cilicia; *Cui quidem cùm Ciliciam dediſſes, mutaſti pactionem,*

Saturninus Preſident of Syria at our Saviors birth, and *Titus Volumnius* Procurator.

factionem, & Ciliciam ad Pratorem, etiam extra ordinem (for it was *Provincia Conſularis*) Gabinio, *pretio ampliſicato Syriam nominatim dedit.* Though by this ſpeech it appeares, Syria was the moſt beneficiall Province of the two, yet was Cilicia more honourable: for *Pompey*, who ſubdued them both, made his Treaſurer *Scaurus* Lieutenant of Syria, but kept Cilicia for himſelfe. Our Cardinall Annaliſt was here miſtaken; *P. Quirinius* nor could, nor did ſucceed *Agrippa*; but either *C. Sentius Saturninus*, or *M. Titius Reſus*, which is *Caſaubons* opinion: but I conceive it, concerning *Titius*, that learned man is out; Τιτ& ἡγεμὼν Συρίας in *Joſephus*, *Titus* Commander in Syria, whom *Herod* reconciled unto *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, is no other then *Titus Volumnius*, oftentimes mentioned in *Joſephus*; an Officer, as *Procurator Caſaris*, with, and under *Saturninus* in Syria: *Joſephus* often makes mention of them διελέγετο δὲ τότων τοις Καισαρ& ἡγεμόσιν Σατορνίνῳ τε καὶ Οὐολομνίῳ *Herod* imparted it to *Saturninus* and *Volumnius Caſars* Captains. *Antiq.* 16.13. This is hee, who, at the arraignement of *Alexander*, *Herods* ſonne, with his brother *Ariſtobulus*, was the firſt man that gave ſentence of death againſt them, being acquitted by *Saturninus* and his three ſons, who had command in Syria under their Father, before *Titus Volumnius*, who ſpake after them: *Joſephus* calls them both ἐπισατήσαντας τῆς Συρίας, in a generall notion; as anon he doth *Saturninus* στρατηγὸν, as commanding in Chiefe.

Antiq. 16.c.12.

Quintil. Varus next Preſident *Sabinus* ſucceedeth *Titus.*

14 This *Saturninus* was Conſull in 735. when *Auguſtus* returned out of Aſia. *Agrippa* came home in 741. he ſucceeded in 742. that is, ſeven yeers after he had been Conſull: hee continued Preſident many yeers, eleven at leaſt, and was Preſident when our Saviour was born, as ſhall be ſhewed at that generall enrollment of *Cyrenius*: Hee gave over to his ſucceſſor *Quintilius Varus*, not long before the death of *Herod*; for when *Antipater* was called in queſtion for practiſing againſt his Fathers life, *Saturninus* was in the Province, as *Joſephus* hath it expreſſely, *Antiq.* 17.4. but when ſentence of death was given againſt him, *Quintilius Varus* had ſucceeded, and pronounced him guilty, as in 17. *Antiq.* 7. This *Varus* had been Conſul in 741. With him came downe, as Procurator, *Sabinus*, in place of *Titus Volumnius*, into Syria, not Judea; for as yet the Procurators had nothing to do there; Judea was immediately ſubject to King *Herod*: This is that *Quintilius Varus* ſo well knowne in the Romane Story, for that great overthrow given him in Germany afterwards, by *Arminius*, where himſelfe was ſlaine with three Roman Legions; the foreſt loſſe received in *Auguſtus* time. *Velleius Paterculus* gives this cenſure of him, *Varus Quintilius, illuſtri magis quam nobili Familiâ ortus, vir ingenio mitis, moribus quietus; ut corpore, ita & animo immobilior; otio magis caſtrorum, quam bellicæ aſſuetus militiæ; pecuniæ verò quam non contemptor, Syria, cui præfuerat, declaravit; quam pauper divitem ingreſſus, dives pauperem reliquit.* *Sabinus* came downe into Syria with *Varus*, Καίσαρος ἐπίτροπος τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων, ſaith *Joſephus*, Procurator in Syria, for whatſoever appertained unto *Caſars* exchequer or private coffers.

Antiq. 17.11.

fers. When *Herod* died, he came into Judea with a purpoſe to ſeiſe all *Herods* goods and perſonall eſtate: but *Varus*, ſollicited by *Archelaus*, inhibited him, rather by intreaty then command; for, ſaith the Jewiſh Hiſtorian, Ουκω χαιζων & to gratifie *Varus* hee held off his hand, and ſo neither ſeiſed his Caſtles, nor ſealed up his chambers, till *Cæſars* pleaſure was knowne. But, *Varus* being returned to Antioch, and *Archelaus* gone for Rome, *Sabinus* goes to Jeruſalem, takes poſſeſſion of the Kings houſe, ſends for the Caſtle-guardians, and all the Executors of *Herod*, demanding the delivery of the Caſtles, and an Inventory of *Herods* goods in their hands; He was generally refuſed, and anſwered, that they could and would keepe them to *Cæſars* uſe, as well as he. *Archelaus* being gone for Rome to get confirmation of his Fathers Will from *Cæſar*, the Jewes generally mutined, which drew *Varus* into the Country, who reaſonably well quieted the Country, and at his returne left one Legion there in Jeruſalem with *Sabinus*, fearing another revolt; which accordingly fell out through the bad carriage of *Sabinus*, who went about to force the Caſtles, and againe to make ſeiſure of *Herods* goods: The Jewes, Galileans, Idumeans, and others roſe in armes againſt him, made him hide himſelfe, and ſend for *Varus* to the reſcue with all ſpeede. *Varus* came with three Legions, and their ordinary auxiliaries, beſide other troops ſent him from confining Cities: with theſe forces he quickly quieted the Country, crucified ſome 2000. theeves and robbers, apprehended the principall Authors of the revolt, whom he ſent priſoners to *Cæſar*, and he puniſhed ſome, pardoned the moſt, eſpecially, if they had any reference to *Herod*: as for *Sabinus*, he durſt not come in ſight of *Varus*, but got him away, and was never ſeen in Judea afterwards. Thus ended thoſe ſtirs after *Herods* death: before *Archelaus* returned from Rome, being ſettled by *Cæſar* in the Kingdome, *Quintilius Varus* governing Syria, who in all this paſſage hath done nothing deſerving the cenſure of *Paterculus*. But this was not in Syria, of which *Paterculus* ſpeakes. That cenſure is like enough to be true; for ſuch ſordid practiſes againſt the Germans cauſed their revolt, and his ruine.

15 Next to *Quintilius Varus*, who continued in Syria many yeers, *Caius Cæſar* did not ſucceed, as *Baronius* erroniouſly conceiveth; but *P. Quirinius*, the ſame man, but not the ſame time, whom S. *Luke* remembers to have been in Syria at the generall enrollment by command from *Auguſtus*, *Luk.* 2. when our Saviour was borne. It is grand ignorance, or overſight in the Cardinall Annaliſt, to put down for ſucceſſor unto *Saturninus*, *Caius Cæſar*, ſonne to *M. Agrippa* by *Julia*, *Auguſtus* daughter: He, ſaith *Baronius*, came into the Eaſt in 748. that is, about foure yeers before Chriſts Incarnation; and wee read not of any other who came along with that youth, but only *Quirinius*, as his Tutor and Director; unto whom next ſucceeded *Quintilius Varus*, who ſtayed there untill the Conſulate of *Camerinus* and *Sabinus*, in 762. which paſſage of the Cardinals, not very long, hath as many errors as words, though *Salianus*, that Rapſodiſt, goeth blunderingly

Quirinius, not *Caius Cæſ.* ſucceedeth *Varus*.

after him, ſtep by ſtep, as a blind man after the boy or dog that leads him; but the moſt prodigious error of all is, that he keeps him in Syria Lieutenant, at the yeer 762. in which yeere, by generall conſent of all Stories, hee was defeated and ſlaine in Germany by *Arminius*; of which more, at the enrollment, and birth of our Saviour. *Interim*, firſt, *Caius Cæſar* never was, as hee miſtakes, Preſident of Syria; nor, as was his Father *Agrippa*, Lieutenant generall over all the Eaſt: but onely Generall of thoſe Roman forces which were employed in one particular action into Armenia; ſo much *Baronius* himſelfe confeſſeth, profeſſing he was ſent *ad bellum Armeniacum*. Secondly, whereas he talkes of *Cyrenius*, and only *Cyrenius*, ſent with him as his Director, it is falſe; *M. Lollius*, Conſull in 732. was ſent along with him to bee his Director, and not *Cyrenius*; but upon *Lollius* death, who died during that imployment, *Cyrenius* ſucceeded, and ſurvived *Caius*; ſo *Tacitus*, an Authour of more credit in theſe things then *Baronius*, *Datuſque Rector* Caio Cæſari *Armeniam obtinenti: Namque privignum* Caium *Orienti præpoſitum* (as *Suetonius* will have it) *cum viſendi gratia trajeciſſet Samum, alieniorem ſibi ſentit ex criminationibus* M. Lollii, *comitis & Rectoris ejus*. And becauſe *Quirinius* ſucceeded *Lollius* in that charge, *Baronius* will have it, that after *Caius* death, *Cyrenius* in the interim, till another was appointed, was Preſident of Syria, in which interim our Saviour was incarnate; Ignorantly and erroneouſly many wayes. Firſt, *Caius* died not in Syria, but at Lamyra in Lycia, being upon his returne homeward; either through anguiſh of a wound received, and not throughly cured; or by procurement rather of *Livia Auguſta*, that Calamity of *Auguſtus* (who yet never ſuſpected her) and his houſe, to make way for her owne ſonne *Tiberius* to ſucceed, as hee did by her procurement. *Velleius*, *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus* deliver theſe particulars; Caium & Lucium *in duodeviginti menſium ſpatio, amiſit ambos*; Caio, *in Lycia*; Lucio, *Marſiliæ defunctis*, Sueton. *Deinde reluctans, invituſque revertens in Italiam, in Urbe Lyciæ, Lamyra vocatur, morbo obiit*, Velleius. *Ut* Agrippa *vitâ conceſſit, L. Cæſarem euntem ad Hiſpanienſes exercitus*; Caium *remeantem Armeniâ, & vulnere invalidum, mors fato propera, vel novercæ* Liviæ *dolus abſtulit*, Tacitus. Till I come to the enrollment of *Cyrenius*, *Baronius* his ſtrange overſights muſt reſt. *Interim*, thus I ſtate the ſeverals; *Caius Cæſar* was no Preſident of Syria, nor to be numbered with them; that *Varus* immediatly ſucceeded *Saturninus*, as *Joſephus* in punctuall and expreſſe termes hath it; and that *Quirinius*, in ordinary ſucceeded him at the deportation of *Archelaus*.

Archelaus his troubles. *Cyrenius* ſent in his time into Syria and Judea, and *Coponius* as Procurator.

16 *Archelaus*, ſon of King *Herod*, and *Malthace* the Samaritan, by his Fathers Teſtament was to ſucced him: the Jewes oppoſed, ſo did *Herod* the Tetrarch, *Salome*, and others; *Cæſar* had the hearing, and in concluſion thus determined, That he for his part thought well of *Archelaus*; but conſidering ſuch manifold and maine oppoſition made againſt him, hee would declare him Ethnarch of Judea, and if his carriage were anſwerable, confirme him in the Kingdome. His deport-

deportment it ſeems was intolerable; *Joſephus* is very ſhort and negligent (I cannot excuſe him) in ſetting downe his life, and yet exaggerates his accuſations, by which, after eight yeers, in his ninth yeer he was deported; all that hee hath of him, is this, that when hee came home Ethnarch from Rome, hee deprived *Joaſar* of his High-prieſthood, as having been aſſiſtant to the mutineers, who yet was the chief meanes to appeaſe them: he made *Eleaſar* in his place, who continued not long, but *Jeſus ben Sie* did ſucceed him. He built a new town, and named it of himſelfe *Archelaïs*; contrary to the Law, he married *Glaphyra* daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, who had been wife to his brother *Alexander*, and bore him children: At laſt, the chiefe men of the Countrey, not enduring his tyranny, complaine of him to *Cæſar*, inſerting, That hee had done contrary to *Cæſars* command. *Cæſar*, upon complaint made, would not vouchſafe to write unto him himſelfe, but ſends for his Agent, and commands him to go to him in perſon and fetch him. At his arrivall he found *Archelaus* feaſting and revelling amongſt his friends, and delivers unto him his meſſage; adviſing him to make all the haſte hee could. When hee came to Rome, he was heard what he could ſay for himſelfe; but in concluſion depoſed and deported to Vienna: This is all that *Joſephus* hath concerning the rule of *Archelaus*; onely hee tels us of certaine dreams which fore-ſhewed his miſ-fortune; the one, the ſame almoſt with *Pharaoh's* King of Egypt: He dreamed that he ſaw ten full and faire eares of corne; and that an oxe ſuddenly eat them all up. He ſent for dreame-tellers to expound his dreame; ſome ſaid one thing, ſome another; *Simon* an Eſſen craving pardon, told him the dreame touched himſelfe, and portended great change of his State. Five daies after comes the ſummons to appeare before *Cæſar*. Likewiſe his wife *Glaphyra* dreamed that ſhe ſaw her firſt husband *Alexander* comming to her, and blaming her marriage, telling her, hee would ſhortly free her from it; ſo he did: for within few dayes ſhe died. *Archelaus* being deported, *Cyrenius* (whom *Joſephus* commends much) was ſent downe, together with *Coponius* Procurator, Δικαιοδότης τῆ ἔθνες, Governour, in ordinary, of the Countrey, and Τιμητὴς τῶν ἴδιων γενομένος, to ſet a taxe upon the Countrey: which impoſition gave occaſion of inſurrections in Judea: for *Judas* of Galile, as S. *Luke* alſo teſtifieth, led away much people in the time of taxing: this was 37. yeers after the ſea-fight at Actium. *Lib.* 18. *cap.* 1.

17 Next to *Quirinius*, *Pomponius Flaccus* is ſaid to have beene; but I finde others before him. *Creticus Silanus*, mentioned by *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 3. was Lieutenant of Syria in the third yeer of *Tiberius*, when *Germanicus* was to goe into the Eaſt; him *Tiberius* removed, as no fit inſtrument for his purpoſe, and as being allyed to *Germanicus*, ſending downe *Gn. Piſo*, a boyſterous rough-hewghen fellow to ſucceed him. Tiberius *dimoverat Syria* Creticum Silanum, *per affinitatem connexum* Germanico, *præfeceratque* Gneium Piſonem, *ingenio violentum, & obſequii ignarum*: ſo wee are beholding to *Tacitus* for theſe

Pomp. Flaccus ſaid to have bin next Preſ, but it is like, *Silanus* & *Piſo* were both before him.

theſe two; though *Joſephus lib.* 18. *cap.* 3. *in fine*, makes mention of *Silanus*, στρατηγὸν Συρίας, as he calleth him; of *Germanicus*, poyſoned by *Piſo*. But neither of them remember when *Silanus* was made, or unto whom he did ſucceed Preſident. *Archelaus* was deported about 763. *Q. Cæcilius, Metellus, Creticus, Silanus*, (for ſo many names hee had) was Conſull in 760. *Auguſtus* died at Nota the 17. of Auguſt in 767. ſo that *Cyrenius* came downe Preſident about foure yeers before *Auguſtus* death. It may be *Silanus* was made Preſident of Syria in *Auguſtus* his laſt yeere, and was removed for *Piſo*, who was Conſull long before. 747.

Lucius Vitellius Preſ. all *Tiberius* his time.

18 *Piſo*, upon the death of *Germanicus*, was faine to quit the Province, and what became of him *Tacitus* reports. After his departure, there was ſome conteſtation betwixt *Vibius Marſus* and *Sentius Saturninus*, two principall men in the Army, chiefe friends and Councellors of *Germanicus*: but *Marſus* yeelded, as having not been Conſul, and *Saturninus* held the place. This *Saturninus* is not hee of whom formerly mention hath been made, who was Lieutenant in ordinary, (for *Cyrenius* was extraordinary, when our Saviour was born, but one of his ſons, the eldeſt of three remembred by *Joſephus* at *Antipaters* arraignement, Conſul in 757. with *Ælius Catus*. The buſineſſe concerning *Germanicus* being over, *Tiberius* ſent downe *Flaccus* to ſucceed in Syria, Conſul with *C. Cæcilius Rufus* in 770. the ſame yeer that *Silanus* was revoked, and *Piſo* went into Syria: his conditions may be knowne by what *Suetonius* writes of him *cap.* 42. *in Tib. Poſtea Principeps, in ipſa morum publicorum correctione, cum* Pomponio Flacco, & L. Piſone, *noctem, continuumque biduum epulando potandoque abſumpſit: quorum alteri Syriam Provinciam, alteri præfecturam urbis continuò detulit.* Hee was a pot-companion of *Caldius Biberius Mero*, and for luſty carouſing was made Preſident of Syria; how he carried himſelf in his Office, I finde not; it appears he continued not there very long. This is not hee whom *Philo-Judæus* inveigheth againſt, though as very a knave as hee; who was alſo intimate with *Tiberius*. Nor is hee that *Pomponius* of whom *Tacitus* ſaith, he was *vetus ſtipendiis*, an old ſouldier: nor of whom *Ovid* makes mention, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 9. *de Ponto*,

Annal. 2.

Hic tenuit Myſas Gentes in pace fideli,
Hic arcu fiſos terruit enſe Getas.

Lipſius is deceived, who, upon that place of *Tacitus* writes, *Atque idem præfuit poſtea Syriæ, ut ſcribit noſter* (Tacitus) *Lib.* 6. which book by him cited might reforme his error. *At Romæ, continuâ cæde* Pomponius Labeo, *quæ præfuiſſe Maſiæ retuli, per abruptas venas ſanguinem effudit*; but touching him who was Preſident of Syria, a little before, thus he writes, *Ecce* Flacco Pomponio *Syriæ pro Prætore defuncto, recitantur* Cæſaris *literæ, &c.* This was in 786. the other in 787. the ones name was *Flaccus*, the others *Labeo*, both *Pompons*; hence grew the error. The next Preſident of Syria was *L. Vitellius*, Father to *Aulus Vitellius*, afterward Emperor; he was ſent thither immediately after hee had been Conſul, for *Ælius Lamia*, thereto deſigned, never went

went downe, but *adminiſtrandæ Syriæ Imagine ſolutus, tandem Urbi præfuit*, ſaith *Tacitus, Annal. 6.* this *L. Vitellius*, thrice Conſul and Cenſor, was, of all that ever came into Syria, beſt beloved, and welcome to the Jewes: So ſoone as he came into the Province, he viſited Jeruſalem: the Citizens gave him moſt honourable entertainment. Hee came thither at their Feaſt of Paſſeover, and remitted for ever the exciſe of victuals, and impoſition upon wares ſold and bought, to the Citizens of Jeruſalem. The high-Prieſts ſtate, and all his ſacred veſtments he commanded to be kept in the Temple, under the charge of the Prieſts, as of old time it was uſed; whereof more in the Prieſts Story. He depoſed *Caiphas* from the high-Prieſt-hood, and ſet up in his roome *Jonathan* or *Jhon*, ſonne of *Annas*. He ſent *Pontius Pilate*, accuſed by the Jewes, priſoner to Rome, to anſwer his many miſdemeanors; more of him in the Procurators of Judea. Hee continued Preſident all *Tiberius* reigne (for his cuſtome was, ſeldome to change Officers); and put the oath of allegeance to *Caligula* upon the Army. *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth thus of him; *Eo de homine haud ſum ignarus, ſiniſtram in Urbe famam, pleraque fœda memorari: Cæterum, regendis Provinciis priſca virtute egit: unde regreſſus, formidine* Cæſaris, *familiaritate* Claudii, *turpe in ſervitium mutatus, exemplum apud poſteros adulatoris dedecoris habetur: ceſſeruntque prima poſtremis; & bona juventæ, ſenectus flagitioſa obliteravit:* Nor doe *Dio* and *Suetonius* diſſent. So tickliſh ſtanding have they with goodneſſe, who are the Minions and Favorites of Princes. He made warre upon *Aretas* the Arabian, and at the requeſt of the Jewes, as he travelled thitherward, forbare to diſplay his banners, becauſe of the Images painted in them, and took another way toward the enemy, that hee might not offend the Jewes. In his returne he tooke Jeruſalem in his way, and came thither the ſecond time to their Paſſeover, and depoſed *Jonathan* whom hee had formerly ſet up, complained upon for his miſdemeanours. Here hee ſtayed three daies; being upon the fourth day to depart, there came to him a packet of *Tiberius* his death, and *Caius* ſucceeding him in State; hereupon he returned to Antioch, reſting quiet; for without a new Commiſſion he could doe nothing.

Petronius ſucceeded him.

19 *Petronius* ſucceeded him, who had been Conſul, but not ſupplyed, as the uſe was, for halfe a yeere, from the firſt of July, three yeers before *Tiberius* died. This was not hee of whom *Tacitus* makes mention, *Annal. 16.* held to bee Author of that looſe, licentious, execrable book (for ſuch it is) which goeth under the name of *Petronius Arbiter*, read more commonly then is for the good of youth. He, next unto *Vitellius*, deſerved beſt of the Jewes. Hee came into Syria in the ſecond yeer of *Caius*, ſent purpoſely by him to root out the Jewes, or to compell them to receive his Image, and to ſet it up, and ſacrifice to it in the Temple. *Petronius* went to execute his Commiſſion; the Jewes did not mutine, nor make any reſiſtance; but offered themſelves patiently and quietly to endure what tortures or death he would put them to, rather then to break the Law. *Petronius* uſed all poſſible

Petronius ſucceeded him. Caligula's death.

means,

means, faire, foule, to bring them to give way, but all in vaine; the whole Nation gave themselves over to mourning, weeping, fasting, praying; they neglected all trades, the tilling of their ground, the dressing their vines, olives, &c. and lastly presented him their throats to bee cut, rather then to give way to setting up those Images. *Petronius* informed the Emperour hereof, but to no purpose; that monster of men was resolute to have his will. *Petronius* acquainted them with his Letters, and the Emperors peremptory command: they offered their lives, but would not yeeld. Which hee perceiving, did much pitie and commiserate them, and at length brake out into these words: *Well, seeing I cannot prevaile, I will doe the best I can, with Gods assistance, to perswade the Emperour, and begg his pardon both for you and mee, for breaking his Commandement: but if I cannot so farre prevaile with him, I am contented most willingly to give my life for so many thousands of you.* Hereupon hee wrote most effectually to *Caligula*; but that Divell incarnate, such was his insupportable pride and cruelty, would heare of no excuse, but wrote peremptorily to put in execution his Will, or to die for it. But so it was, the messenger who carried those Letters, being weather bound, and sea-beaten, could not come so soone as another Post, who set out after him, but arrived before him, who brought word that *Caligula* was slaine, and *Claudius* set up in his stead. Thus the Jewes were not forced to admit of Images, and *Petronius* escaped with his life. *Josephus* relateth this at large.

Antiq. 19. 6.

Vibius Marsus Prest. of Syria. *Fadus* Procurator of Judea. *Cassius Longinus* succeedeth *Marsus*: him *Numidius Quadratus*: him *Cestius Gallus*: him *Licinius Mucianus*: him *Cæsennius Petus*.

20 His successor was *Vibius Marsus*, the man, who after *Germanicus* his death, and *Pisoes* retiring, contested with, but gave at last way unto *Saturninus* to command in Syria; in his time Judea was exempt from the command of the President of Syria. This exemption was procured from *Claudius*, by the wife of *Cuspius Fadus* Procurator in Judea, in regard of the capitall enmity betwixt him and *Marsus*. *Marsus* was complained on to the Emperor by *Agrippa* King of Chalcis, for his mis-government; who prevailed so far, that *Marsus* was called home, and *Cassius Longinus* sent in his place; the rather, because King *Agrippa*, before his death, had intreated so much of him. *Longinus* came to Jerusalem before *Fadus* gave over, but did no great matter there. To him succeeded *Numidius Quadratus*; and after him *Cestius Gallus*, of whom more occasion will bee to speake when we come to the Procurators of Judea. Next to him was *Licinius Mutianus*, of him *Tacit. Hist. 1. Sub exitu Neronis Syriam & 4. Legiones obtinebat* Licinius Mucianus, *vir secundus, adversisque juxta famosus*. He was the first man of quality that professed for *Vespasian*; sware the Legions to him; excited him to take the Empire; though betwixt himselfe President of Syria, and *Vespasian* commanding the warres in Judea, had been some difference. But hee preferred the publick, before his private interests. After him I finde no more in *Josephus*, but *Cæsennius Petus*, sent by *Vespasian*; by *Nero* formerly made Governor of Armenia. Thus much for the Presidents of Syria: Now I

De bello 7. 1. 9.

come

come to the Procurators of Judea, who have more intereſt in this our undertaking for the Church-ſtory before Chriſt.

21 The name and Office of Procurator was in the free Roman State before that *Julius Cæſar* and *Octavius* erected the Empire. *Procurator dicebatur* (ſaith *Cicero*) *qui omnium rerum ejus, qui in Italiâ non eſt, aut abſit reipub. cauſâ, quaſi quidam Dominus eſt*: The Greeks name him ἐπίτροπον, a Commiſſioner, to whom the mannaging, ordering, and diſpoſing of things is committed. Under the Emperors, *Procuratores* were thoſe whom the Prince in State imployed for overſeeing, collecting, and paying into the Exchequer the Imperiall Revenues, the Fines, Forfeitures, and ſuch like duties, unto the Emperor from the ſubject abroad. *Procuratores illos appellamus, qui publicos reditus colligunt, erogantque in omnes Provincias, cum ſuas, tum populi* Cæſar *mittit.* *Auguſtus Cæſar* being by the overthrow of *M. Antonius* become abſolute Maſter of the Roman State, and having no more corrivals or competitors left, amongſt other Ordinances brought in by him and ſettled, which were not formerly in the free State, for better ordering and directing of that vaſte Body, by the advice of his two moſt truſty and confident Counſellors, *M. Agrippa*, and *Celinus Mecænas*, διχᾷ διεῖλε, divided, ſaith *Strabo*, the whole Empire two wayes or into two parts: One hee aſſigned to the publick, the other he retained to himſelfe. Of this his Cantoning, the whole Body conſiſted of *Cæſars*, or the peoples Provinces. To the people hee aſſigned for ſhare the richeſt and moſt wealthy Countries, the quieteſt and moſt aſſured Provinces: To himſelfe hee retained the more troubleſome, barbarous, warlike, remote, and frontier Countries of the Empire; ſuch as needed continuall Armies in pay, or Garriſons in frontier Townes to ſecure them. His pretext was, to gratifie the publick with the beſt and wealthieſt; but to take the paines, charge, and hazzard to himſelfe: His true cloſe intent was, by having continually ſouldiers in pay, at his devotion, depending upon him, to hold himſelfe Maſter of the State. *Provincias validiores, & quas annuis magiſtratibus regi, nec facile, nec tutum erat, ipſe ſuſcepit: cæteras Proconſulibus ſortitò permiſit; et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum: Sueton. in Auguſto, cap.* 47. The revenues and profits of the Emperiall Provinces were totally converted to his uſe, and the Provinces governed by ſuch as hee pleaſed to appoint, and ſend downe with Commiſſion from himſelfe, without conſent required or had of Senate, Conſular, Prætorian, Queſtorian, or Equeſtrian Officers, & with them, under them, for them, his Procurators of inferiour rank, *Equites Romanos*, and ſometimes *Libertos*, or manumiſed ſlaves, who ſometimes had not, but moſt an end had power given them. Syria was one of *Cæſars* Provinces, reſerved to himſelfe in the remembred diviſion, as confining on the Parthians, Arabians, and other barbarous Nations; and therefore alway to bee defended and ſecured by an Army in pay. Into Syria, following the order firſt ſet and decreed in Senate when the ſtate was free, hee ever conſtantly ſent Conſular Lieutenants, and not otherwiſe. Judea was from

The Office of Procurator.

from the first conquest of it by *Pompey*, subjected, as an appendant unto Syria, under the command of the Consular President of Syria; except upon some speciall exemption, as in the daies of *Herod*, *Archelaus*, *Cuspius Fadus*. The Lieutenant of Syria commanded in chiefe; the Procurator of Judea was subject unto him, though in his absence absolute. At first hee had no more to doe, then to bee as it were the Emperors Bailiffe, to gather his rents and revenues; such was *M. Titius*, *T. Volumnius*, and *Sabinus*: But in processe of time came to have ordinary jurisdiction in cases criminall and capitall, which wee finde in Scripture *Pontius Pilate*, *Felix* and *Festus* had. Most an end they came and went with the Consular Lieutenant, and sometime without him, before him, after him. *T. Volumnius*, who either came into Syria with *Saturninus*, or was left there by *M. Agrippa*, went away with *Saturninus*; *Sabinus* came downe with *Quintilius Varus*, but ran away from him: neither of these two had to doe in Judea, but Syria onely, though *Sabinus* attempted it, with ill successe, after *Herods* death; no more had any other during the nine yeers of *Archelaus* his reigne.

The first Procurator simply of Judea was *C. Coponius*. The second *M. Ambivius*. The third *Annius Rufus* at *Augustus* his death.

22 The first Procurator simply of Judea, was *C. Coponius, Eques Romanus*; hee came downe with *Quirinius* after *Archelaus* was deported, and had power of life and death given him, as *Josephus* relateth, *de bello* 2.11. Τῆς δ' Ἀρχελάου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν ἀπενεχθείσης Ἐπίτηρτος, τῆς ἱππικῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τάξεως Κοπώνιος πέμπεται μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν λαβὼν παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν, *Archelaus* his dominion was made a Province; and *Coponius*, a Knight of Rome, sent downe by *Cæsar* to governe it, with power of life and death; or, as elsewhere he hath it, τὴν ὁπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίαν, with generall and illimited authority, which the succeeding Procurators did enjoy: And yet were they subordinate unto, corrigible by, accountable unto the Lieutenants of Syria. There is no mention of any thing at all done by him; but in his time, at a Feast of Passeover, the Temple was defiled by Samaritans, scattering dead mens bones up and down in sundry places thereof. *Coponius* stayed but a short time there, unto him succeeded *M. Ambivius*, *Antiq.* 18.3. whom *Baronius* erroneously maketh to have been President of Syria: In his time died *Salome*, *Herods* sister, having survived her brother about 12. or 13. yeers; she made *Julia Augusta* her heire, leaving unto her those Cities and Territories which by gift of *Herod* shee enjoyed; whereof there is a particular Procurator *Herennius Capito*, mentioned by *Josephus*, *Antiq.* 18.8. To *Ambivius* succeeded *Annius Rufus*, in whose time *Augustus* died at Nola, upon the 19. of August, his birth-day, in the yeere 767. *Sex. Pompeius Nepos* and *Sex. Apuleius Nepos* being Consuls, having lived 75. yeers 10. months.

The fourth *Valerius Gratus*. The fifth *Pontius Pilate*. The sixth, not *Marcellus*, but *Cuspius Fadus*. And *Tiberius*

23 Next to *Annius Rufus* came *Valerius Gratus*, who was there above eleven yeeres; and to him succeeded *Pontius Pilate*, ten yeers. In *Tiberius* his reigne onely these two were Procurators in Judea, for *Tiberius* held it good policy not to change often; for, All Officers, said hee, had an intent and custome, by oppressions, exactions, and

Alexander the seventh.

spoile

ſpoyle of the Commons to enrich themſelves. And therefore, for the wealth and benefit of his ſubjects, he continued his Officers long, that new ſucceeding might not fleece them anew, as ſure hee was they would doe; whereas the old, having time enough to enrich themſelves, would not ſo oppreſſe them in their latter end as at the beginning, making haſte to doe it, leſt they bee removed before they can feather their neſts well. And he uſed to ſay, that the Foxe being old, and worried with dogs, lay by the high-way ſide not able to helpe himſelfe, nor to goe, that ſwarms of Flies fell upon his carrion carkaſſe, and miſerably tormented him: The Ape paſſing by, took compaſſion of him, and went about to drive away the Flies; Oh no, good brother Ape, ſaid the Foxe, let them alone; for theſe having almoſt filled themſelves, will give mee ſome reſt; but if they be driven away, freſh fleſh-Flies will light upon mee, and put me to far greater torment. Bad Officers of State, ſaid hee, are ſuch Flies, and experience ſheweth it that ſo they are; it is not good therefore to change often, to drive away the old. This courſe, ſaith *Joſephus*, *Tiberius* held; for in 22. yeers (ſo long he reigned,) Iudea had but two Procurators, *Valerius Gratus*, and *Pontius Pilate*. *Gratus* came downe the firſt yeere of *Tiberius*, and preſently took the high-Prieſthood from *Ananus* (the ſame man who in Scripture is called *Annas*) and ſold it to *Iſmaël* the ſonne of *Fabi*; he held it not long, *Eleazar* ſon of *Annas* bought him out; who, at the yeers end, was turned out, and *Simon ben Camithi* put in his place; he held it but one yeere, and *Joſeph Caïphas* ſucceeded him, who was high-Prieſt 18. yeeres: *Gratus*, ſaith *Joſephus*, having done nothing worth the remembring but thus, was called home, having held it 11. yeeres out, and *Pontius Pilate* ſent downe in his roome. *Pilate* is of greater name and fame in *Joſephus* his Story, and famous in the Chriſtian world for that diſpenſation of Grace and Redemption of man, by the bloud of our Saviour crucified under him in Judea. At his firſt entrance, he gave good occaſion to gheſſe how he would carry himſelfe afterwards in his Office; without juſt cauſe ſeeking occaſion to fall foule upon the Jewes, in defence of their Law. He made his entrance into Judea by night, and brought with him certaine Images of *Ceſar*, covered, that they might not bee diſcerned; which they named σημαίας, *Signa*; a thing never practiſed by any former Officers, as reſpecting the Jewes Law and Cuſtome, not to admit of any Images. This gave occaſion of much diſcontent in the City, and to the Countrey abroad; who, at the report, came in troopes to Jeruſalem, and from thence went to Ceſarea, where *Pilate* reſided, earneſtly beſeeching him not to break their Law, but to withdraw thoſe Images. *Pilate* denied to gratifie their deſire. The whole multitude fell flat upon their faces, weeping and intreating, continuing in that poſture five dayes and five nights; upon the ſixth day hee ſate downe in Court, and ſent for the multitude to come unto him, pre-

εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφείσαντο ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτῶν, ἄλλοι τῶν κλεπτῶν ἔξεσαν· ὥστε τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀκεκορεσμένων ἀμηχάνων τὸ λειπόν, αὐτοῖς χρωμένοις· διὰ δὲ σχῆς ὃ ὑπομεγενόμενος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, πάμαν ἐπ ἀρπαγὰς τῶν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀρχικοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις, ἀκαταστάτοις αὐτοῖς διὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις, ὡς οἷς πλήρεις ὄντες ἀφειλκύστες χείμαρρον, ἱστάμενον τῆς ἀτιμίας τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν λαμβάνειν, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὃ κακῶν γενέσθ' ὑστάσθαι. *Antiq.* 18. 8.

Joſeph. de bello l. 1. c. 14.

tending to give them a finall anſwer: when they were come, hee commanded the ſouldiers, who were directed before-hand what to doe, to ſurround them with their ſwords drawne, and pikes charged; and threatned to kill and hew them in peeces, except they would give way to have thoſe Images ſet up and ſtand. The Jewes, all as one man, offered their heads to the ſword, profeſſing they would rather dye, then conſent to breake the Law. *Pilate* underſtanding there was no other way, yeelded, and gave order to take away the Images; thus was his maſter-peece, as he intended it, fruſtrated. Another ſacrilegious attempt of his was this; Hee took out of the Temple the ſacred Treaſure, which they called Corban, money given in oblations to ſacred uſes, and imployed it upon a good, neceſſary, but profane and civill uſe, in bringing of water by conduits to the Citie. When he came next unto Jeruſalem, the people murmured and exclaimed againſt him for it: he having intelligence before-hand what would come of it, commanded the ſouldiers with battoons to go in amongſt them, and beat them, but kill none; but many died of the blowes received, and many in the throng were trodden to death. *Agrippa* went to Rome to complaine of him, but could have no redreſſe. In his time a falſe Prophet amongſt the Samaritans led them out to mount Gerizim, and told them hee would ſhew them certaine holy veſſels which *Moſes* had made, and hidden in that mount. They beleeved him, armed themſelves, and went after him. *Pilate* prevented them, and ſent certaine troops of horſe, who cut them all in peeces, tooke many, whom he put to death, and upon this occaſion confiſcated the eſtates of the chiefe in the Countrey. The Samaritans and Jewes make grievous complaints againſt him, for his outrages and extortions, many and inſufferable, unto *L. Vitellius* Preſident of Syria, who diſcharged him, and ſent him priſoner to Rome, willing his accuſers to follow, and charge him there, where he was condemned, and, as it is ſaid, ſlew himſelfe. *Joſephus*, as I have already recited, makes mention of our Saviour in his time, and that hee was crucified, and roſe againe upon the third day; hee relates nothing in particular of their proceedings againſt him; nor of thoſe Galileans whoſe blood *Pilate* mingled with their owne Sacrifices. More of him in *the Life and Death of* JESUS CHRIST. *Baronius* names *Marcellus* for his ſucceſſor: It is an error: Upon the diſmiſſion of *Pilate*, *Vitellius* appoints *Marcellus*, one of his friends, to command in Judea till a ſucceſſor came: His next ſucceſſor was *Cuſpius Fadus*, ſent thither in the third yeere of *Claudius*, after the death of *Agrippa*, remembred *Act.* 12. For under *Caius* and *Claudius*, *Agrippa* was ſo long as hee lived King of the Jewes, as *Herod* his grandfather formerly had been; and thereby was Judea exempted both from Procurator, and from the Preſidents of Syria: Hee being dead, *Claudius* made Judea a Province againe, and ſent thither *Cuſpius Fadus*, who, it ſeemeth, died there. To him ſucceeded *Tiberius Alexander*, a Jew borne, an Helleniſt of Alexandria, brother to *Philo* that learned Jew, whoſe works wee have extant at this day.

Hee

He was *Alabarcha*, or chiefe Magiſtrate of Alexandria; and at the beginning of *Galba*, *Præfectus Ægypti Auguſtalis*, Lieutenant generall in Egypt for the Emperour. Οἱ μηδὲν παρεκινοῦντες τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξαν. Theſe two, *Fadus* and *Alexander*, brought in no innovations, attempted nothing againſt juſtice to diſcontent the Jewes, but held the Province in peace and tranquillity all their time.

24 Such was not *Ventidius Cumanus*, the next ſucceſſor to *Tiberius Alexander*, ἐφ' ᾧ δόρυβοί τε ἤρξαντο, καὶ φθορὰ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων. Under him began new troubles to ariſe, and the Jewes to go to wrack again: the occaſion and paſſage is related by *Joſephus in* 2. *de bello* 20. and 20. *Antiq.* 4. At the Paſſeover the cuſtome was, by command of Gods Law, for all Jewes to preſent themſelves at the Temple. *Cumanus* miſdoubting leſt ſome uproars and tumults might happen, appointed a guard of ſouldiers about the Temple; no new device of his, but a cuſtome practiſed by all his Predeceſſors. Upon the fourth day of the Feaſt, a lewd varlet, one of the ſouldiers, downe with his breeches, and ſhewed his arſe to the people: Hereupon grew great diſcontent and indignation; for they ſaid it was done, not to diſgrace them, but to deſpight God and his ſervice: ſome went ſo farre as to raile upon *Cumanus*, as if hee had ſuborned the ſouldier to do it. *Cumanus* was both wayes much offended, but deſired them to be quiet, and not to interrupt the Feaſt. This enraged them the more: Hereupon *Cumanus* armes his ſouldiers, and from *Antonies* Tower, which adjoines to the Temple, makes ſhew of his ſouldiers in readineſſe to repreſſe their inſolencies. The multitude, ſeeing them in armes, thought to be ſet upon and ſlaine. Hereupon they fly with out-cries and ſhreiks, the ſouldiers attempting nothing againſt them; but ſuch was the preaſe and throng, that 20000. died in that uproare: ſo, through the inſolent impudency of one ſouldier, multitudes loſt their lives, and the Feaſt became a Funerall. This miſchiefe ſcarce over-paſt, another followes in its neck: Some of the authours of the former commotion returning home, meet upon the high-way, about ſome twelve miles from the Citie, one *Stephanus*, a ſervant of *Cæſars*, going to Jeruſalem; they ſet upon him, and rob him of all he had: *Cumanus*, upon notice, ſends out his Horſemen to ſpoile and burne the Country round about in revenge, and to bring the chiefe men of the Countrey in bonds unto him. In this execution, one of the ſouldiers meeting by chance, in one of the villages, with a coppy of *Moſes* Law, cut it in pieces, and withall, railed upon *Moſes*. Complaint was made to *Cumanus* of this deſpight done unto God and his Law. *Cumanus* fearing a new mutiny, by advice of the Councell, put the ſouldier to death who had done it, and ſo quieted all. But a third ſucceeded; The Galileans muſt needs goe through Samaria to Jeruſalem at the Feaſt, for the Country lay in their way; the men of Naim going up, were ſet upon, and murthered by the Samaritans: Complaint hereof was made to *Cumanus*; but the Samaritans with bribes ſtopt his proceeding. Hereupon the Galileans and Jewes fall to arme, nor would they bee induced to furceaſe by the wiſer

Cumanus the eighth ſent to *Cæſar* by *Numidius* Preſident of Syria.

ſer ſort, but ſend for one *Eleaſar* an old thiefe, and make him their Captaine. *Cumanus* makes againſt them, defeats them, kils many of them: the chiefe Citizens of Jeruſalem put on ſackcloth, goe out to the remainder, perſwade them to lay downe armes; ſo the thçeves were ſent back to their holds and coverts. At this time *Numidius Quadratus*, the Preſident of Syria, was at Tyre; the Samaritans repaire to him, and complaine upon the Jewes for burning their Townes; the Jewes reply, That the Samaritans began it; That complaining to *Cumanus* they could have no redreſſe, the Samaritans having foreſtalled him with bribes. *Quadratus* prorogues the further hearing of the buſineſſe till he came, which ſhould be ſhortly, to Jeruſalem. Not long after he comes to Samaria, and upon inquiſition findes it ſo that they began the wrong; yet did hee put to death thoſe Jewes whom *Cumanus* had ſurprized, and at Lydila afterwards hanged five or ſix more; but ſent *Ananias* the high-Prieſt, *Ananus* a Captaine, *Celer* a Colonell, and *Cumanus* the Procurator, to Rome, there to anſwer it unto *Ceſar*: himſelfe went to Jeruſalem, and finding all in quiet, returnes to Antioch. *Cumanus* and his company had a day ſet for their audience, who made friends to *Claudius* his Freed-men, who ruled him at pleaſure, and had prevailed, but that *Agrippa* the younger then in Rome, ſo wrought by *Agrippina*, that *Claudius* gave an indifferent hearing, and found the Samaritans authors and beginners of the ſtirs; whereupon he hanged them, ſent *Celer* to Jeruſalem to bee executed there, baniſhed *Cumanus*, and appointed *Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, his ſucceſſor.

Felix, founder of the *Sicarii*, ſucceedeth *Cumanus*.

25 This is the man remembred in the Acts of the Apoſtles; in time of his Government S. *Paul* was apprehended by the Jewes, and committed to priſon by *Felix*. He was originally a ſlave, or at beſt, *Libertus*, the ſonne of a ſlave: preferred to that place of Procuratorſhip by procurement of *Pallas* his brother, that powerfull Freed-man of *Claudius* the Emperour. When hee was Procurator, τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον αἰεὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων ἐλάμβανε· the ſtate and affaires of Judea grew every day worſe and worſe, the Countrey ſwarmed with theeves and outlawes, and many cozening falſe Prophets did ariſe: *Felix* continually ſurprized ſome of them; amongſt the reſt, *Eleaſar* that arch-thiefe already ſpoken of; but him hee took by treachery, having ſolemnly ſworne to do him no hurt. *Jonathan* the High Prieſt had been a principall cauſe of his promotion, in perſwading the Jewes to ſupplicate to the Emperor that he might ſucceed *Cumanus*. In confidence of his deſerving, and becauſe it would redound upon himſelfe, he was often in hand with *Felix* to take better courſes: But men in authority love no Directors; *Felix* muſt bee rid of *Jonathan*: He dealt with, and perſwaded his moſt confident friend *Doras* to procure his death by the *Banditi*, which was done by the *Sicarii*, as they were called, of *ſica*, a ſhort Faulchion which they ware under their coat. Theſe *Sicarii* not queſtioned for murther of *Jonathan*, went on in that courſe, ſuddenly to ſtab whom they pleaſed. Thus *Felix* was

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the Founder of theſe *Sicarii*. Concerning falſe Prophets, who, according to the prediction of our Saviour, were to come, in particular, that Egyptian of whom mention is in the *Acts*, thus he writes, *Falſe Prophets perſwaded much people to goe after them into the wilderneſſe, where they would ſhew them ſignes and wonders.* About this time there came one out of Egypt bearing himſelfe for a Prophet; hee perſwaded the people to follow him to the mount of Olives, and there they ſhould ſee that at his command the walls of Jeruſalem ſhould fall downe, and give them free paſſage into the Citie. *Felix* made out againſt him, ſlew 400. of his followers, and took 200. of them priſoners; the Egyptian eſcaped, and was never heard of more. Anon, at Ceſarea fell great contention betwixt the Jewes and Gentiles, dwellers there, and much bloudſhed was in the quarrell. *Felix* to quiet them, ſent in his ſouldiers, who made good booty of them, robbing and ſpoiling the rich mens goods. At Jeruſalem the high-Prieſts and ordinary Prieſts fell at variance, and did much miſchiefe one to another; *Felix* not regarding, or making his owne advantage of it. This *Felix* married *Druſilla*, a Jeweſſe; ſhee was daughter to King *Agrippa*, ſiſter to *Bernice*, of whom mention is made in the *Acts*; ſhe was married to *Azizus* King of Emeſa: *Felix* ſeeing her, fell in love with her, for ſhee was very faire; and wrought ſo much, that ſhee left her husband, and married *Felix*, not circumciſed, for which the Jewes deteſted her; and by him ſhe had a ſonne named *Agrippa*. Concerning *Felix*, thus *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 12. *At non frater ejus* (he ſpeaks of *Pallas*) *cognomento* Felix *pari moderatione agebat, jampridem Judæa impoſitus, & cuncta malefacta ſibi impunè ratus, tantâ potentiâ fratris ſubnixo.* His Brothers powerfull credit at Court, as it made him Procurator of Judea, ſo it bare him out againſt the many complaints and accuſations of the Jewes; ſo farre that, ſeeing no redreſſe, the Jewes were in a good forwardneſſe to rebell. *Sanè præbuerant Judæi ſpeciem motûs, ortâ ſeditione:* but at length, with much adoe, they procured his remove, and *Porcius Feſtus* ſucceeded.

26 *Feſtus* was no ill Officer: At his firſt comming hee found the Country very much infeſted by thoſe murthering villans, the *Sicarii*; the originall of them came from *Felix*. Hee undertook and performed good ſervice, but lived not to finiſh all his deſignes. At his firſt comming alſo hee gave leave to the Jewes to goe to Rome and complaine of *Felix*. Another falſe Prophet aroſe in his time, who promiſed all men reſt, peace, happineſſe, if with him they would go into the wilderneſſe; *Feſtus* intercepted and ſlew both him and them, and ſhortly after dyed. To him ſucceeded *Albinus*, the worſt that ever came amongſt them, but that *Geſſius Florus* his ſucceſſor was worſe then hee. In the betweene-ſpace of *Feſtus* his death and *Albinus* his ſucceſſion, *Annas* the younger, ſonne to *Annas*, of whom the Gotpel makes mention, being high-Prieſt, thruſt in by *Agrippa* the younger, a man of untractable diſpoſition, and by ſect a Phariſee, calleth a Conſiſtory or Synedrion, and citeth *James* the brother of JESUS, called

Feſtus ſucceedeth him: him *Albinus*. In the interſpace betwixt theſe two, *James* the brother of the Lord condemned to death by *Annas* jun.

Antiq. 20. 8. called *CHRIST*, (they are *Josephus* words) with some other, and layeth to their charge breach of the Law, condemneth them, as blasphemers, to be stoned to death. The more discreet, moderate, and learned in the Law were much offended at his boysterous proceeding, and dealt under-hand with *Agrippa* to stay it; others repaired to *Albinus*, upon his way to Jerusalem, acquainting him with what *Annas* had done, in derogation of his authority; For but with his leave hee could call no Consistory. Hereupon *Albinus* wrote sharpe and menacing Letters unto him, telling him hee should answer it; and *Agrippa* put him out of Office having been High-Priest but three moneths, substituting *Jesus* sonne of *Damney*. *Albinus* arriving at Jerusalem, and understanding the state of the Countrey, bent all his endeavours to settle quietnesse; many of the *Sicarii* he took and hanged: but the faction betwixt the Priests and High-Priests enraged more; the servants of *Ananias*, one of the High-Priests, went abroad and seised on the Tythes due unto the Priests, beating such as refused to pay them; their Master and his associates were as bad as they. The Priests who had no means but Tythes to live upon, losing them, were affamished. The *Sicarii* secretly comming into the Citie by night, at the Passeover, surprised and carried away *Eleasar* sonne of *Annas* the High-Priest, and wrote unto him, that hee should not recover his sonne, except *Albinus* would discharge ten of their companions, then his prisoners; which upon earnest intreaty was yeelded to. This is all that *Josephus* in his *Antiquities* hath of *Albinus*, which give no great cause of passing that censure upon him, He was the worst of all: But in his second book of the *Jewes Wars*, *cap.* 24. he writes thus; *Albinus* did not carry himselfe so well as *Festus*; not any kind of mischief but he put it in practice: in peace and civill government he seised on, made havock of, and took to himselfe every mans goods as hee pleased, laid new and insupportable taxes upon the Commons. For matters reflecting upon armes, such Theeves, Outlawes, *Sicarii*, as either particular Towns had surprized at their own charges, or his Predecessors had committed, for money he discharged them all: This incouraged the desperate; and such theeves as were rich were at an agreement with him, for an annuall pension, to rob and ransack without controll: The rascall, unquiet popularity applyed themselves unto his instruments and agents; every swashbuckler that could bee followed of any, walked the streets freely, as his stipendiaries, himselfe in case and habit of Chiefe amongst an army of theeves. So much, and somewhat more *Josephus*, making him the first mover unto that Warre which brought desolation and finall ruine to the State and Politie of the Jewes.

Gessius Florus a cruell Procurator.

Gessius Florus his successor was a Clazomenian born; his wife *Cleopatra* was very intimate with *Poppæa Augusta*, *Nero's* wife, and procured for her husband that place. He was far worse then *Albinus*: For *Albinus* did many things amisse covertly; but *Florus*, as if hee would avow his misdemeanors, did so disperse them, that every man tooke notice

notice of them: Presuming upon the countenance of *Poppæa*, through his wives means, without fear or shrinking, he put in practice what cruelty and covetousnesse did suggest. And God, to make way unto the fiercenes of his wrath, now instantly to be powred out upon that people, in rewarding them not onely according to their *deserts*, but also their *desires*, *His blood bee upon us and our children*, before hee undid them with a sweeping desolation, hee sent Lions and Beares amongst them, cruell, unmercifull, wicked Rulers, such as *Cumanus*, *Felix*, *Albinus*, *Florus*, to grinde them to powder, teare them in pieces, torment their bodies, rape their wives and daughters, spoile and seise upon all they enjoyed: For God comes not at first to a finall ruinating of a wicked State, *till the abomination of the Amorites be full.*

27 So have I contexted a continued Catalogue and List of the Presidents of Syria, and Procurators of Judea, from the time that the Jewes, of ancient friends and allyes, through their owne folly, became subject to the Romans, made Tributaries by *Pompey* in his conquest of the East, till their finall extirpation by the same Romans, for the space of about sixscore and twelve yeers; *Ut eadem ipsa Evangelica veritas sua firmitate subsistens manifestior habeatur*: which is the proper designement of this Catalogue. Some part thereof I shall have occasion more enlargedly to examine in a more proper place, at the Birth of our Saviour, at the enrollment by *P. Sulpitius Cyrenius*, extraordinarily employed thereabout, when *Sentius Saturninus* was in ordinary. This I have immediately annexed unto *Herods* Advancement, his Life and Actions, as a manifest of the Scepter taken away according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*, which runs on with that Departure untill the full consummation, at the finall destruction of that State by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, ending with the last Procurator, and principall procurer of it, *Gessius Florus*; since when, for sixteen hundred yeeres, the Jewes are vagabonds over all the earth, not numbered with the Nations of the world: so fearfully exemplary is Gods vengeance upon them for evermore.

The reasons why the Author writ this Catalogue rehearsed.

CAP. 6.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the ſucceſsion of the High-Prieſthood in Iſrael.

THE SUMMARIE.

PARAG.

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31 Alexander the Great going againſt Jeruſalem, being met by the High-Prieſts, falls down and worſhips the true God.
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32 Alexander *giveth rich gifts to the Temple.*
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41 *The* Maccabees *tell of Prieſts that were not of the Tribe of* Levi.
42 *The true High-Prieſt in theſe troubles under* Antiochus *fled into Egypt, and built a Temple there.*
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47 Alexander, *High-Prieſt, leaveth two ſonnes very young,* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus.
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49 Hyrcanus *his troubles and captivitie.*
50 Herod *made King, maketh* Ananetus *Prieſt.*
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52 Hyrcanus *is ſlaine. Ten Maccabean Prieſts.*
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56 *Our Saviour borne when* Joazar *was High-Prieſt.*
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58 Annas, Caiphas, *and ſome others.*
59 *A new High-Prieſt almoſt every yeere.*
60 *A* Phinees *(after the Conqueſt of Canaan) firſt and laſt High-Prieſt in Iſrael.*
61 *Never any Prieſt but of the Tribe of* Levi *in all the ſucceſſions,* CHRIST *excepted.*
62 *The ſtole badge of the Prieſts Office deſcribed.*
63 *The places where it uſed to bee kept.*
64 *Other Garments belonged to the Prieſts ſervice.*
65 *The State ruinous at* CHRISTS *comming.*
66 *A queſtion raiſed whether* Annas *&* Caiphas *were both High-Prieſts at one time.*
67 *The Prieſt might have a Deputy.*
68 *The ſame thing proſecuted.*
69 *But one High-Prieſt among the Jewes at one time.*
70 *If more at once, it was an ataxie and diſorder.*
71 Baronius *his concluſions concerning* Annas *and* Caiphas.
72 Baronius, *in that hee delivers of* Annas, *not ſatisfying.*
73 *The great Councell: and where the Seate of it was.*
74 *Others then Prieſts of that* Councell.
75 Herod *ſuffered none of the Tribe of* Judah *to bee Councellors.*
76 *The great Authority of the Councell, yet not over Kings.*
77 *That it was not extended over the King,*
78 *Nor ſimply over the Prophets.*
79 Baronius *would have Kings and Prophets ſubject to the Sanhedrin.*
80 *No* conſtat *that at any time they were ſo.*
81 *Why our Saviour was carried firſt before* Annas.
82 *No appeale from the Sanhedrin, Prophets, or any other in matter of fact were cenſured by it.*
83 Baronius *diverſly falſe in his Hiſtory concerning this Councell.*
84 *The beginning and continuance of the Sanhedrin.*

85 *But*

85 *But one in the High-Priests Office at one time.*
86 Annas *Priest* de jure, Caiphas de facto, *at the same time.*
87 *The Order of* Aaron *vanished at* CHRIST *his comming: and* Melchisedech *is set up for ever.*

The two great naturall and civill Lights.

1 IN the Firmament of Heaven, when God made the world, hee set and disposed *two great Lights, the Sunne to rule the day; the Moone to governe the night.* In the Firmament, as it were, of the little world, Man; that is, of the Church and Synagogue, in their severall times and states, there have heen from the beginning, though not in one sort, two Lights of eminent note and excellent assignement; two great, sacred, royall Ordinances, appointed by God, addressed to God; both from God, as his immediate ordination; both for God, to his immediate dispensation; and both stiled *The Lords annoynted*: Joyntly and combinedly, both together the maine Arches and Pillars of two Societies, Humane and Divine, amongst men; that is, Priesthood and Principality: the originall instruments under God to man, of all good, temporall, morall, and eternall.

ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ εἰς θεόν.

The two civill Lights of old united in one person.

2 Both were at first united in one person, not parted or divided amongst many or divers, as in processe afterward. The eldest of the house, in the Families of the faithfull, was ever a Priest unto God for the things of God; and a Prince amongst men for the things of man: And, as a remaine of ancient custome, this continued among Pagans, as many things of like nature and condition did, though obscuredly,

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.

And where many Families did combine in one, as in a Citie, Countrey, or a Kingdome, the eldest in yeares was greatest in authoritie, if capable of it, and so Prince and Priest paramount over all the rest.

Such a one was *Melchisedech* King and Priest.

3 Such was *Melchisedech* in *Abrahams* time, that is, *Sem* the son of *Noah*, great Patriarch of the second world after the Flood, eldest then alive, and Father of all the sons of Promise: Greater then *Abraham*, that *Friend of God*; for *Abraham* payd Tithes unto *Melchisedech*, and *Abraham* was blessed by *Melchisedech, a Priest of the most high God*; a Prince above him, who is also himself stiled *a Prince*, because *The lesse is blessed by the greater.*

When the Kingdom and Priesthood were disjoyned, and when re-united.

4 Those high and great dignities, both continued united in *Isaac* and *Jacob*, till that division in the dayes of *Moses*, where *Levi* had the Miter, *Judah* the Crowne, by speciall dispensation from God himselfe, according to assignement for a season; for all things doe and shall revert to their first originall, as the Rivers returne unto the *Gathering of waters*, which is the Sea; so Priesthood divided from Princedome in *Jacob* for a time, revolved both, and reverted to their first originall; became againe re-united in his Person, who, as hee was appointed

appointed *Lord and King, to rule over the houſe of Jacob for ever*: So was hee made alſo a Prieſt for *ever, after the Order of* Melchiſedech, *offering up better* things unto God, then were the offerings of *Aaron*, and his ſons under the Law.

5 Theſe two Eſtates divided thus in *Jacob*, and ſeparated in *Iſrael*, and moſt commonly amongſt all Nations in the world; yet have ever held every where ſuch correſpondency, reference, and annexation one with the other, that in all experience of all States and Times, the diſ-reputation, diſ-regard, contempt; the blemiſhing, impairing, decaying of the one, hath drawn on the deſolation of the other: So the *Scepter departing away from* Judah, gave occaſion for the Prieſthood to be removed at laſt from *Levi*, and to be impeached much whileſt yet it continued in the houſe of *Levi*. The miſery of the one made an acceſſe of confuſion in the other. *Baronius* notes well unto this purpoſe, *Non modo Regnum, ſed & legitima Sacerdotii Inſtitutio, per hæc tempora defecerat.* The correſpondence betwixt the two Eſtates.

6 The Scepter was departed away, Rule and Authority gone from *Judah*, ſtrangers came to lord it over Gods Inheritance, and inſtantly the lawfull Succeſſion of the Prieſthood fell, the Houſe of *Aaron* came to ruine. The ſtate of which Prieſthood, as it ſtood in Iſrael, both from the firſt inſtitution, and when *Siloh* came, is worth the ſearch and conſideration, and much for illuſtration of thoſe Times. The departing of the Scepter from *Judah* cauſed the diſſolution of the Prieſthood.

7 The firſt Prieſt in Iſrael was *Aaron*, ſonne *of Amram*, of the Tribe of *Levi*; elder brother by three yeer unto *Moſes*, Prince of the people at their egreſſe out of Egypt. Hee was choſen and nominated by God himſelfe unto that Office, and ſo were none of his poſterity after him; ſo he had Miſſion and Commiſſion extraordinary for himſelfe, but ordinary and ſucceſſive for his poſterity: of which, in kind, though not in degree, the Apoſtle ſaith, No man takes it upon him, unleſſe hee be *called and ſent of God, as* Aaron *was*. And as God made choice of him out of *Levi*; ſo having inveſted him in that Office, hee maintained him in it againſt ſchiſmaticall *Corah* and his complices, who pretended, as deſcendants from the elder Houſe of *Levi*, and therefore to be preferred before him. But *God doth not judge as man deemeth*; this ſchiſme and oppoſition coſt *Corah* deare, being ſwallowed up quick into the earth, and going downe alive into hell. God afterward ratified that his Election of *Aaron* and his ſons, by the *budding* and bearing fruit of *Aarons rod* in one night. The Inauguration and Confirmation of *Aaron* firſt High Prieſt.

8 The manner of his Conſecration and Inveſting is at large related in the 29. of *Exod.* with *Waſhing, Annointing, Clothing, Offering* Sacrifice, and the reſt. His Office by *Joſephus* is deſcribed thus; *Hee is to weare the ſacred Stole hallowed by God: To take care of the Altar of God. The ordering of all Sacrifices and Oblations reſts upon him. Hee was to intercede for the people, and to make Prayer for them unto God; who, for the ſpeciall care that hee hath of our Nation, and love that hee beareth unto us, is ever ready and willing to heare his Prayers; and the rather, becauſe they be offered and preſented by that man whom himſelfe hath* What his Office was. *Antiq.* 3. 10.

hath made choice of to ſerve him. In which paſſage hee hath omitted that which was his principall and peculiar Office, *His going in before the Lord into the Sanctuary*, or *moſt Holy place*, which was with *blood*, to make an attonement for himſelfe and the people, once every yeere, upon one day in the yeer, and but one time that day; it was capitall to goe in twice. Beſide that declaration of *Joſephus* concerning the duty of the High Prieſt, the Holy Ghoſt in the booke of *Joſua* ſpeaketh thus of him, *Joſua ſhall ſtand before the face of* Eleazar *the Prieſt, and hee ſhall enquire for him in the judgement of Urim. Hee himſelfe, and all the children of Iſrael, and all the congregation of the people, ſhall goe in and out according to his word*: which was, ſhall follow his direction in ſpirituall things and duties, ſuch as concerne their duty to God; but not in temporals, which touch their dutie, carriage, commerce, diſpenſation with man.

6 It belonged not only to him to annoint the King.

9 It is not onely idle but impious alſo, which *Serarius* the Jeſuite, and others of that confeſſion, doe collect from hence; That *Joſua*, though elected, appointed, and inaugurated by God himſelfe immediately, nor ſhould, nor ought to have gone in and out before the people; that is, have taken upon him the State in Iſrael, except *Eleazar* the Prieſt had firſt approved it, and given him *jus in re*, or inveſtiture thereunto: that ſo, by conſequence, no King Chriſtened (for Pagans are in better caſe) may dare take upon him the Crown, or adminiſtration of his Kingdome, untill the Popes Buls confirme him therein. If this had been a Law in Iſrael, then had *Salomon* not been King; for *Abiathar* the High Prieſt, then in Office, followed *Adonijah* againſt him. Nor was *David* or *Jehu* annointed by any High Prieſt in Iſrael, but by *Samuel*, and one of the Sonnes of the Prophets. It is therefore another conceit of another Jeſuite, *Salianus* the Annaliſt, that it belonged peculiarly to the High Prieſt to annoint the King: in England it belongs to the Arch-biſhop of Canterbury; and in France, to him of Rhemes: which, if it had been ſo, was an act of Miniſtration, not of Authority.

Aarons death.

10 *Aaron* continued High Prieſt from his inauguration, all the while that Iſrael abode in the wilderneſſe, almoſt: But in the fortieth yeere after their comming out of Egypt, and the 123 yeer of *Aarons* life, becauſe he was not to goe over Jordan, nor to enter into the Land of Canaan, *Numb.* 20.22. God commanded him, and *Moſes*, and *Eleazar* his ſonne, to goe up into mount Hor, in the borders of Edom, and there *Moſes* ſtripped *Aaron* of his Pontificall garments, and put them upon *Eleazar* his ſon, in the ſight of Iſrael; and ſo there *Aaron* died in mount Hor, for whom Iſrael mourned 30. daies, and *Eleazar*, his eldeſt ſon ſurviving, ſucceeded to the Prieſthood in his place.

Eleazar ſucceeds his Father in the Prieſthood.

11 *Aaron*, when he came to be High Prieſt in Iſrael, by his Wife *Eliſabeth*, Daughter of *Aminadab*, and Siſter to *Nahaſhon* Prince of the Tribe of *Judah*, had foure Sonnes, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, *Ithamar*, all of them ſet apart to be the Lords Prieſts, and hallowed with the *holy Oyle* of Conſecration, and accordingly did miniſter in the

the Priests Office. *Nadab* and *Abihu*, the two eldest, as the story is related, *Levit.* 10. were both slaine by Gods vengeance, for offering *strange fire*, as it is called; that is, for burning the Sacrifice with common and ordinary fire, which should have beene consumed with fire that came downe from heaven. *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* surviving, together with their Father *Aaron*, executed the Priests Office in the wilderneſſe; and *Aaron* being dead, as is specified, *Eleazar* the eldest, according to the prerogative of Birth-right, succeeded in his stead: He was High Priest in the land of Canaan all the dayes of *Josua*, and it is probable, survived *Josua*, being younger then hee, that is, under twenty yeers of age at the departure up out of Egypt, otherwise hee should not have entered Canaan; and was, without question, one of those *Elders* who are said to have survived *Josua*, and to have held Israel in Gods service all their dayes, having seen the warres of Canaan, and the great things God had done for Israel.

12 It is an idle conceit of that voluminous Jesuite, *Salianus*, to make Priests and Prince in state for the most part die together, and to succeed in place together; because, peradventure, *Moses* and *Aaron* died in one yeere, therefore *Josua* and *Eleazar* must also die the same yeer: and so *Phinehas* his sonne died also the same yeer that *Othoniel* the first Judge of Israel died. But it is more then idle, or absurd; it is impious to make *Eleazar* 48. yeers old at the comming up out of Egypt, whereas the Scripture is plaine, That none of Israel who came up out of Egypt, aged above twenty yeers, did enter into the land of Canaan, save onely *Caleb* and *Josua*; *Nadab* and *Abihu* being both elder, died before. *Eleazar*, it is most probable, survived *Josua*, and lived some time with *Othoniel*, the first Judge; *Ithamar* his brother being second Priest in order, as equall with him at first in consecration. Probable that *Eleazar* survived *Josua*.

13 *Eleazar* dying, *Phinehas* his sonne succeeded, borne in the wilderneſſe, and memorable in sacred Story, for execution done upon *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, in the cause of *Peor*; and therefore in speciall sort commended and blessed by God. *Eleazars* younger sonnes, and *Ithamars* children ministred in the Priests Office, according to their severall places and appointments, at the ordering and disposition of the High Priest; but by set disposition of *Moses* from God, as 1 *Chron.* 6.49. Aaron *and his sons offered upon the Altar of the burnt offering, and on the Altar of incense, and were appointed for all the worke of the place most holy, and to make an attonement for Israel, according to all that* Moses *the servant of God had commanded.* *Phinehas* held the place a long time, but not so long as the Jewish Rabbins dreame, untill the time of *Eli*, and of *Samuel*, *Judg.* 20.28. *Phinehas* son of *Eleazar* is said to have been the Lords High Priest when Israel made warre upon the Tribe of *Benjamin*, for the villany committed by the men of Gibeah, upon the Levites wife; which, though it bee reported after *Samsons* story, yet fell out long before the birth of *Samson*, and most probably, in an interim betwixt Judge and Judge: because *Judah* is appointed Phinehas succeeded his father Eleazar.

to have been Captaine, which ſhould not have beene, had there beene an ordinary Judge in place, to whom for his time managing of affaires belonged.

What Prieſts followed in *Eleazars* line.

14 Concerning any other High Prieſts in Iſrael, betwixt *Phinehas* the ſonne of *Eleazar*, and *Eli*, of the line of *Ithamar*, there is no memoriall in holy writ; onely *Eleazars* line for the eldeſt of the Houſe, no farther, 1 *Chron.6.* is deduced unto *Zadoc* thus; *Eleazar*, *Phinehas*, *Abiſhua*, *Bucki*, *Oze*, *Zaraias*, *Meraioh*, *Amarias*, *Ahitob*, *Zadoc*; and ſo alſo, 1. *Eſdr.7.* *Joſephus* in the 4. of his *Antiquities*, concludeth with *Oze*, leaving out the reſt; becauſe he was held by the Tradition of the Jewes in his time, to have been the laſt High Prieſt of the Houſe of *Eleazar*; and then *Eli* of *Ithamar* to have ſucceeded in Office.

Salianus his account confuted.

15 *Salianus* the Jeſuite, only to diſſent from *Joſephus*, who is both elder, and of more credit then all the Jewiſh fabling Rabbies, putteth in for High Prieſts, *Zaraias*, *Meraioh*, *Amarias*, *Ahitob*, father unto *Zadoc*, without warrant, ſenſe or diſcretion: for if *Eli* ſucceeded *Ahitob*, then *Zadoc* was the firſt man put by of the Houſe of *Eleazar*; who, when he became High Prieſt againe in the time of *Salomon*, muſt have been upon the point of 140. yeeres old: For *Eli*, as *Salianus* himſelfe confeſſeth, was High Prieſt at leaſt 40. yeeres; *Zadoc* was borne when his father *Ahitob* died; *Eli* was dead before *Saul* began to reigne, in his owne account, 22. yeers; *Samuel* and *Saul* held 40. yeers, till *David* came in place; and he reigned 40. yeers before *Abiathar* was depoſed by King *Salomon*. Such extravagant diſcourſes hath that voluminous Jeſuite, eſpecially in his malignant invectives againſt *Joſephus*.

The Prieſthood tranſlated out of *Eleazars* line into *Ithamars*.

16 Let it ſtand then for a Truth which *Joſephus* hath delivered, and cannot be made contradictory to Scripture, that, After *Oze* the High Prieſt was gathered to his Fathers, the Prieſthood, from the Houſe of *Eleazar*, in *Eli*, came unto the line and poſterity of *Ithamar*, in the firſt and eldeſt of that Houſe, *Eli* judging Iſrael after *Samſon*; at the ſame time *Zaraias*, *Meraioh*, *Amarias*, *Ahitob*, father unto *Zadoc* ſerved at the Altar as ſingle and ſubordinate Prieſts.

Torniellus his reaſon of this tranſlation.

18 When, wherefore, by what meanes this Tranſlation of Prieſthood from *Eleazar* unto *Ithamar* happened, is not expreſſed. *Torniellus*, a man of ſounder judgement then *Salianus*, obſerves out of *Lyra*, that the Prieſthood was transferred becauſe of the negligence, miſdemeanours, and irreligiouſneſſe of the former High Prieſts after *Phinehas*, in not admoniſhing the people of their duty, not with-holding them from ſuch frequent Idolatry, not performing their Service as they ſhould; and this not improbably: For upon the ſame ground it was ſaid to *Eli*, *Thoſe that honour God, God will honour; and ſuch ſhall be deſpiſed as deſpiſe him.* And ſure we are, by the Story of the Judges, that many and enormous were the miſdemeanors of thoſe times, wherein, there being *No King in Iſrael, every man did what was right in his owne eyes.* And that it was transferred upon the perſon of *Eli*, it might well bee, out of Honourable reſpect of that Temporall

place

place hee then held, being Judge in Iſrael after *Samſons* death.

18 The Jewiſh Doctors deliver, as their cuſtome is to deliver many childiſh abſurdities as well as impieties, That *Phinehas* the ſonne of *Eleazar* was then alive, and that he was that man of God who denounced againſt *Eli* and his Houſe that judgement which fell upon him and his ſons, That *in one day they ſhould die both*; as if hee had been deprived of his Prieſthood long before. *Salianus* excepteth againſt *Abiſhua*, *Bocci*, and *Oze*, onely being Prieſts beſide and before *Eli*; becauſe, ſaith hee, from the death of *Joſua*, and ſo of *Eleazar*, that died the ſame yeere with him, are at leaſt 300. and 16. yeers; and it is not probable, that foure High Prieſts onely, that is, *Phinehas*, *Abiſhua*, *Bocci*, *Oze*, could hold the High Prieſthood ſo many yeeres. To which I anſwer, It is not impoſſible, though improbable, eſpecially ſeeing that himſelfe maintains, That *Aod* judged Iſrael 80. yeers at the ſame time; who doubtleſſe was 30. yeer old when hee became Judge; and if three Judges might hold it ſo long, that is, 240. yeers, why might not foure High Prieſts hold that Office 316. yeers? ſeeing with us of late time, three Biſhops ſucceeding one the other, *Wickham*, *Benfort*, *Waynfleet*, held the See of Wincheſter above ſixe-ſcore yeers. But wee need not be put upon ſuch exigencies: For how can he diſpute it, that *Eleazar* did not out-live *Joſua* many yeers, peradventure twenty? After him, how can he diſpute it, that *Phinehas* his ſonne was not High Prieſt above 60. yeeres? The Hebrewes generally do make him an exceeding old man; and the Scripture ſaith, he was High Prieſt at the time of the Warre againſt the Benjamites; which, as it was not ſo late as *Sigonius* ſets it after *Samſons* death, ſo was it nothing ſo ſoone as *Tormellus* puts it, before *Othniels* time; or in his time, as *Salianus* ſtates it, but after *Aod*, and peradventure *Debora*, about the diſſolute times of *Abimelech*. This is no improbability; howſoever, the ſtrange abſurdities of *Salianus* in giving us ſo many High Prieſts of the line of *Eleazar*, before *Eli*, cannot ſtand.

Salianus his account of the number of Prieſts before *Eli*, further examined.

19 *Eli* being dead, in that ſort as is related 1 *Sam.* 3. his Grandchild *Ahitob* ſucceeded him in the Prieſthood, who was ſon unto his ſonne *Phinehas*, ſlaine by the Philiſtins when the Arke was taken. This is alſo granted by *Salianus*, who aſſigneth him 21. yeers for his Office; and then brings in *Ahias* his ſon for ten yeers; after whom ſucceeded *Achimelech* his ſon, who in his thirteenth yeer was ſlaine by *Saul*, with 80. Prieſts, upon the accuſation of *Doeg* the Edomite, in the eleventh yeer of King *Saul*, as he ſets it downe, ſix yeers before that *David* ſucceeded, in all 54. yeers after the death of *Eli*, 40. yeers before *Zadoc* was Prieſt, which is another grand error of this blundering Ieſuite. Others more truly make *Achias* and *Achimelech* the ſame man, whoſe ſonne *Abiathar* eſcaped away unto *David*, adhered to him in all his troubles, and continued High Prieſt all the daies of *David*, 40 yeers together; till for confederacy with *Adonijah*, *Salomon* depoſed him, and ſet up *Zadoc* in his ſtead, whoſe father *Ahitob*, as *Salianus* dreamed, died about ſevenſcore yeers before.

The ſucceſſion of Prieſts from *Eli* to *Zadoc*.

Eleazars line reſtored in *Zadoc*. Hee the firſt Prieſt in the Temple.

20 In *Zadoc* by *Salomon* thus advanced, the High Prieſthood in Iſrael was reduced back unto the Family of *Eleazar*, which had beene without it foure deſcents, from the death of *Oze*, laſt of that line. So, from the firſt Inſtitution, to the dayes of *Salomon*, theſe were High Prieſts, *Aaron*, *Eleazar*, *Phinehas*, *Abiſhua*, *Bocci*, *Oze*, *Eli*, *Ahitob*, *Achimelech*, *Abiathar*; after whom begins, not onely a new Succeſſion of Prieſts, but a new kinde of Service, from a walking Tabernacle not fixed, unto a glorious ſtanding Temple: in which Temple *Zadoc*, ſon of *Ahitob*, of the Houſe of *Eleazar*, was the firſt; and ſo continued all his owne dayes, that is, 40. yeers, all the reigne of *Salomon*, ſaith *Salianus*; after whoſe account, which is moſt childiſh, hee was nine-ſcore yeers old then when he died.

Zadoc and his ſonnes ſucceſſively Prieſts till the Captivity.

21 In his Houſe and Poſterity, without interruption, it held on ſucceſſively unto the Captivity, from father to ſon in direct line: when Citie and Temple being both deſtroyed, the daily Service ceaſed; the Prieſts had no imployment, but to teach the people; the High Prieſt, in preſent, was ſlaine at the conqueſt, and his ſonne *Joſedec* carried captive into Babylon. Thus, Succeſſion is certaine, but the parties ſucceeding *Zadoc* are not ſo: there is variety and different Tradition for their names, their perſons, and their number: The Hebrew Rabbins recite them one way, *Joſephus* another way, *Nicephorus* a third, *Siculum Chronicon* a fourth, and *Salianus*, differing from all, a fifth.

Nicephorus his Catalogue and Siculum χρονικὸν, neither true concerning the names of thoſe Prieſts.

22 *Nicephorus* his Catalogue runneth thus; *Ahimaas*, *Azarias*, *Urias*, *Sebna*, *Eliacim*, *Helcias*, *Seraias*, ſeven in all, and no more; which is imperfect and impoſſible: For *Urias* was Prieſt in *Ahas* time, and *Ahimaas* began with King *Salomons* ſonne *Roboam* at lateſt; from whence unto the firſt of *Ahas*, are 239. yeeres. Secondly, as many are left out who were High Prieſts, ſo are ſome (*Sebna* at leaſt, who was Scribe or Secretary to K. *Hezekiah*) put in that never were High Prieſts, nor of *Aaron*. The Sicilian Chronicle reciteth theſe; *Ahimelech*, *Johanan*, *Azarias*, *Ahitob*, *Zadoc*, *Jehojada*, *Urias*, *Sebna*, *Eliacim*, *Sellum*, *Azarias*, *Seraias*; more in number, but more untowardly diſpoſed then the former. What Authors theſe two followed, I cannot tell; this I am ſure, they neither agree with themſelves, nor with truth: *Sebna* was a lay man, as is ſaid; *Ahimelech* was father unto *Abiathar*, Prieſt under *Saul*, before the daies of *David*, long before the building of the Temple, and of *Ithamars*, not *Eleazars* line; and yet *Abiathar* his ſonne is not here: *Johanan*, what he was, or whence he came, it would be knowne: *Azarias* was grandchild, not grandfather to *Zadoc*, whoſe ſonne *Ahimaas*, father to *Azarias*, is omitted; and *Ahitob* his grandfather, *Zadoc's* father put into his place, who never was High Prieſt, but an ordinary Prieſt. In one word, theſe two fabling Greekes have ſcarce two words true in them, put together.

The fooliſh Catalogue of the Jewiſh Rabbins.

23 The Jewiſh Rabbins, as *Genebrard* in his Chronologie relateth them, deliver their Catalogue of High Prieſts thus, ſomewhat like the courſe held by *Salianus*, under particular Kings of Judah: *Zadoc* under

under *Salomon*, *Ahimaas* under *Roboam*, *Azarias* under *Abia*, *Joachas* under *Josaphat*, *Jojarib* under *Joram*, *Josaphat* under *Ochosias*, *Joiada*, *Phadaias*, *Zacharias* under *Athalia* and *Joas*, *Zedechias* under *Amasias*, *Joel* under *Oseas*, *Jotham* under *Joatham*, *Urias* under *Ahas*, *Nerias* under *Ezechias*, *Oscias* under *Manasses*, *Sellum* under *Amon*, *Helcias* under *Iosias*, *Azarias* under *Ioacim*, *Seraias* (slaine at the Captivity) under *Zedechias*, *and Iosedec* carried into Babylon: A fine fiction! as if God had resolved the lives of Priests and Princes to concurre. Wise men know what little credit is to be given to these Jewish Rabbins; and yet *Salianus*, for the most part, treadeth the same steps, whose Catalogue is digested thus; *Zadoc*, *Ahimaas*, *Azarias Iohanon*, *Azarias*, *Amarias*, *Iojadas*, *Petadias*, *Zedechias*, *Ioel qui & Azarias* 3. *Ioathan*, *Urias*, *Nerias*, *qui & Azarias* 4. *Osias*, *Ioacim*, *qui & Eliacim*, *Helcias*, *Azarias* 5. *Saraias*, *Iosedec*.

24 *Iosephus*, of more credit then all the Rabbins and Jesuites, in *Antiq.* 10. *cap.* 11. describes them thus; *Ahimaas Azarias*, *Ioramus*, *Pheidias*, *Sudeas*, *Inlus*, *Iotham*, *Urias*, *Nerias*, *Odeas*, *Saldumus*, *Helcias*, *Saraias*, *Iosedec*, fourteen in all, beside *Zadoc* father unto *Ahimaas*, first Priest in *Salomons* Temple: In which Catalogue, it may bee said, that two High Priests more are inserted then by us are set down, *Isus*, and *Axioramus*, who came in betwixt *Pheidias* and *Ioram*; but the Text of *Iosephus* is therein corrupted by a slip of the Transcribers pen: It was written *Axioramus* for *Ioramus*. Some advised Scholler reading over the Catalogue, and knowing that *Ioram* was a name common amongst the Jewes, but *Axioramus* was never heard of, corrected the error, as the use is with Schollers, by his pen, setting in the margine ἴσως Ἰόσηπος; that is, *Peradventure it should be* Joramus: which by a Copier of that Book, was taken out of the margine into the text; (for the most of those Amanuenses were unlearned, and not able to understand the meaning) and so wee come to have two High Priests more then ever were, or were dreamed of by *Iosephus*. This I doe the rather note, because all our moderne Chronologers and Compilers of Jewish affaires, upon occasion offered, doe give us a List of Jewish High Priests, with *Isus* and *Axioramus* put in; So *Barradus* the Jesuite, who is a meere Rapsodist, and Compiler, oftentimes without judgement and discretion; So that great Undertaker against *Scaliger*, *Petavius* the Jesuite, in his 10. Book and 49. Chapter, hath put them both into his Catalogue; So (which I wonder at) *Carolus Sigonius*, that learned and diligent observer of Jewish Antiquities; So those, who in our English tongue, upon the same argument, have meerly almost transcribed him. And yet my selfe, some yeers before those English Pamphlets set forth, had corrected the Copies of *Iosephus* as they should be read, in my *Annalecta*: Beside, in this Catalogue of *Iosephus*, *Sudeus* should be *Saadias*, *Iulus* should be *Ioelus*, *Seldumus* should be *Sellumus*, *Sallum*, or, as elsewhere he is stiled, *Meshallum*; Hebrew, and not Greek names.

Iosephus Catalogue of Priests the best and truest.

25 Lastly, the Scripture in no one place doth infallibly give us a Catalogue

The Scripture giveth no certaine Catalogue of them.

Catalogue of the High Prieſts, either collectively, or diſperſedly, as is commonly thought. In three ſeverall places we have a Liſt of the ſeverall perſons deſcendant from *Eleazar*; firſt in *Eſdr.* 7. 1. where the Genealogie of *Eſdras*, brother unto *Ioſedec*, and ſonne of *Seraias* ſlaine at the Captivity, is deduced from *Aaron*. And 1 *Chron.* 9. 11. where ſome few are mentioned. And, which is the perfecteſt of all, 1. *Chro.* 6. 1. which very neer accordeth with *Joſephus*, for number and for names: That Catalogue is, *Zadoc, Ahimaas, Azarias, Iohanan, Azarias, Amarias, Ahitob, Zadoc, Shallum, Hilcia, Azarias, Seraias, Ioſadec*, thirteen in all. In which Catalogue is omitted *Urias*, remembred for one by *Joſephus*, and confirmed to have been ſo in the Book of *Chronicles* and the *Kings*, High Prieſt when *Ahas* was King of Judah. So that, certaine it is, the Holy Ghoſt did not intend to ſet downe a perfect Catalogue of all the High Prieſts who had been in Iſrael, but only a certaine deduction of the houſe of *Levi*, as is alſo done, not ſo fully, in the other two places. And as in the Genealogie of Kings ſome be omitted; ſo here be ſome in the Catalogue of Prieſts, for reaſons beſt knowne unto God himſelfe. Some think *Urias* is omitted, for being an agent in *Ahas* his Idolatry, in making an Altar contrary to the Law, in the Temple at Jeruſalem, according to the patterne of that Idol-Altar which hee had ſeen at Damaſcus: For of ſuch, God hath not only ſaid, *Let them be blotted out of the Booke of life*; but alſo, *Let them not bee written in the Records of Iſrael*: and God will wipe out their memoriall from the earth. For this cauſe the Evangeliſt, as *Jerome* ſuppoſeth, in that pedegree of deſcent, omitteth three Kings, *Ochoſias*, *Ioas*, and *Amaſias*, as being wicked and tyrannicall Princes. The which I would embrace, if it were a conſtant courſe with Gods Spirit to doe ſo: but it is not; for *Amon*, *Manaſſes* and *Ahas* bee all in that Catalogue, who yet were worſe then the other three. It is more probable, that they are therefore left out, becauſe by the mothers ſide, by *Athalia*, they were extracted from that impious houſe of *Ahab*, which God had threatned to deſtroy, and utterly to root out from his people. But it may be ſaid, that the rule is, *For the Mothers ſide, no man is accounted of any Family or Tribe in Iſrael*: It is therefore uncertaine, whether it be a perfect Catologue of the High Prieſts or not, and ſo cannot bee preſſed againſt *Ioſephus*. And its not improbable, but that ſome of them remembred by *Ioſephus*, were not the lineall High Prieſts in Succeſſion, but Adminiſtrators onely of that Office, in the minority of the right heires, and true *High Prieſt*, as yet incapable and inſerviceable through his yeers; as after the Captivity, *Eleazar* and *Manaſſes* were Adminiſtrators for *Onias*, left an infant at his Fathers death.

Some are in the Catalogue of H. Prieſts, that were but as Tutors to them in their minority; or were in expectancy of it.

26 Laſtly, not *Ioſephus*, nor the ſacred Scripture, in any one of thoſe three places, doe reckon up or remember *Iehojada* for an High Prieſt, or of *Eleazars* line; the man ſo famous upon ſacred Record, for interpriſing againſt *Athalia*, that Uſurper, and for recovering the Kingdome to the Houſe of *David*. The Hebrew Rabbies remember

ber him; but they are of no credit to my apprehenſion. *Salianus*, *Petavius*, and the Jeſuites doe, but they perſwade not; no more do *Baronius* and *Sigonius*, who finds him in *Ioſephus* his Catalogue, as he ſuppoſeth, by the name of *Sudeas*; becauſe *Sudeas*, by *Ioſephus* is ſaid to have lived 120. yeers; which, where it is, I cannot tell: I finde no ſuch thing of any *Sudeas*, or *Sedechias*; but of *Iojada* himſelfe I finde in *Ioſephus*, *Antiq.* 9. 8. that hee indeed lived 120. yeeres, and then died, and was buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of Juda. Hee is ſtiled, I grant, Αρχιερεὺς by *Ioſephus*, *Sacerdos magnus*, *Primus Sacerdos*: But theſe Titles evict not, that in lineall ſucceſſion hee was High Prieſt; for they may accord with, and are conferred upon others beſide, of leſſe name, note, eminency then *Iojada* was; upon the ſecond Prieſts next to the higheſt, upon the High Prieſts children, or ſuch as were in expectancy or capability of the High Prieſthood any way.

Iojada was never High Prieſt.

27 *Salianus* urgeth that hee annointed *Ioas* King, which was the peculiar Office of the High Prieſt. To which I anſwer, it is more then he can prove; there is no ſuch injunction, priviledge, or ſcarce practice. Hee that annointed *Iehu* was no Prieſt, but a Prophet; *Samuel* was a Prieſt, but not the High Prieſt, who yet annointed both *Saul* and *David*: *Zadoc* was not High Prieſt when hee annointed *Salomon*; for *Abiathar* then as yet was not depoſed; but beſide, the Catalogue of 1 *Chron.* 6. and *Ioſephus* omit him: *Salianus* cannot anſwer this Argument, though *Baronius* can, (of which more anon) that hee was not High Prieſt, becauſe his wife was of the Tribe of Juda, ſiſter to *Ahaſiah*, King of Juda. In the Law of God it was preciſely commanded, that the High Prieſt ſhould not marry a widow, one divorced, an whore, one of another Tribe, but a virgin, and one of his own Tribe. *Iehojada*, a juſt, a righteous man, ſo obſervant as hee was in keeping of the Law, would not ſo palpably have tranſgreſſed the Law in a point ſo notorious as his Marriage: but of this more hereafter. In the interim, it perſwades me more then any thing the Jeſuites can ſay to the contrary, *Iehojada* was not High Prieſt.

The ſucceſſion from the captivity till the *Maccabees* time, appears by Scripture.

28 Another reſt and ſtation of the Jewiſh High Prieſts, is from the returne out of the Captivity, to the Maccabeicall times; for which we have a *conſtat* in holy Scripture, *Nehem.* 12. 6. & 11. *Ioſue*, or *Ieſus*, who, with *Zorobbabel*, returned chiefe Prieſt from the Captivity, was ſon of *Ioſedec*, who went into Captivity, returned not, but died there: he begat *Ioacim*, *Ioacim* begat *Eliaſib*, *Eliaſib* begat *Ioada*, *Ioada* begat *Ionathan*, *Ionathan* begat *Iedua* or *Iaddus*, as the Greek Stories call him. *Ioſephus* diſſents not in number nor in names; onely *Eliaſib* is *Eliaſim*, which was the Printers fault, the two letters of *b* and *m* being in manuſcripts very like; and *Ioadas* is written *Iudas*.

Αρχιερεὺς an ambiguous word.

29 The Sicilian Chronicle, as they call it, may ſeeme to reckon *Eſdras* amongſt the High Prieſts; for he ſtiles him Αρχιερεὺς. To which I anſwer, this juſtifies that which was ſaid of *Iojada*, that though hee be called Αρχιερεὺς, it doth not follow, he was the High Prieſt indeed; the

the word being ambiguous, and appliable to the ſecond Prieſt, the High Prieſt in expectancy, or capability, as the next of kin was, if the High Prieſt ſhould die without iſſue: *Eſdras* was ſuch; *Magnus Sacerdos*, *Caput*, *Princeps Sacerdotum*, many wayes: Sonne hee was to *Seraias*, ſlaine at the Captivity; brother to *Joſedec*, who went into Captivity; uncle to *Jeſus*, that returned from Captivity; employed extraordinarily from the King of Perſia; one, of all then living, who had ſeene the firſt Temple; a Prophet inſpired from above; a perfect Scribe in the Law of God; the firſt, ſaith *Ioſephus*, that had the title given him of *Scribe of the people*; and great uncle to *Joacim* then High Prieſt: In which reſpects he might well be ſtiled, as he was in title, and indeed, Ἀρχιερεύς, or the High Prieſt, though he were not actually the High Prieſt.

καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὃ τὸν χρόνον ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν Ἰησοῦ παῖς Ἰωσεδεκου ὄνομα. ὑπῆρξε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἀνέχειν ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξης ἀπολαύειν ἀγαθῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, πρῶτος ἱερεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ καλούμενος ἔσδρας. *Ioſeph. Antiq.* 11. 5 *lege* γραμματεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ, *not* ἱερεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ.

The time of the firſt ſchiſm in the Synagogue, after that of *Corahs*.

30 *Ionathan*, ſonne and ſucceſſor of *Eliaſib* had a brother called *Ieſus* or *Iaſon*, as the Greekes named him, who ambitiouſly ſought to be High Prieſt, and to put out his elder brother *Ionathan*, through the inſtigation, aſſiſtance, and helpe of *Bagoas*, an Eunuch, Lieutenant generall in thoſe parts unto *Ochus* King of Perſia; but in the bickering, *Iaſon* was ſlaine, and ſo *Ionathan* quietly enjoyed the Prieſthood. This is the firſt ſchiſme that wee heare of in the Synagogue, ſince *Corah* and his complices conteſted with *Aaron*: So prevailing was that exemplary vengeance which God inflicted upon thoſe miſcreants in the wilderneſſe, for making ſchiſme and ſeceſſion. But the way being opened thus by *Iaſon*, and no ſuch vengeance enſuing as upon *Corah*, ſchiſmes after grew frequent in the Synagogue, and High Prieſts were diſpoſſeſſed of their places.

Alexander the Great going againſt Ieruſalem, being met by the High Prieſt, falls down and worſhips the true God.

31 Unto *Jonathan* ſucceeded *Jaddus*, who was then High Prieſt in Iſrael, when *Alexander* of Macedon ruined the Perſian Monarchie in *Darius*: he lying at the ſiege of Tyre, ſent to *Jaddus* the High Prieſt, as Governour in State, for aids, proviſion, and munition for his Army; requiring thoſe duties and cuſtomes to bee paid unto him, which were uſually paid to the Kings of Perſia. *Jaddus* returned anſwer, Hee had taken an oath of allegeance, not to beare armes againſt the King of Perſia; and that, ſo long as *Darius* lived, hee was bound by that his oath unto obedience. *Alexander* much enraged with this meſſage, vowed revenge upon the Jewes, and having taken in Tyrus, proceeded accordingly againſt *Iaddus* and the Jewes; but ſate downe before *Gaza*, which ſhut the gates againſt him in the way. After two moneths ſiege hee took in the Towne, and thence held on his march againſt Jeruſalem. *Iaddus* given to underſtand of *Alexanders* approach, was much perplexed, proclaimes a Faſt, addreſſes himſelfe to God by ſacrifice and prayer for aſſiſtance; God by viſion in the night, bids him not feare, but ſet open the gates as at a Feſtivall time; and wils him that the Commons ſhould clad themſelves in white; that he and the Prieſts, in their Sacerdotall garments, ſhould goe forth, and meet *Alexander* on the way. *Iaddus* acquainted the Councell and

and Commons with this viſion, and did according to direction. *Alexander*, when he firſt beheld this ſight and equipage afarre off, wondred at it much: but drawing up neerer, and taking notice eſpecially of the High Prieſt, clad in his Pontificals, his Miter on his head, the plate of gold upon his fore-head, wherein the name of JEHOVAH was engraven, fell downe proſtrate and adored, to the great wonder and aſtoniſhment of all men; inſomuch, as *Parmenio* his ancienteſt Captaine and Counſellor asked him what hee meant thereby. *Alexander* replyed, He did not adore the man, but GOD, whoſe miniſter he was: For, ſaid he, Before I undertook the attempt and voyage againſt Perſia, reſiding as then at Dion, in Macedony, I ſaw in a dreame this very repreſentation, inciting mee to undertake the enterpriſe, and promiſing to guide, helpe, and aſſiſt mee therein; That habit of the Apparition I never ſaw till now, and this makes mee adore as I doe.

32 Having made this anſwer to *Parmenio*, hee moſt graciouſly entertained *Iaddus*, and the Prieſts, and ſpake comfortably unto the Commons, deceiving the Phenicians and Samaritans, ill neighbours, who expected the pillaging of Jeruſalem; whither *Alexander* went on, entered the Citie with joy, gave ſtrict command to doe no violence, viewed and took notice of the Temple and Service, to which, at his departure, hee gave rich preſents and revennues, to offer Sacrifice for his good ſucceſſe. At his being there, *Daniels* Propheſie was brought unto him, and the indiction read, which ſaid, That the King of Grecia ſhould ruine and undoe the Perſian Monarchie: This was the paſſage and entertainment of *Alexander* at Jeruſalem. *Alexander* giveth rich gifts to the Temple.

33 This *Iaddus* the High Prieſt had a younger brother, named *Manaſſes*, who had the ſame ſchiſmaticall deſigne againſt *Iaddus*, as *Iaſon* formerly had againſt *Iohanan*; but failing therein as the former alſo had before, yet hee became Founder of that ſchiſme in the Synagogue, which continued irreconcileable many ages afterward, in the diſtraction of the Samaritans from the Jewes. The caſe ſtood thus, as *Ioſephus* hath related it to us; This *Manaſſes*, contrary to the Law of *Moſes*, had married a ſtrange woman, as the Scripture calls ſuch; that is, an alien, not of Iſrael, *Nicaſo* the daughter of *Sanballat* the Horonite: nor would hee bee perſwaded by *Iaddus* his brother, High Prieſt, and *Nehemias*, Lieutenant extraordinary for the King of Perſia, to put her away; upon which refuſall hee was deprived of his Office. This is that paſſage ſomewhat darkly remembred, *Nehem.* 13. 28. *And one of the ſonnes of* Jojada *the ſonne of* Eliaſib, *the High Prieſt* (hee names him ſonne, according to the uſe of holy Scripture, who was his nephew, his ſons ſonne) *was the ſonne-in-law of* Sanballat *the Horonite: but I chaſed him from me.* An irreconcileable ſchiſme begun in the Synagogue betwixt Samaria and Jeruſalem.

34 *Manaſſes* ſo ejected, repaired to Samaria, unto his wives father *Sanballat*, and was entertained courteouſly of him; but becauſe hee feared that exile, diſgrace, and deprivation in time might cauſe him A Prieſthood hereupon ſet up in Samaria.

him to relent, and ſo to forſake his daughter; hee caſt to erect a Temple in mount Gerizim, and inſtitute a Prieſthood there for *Manaſſes*, and ſuch as would reſort unto him, in oppoſition to that Temple at Jeruſalem: For this he became a petitioner to *Darius* King of Perſia; but was oppoſed and denyed. Miſſing of his purpoſe, hee falls off to *Alexander* with the firſt, and obtains licence of him therefore, before *Alexander* came and was entertained at Jeruſalem by *Jaddus*; but died before hee could conſummate the worke, at the ſiege of Tyre. Yet went the building forward, and was finiſhed; and *Manaſſes* became High Prieſt there. And though this Temple in mount Gerizim was demoliſhed by *Hyrcanus*, when hee took and deſtroyed Samaria, and never reſtored afterward; yet continued the ſchiſme betwixt the Jewes and Samaritans unto the finall deſolation of the land. Of this religious worſhip in that place, meant the woman of Samaria, *John* 4. in her diſcourſe with our Saviour, where ſhe inſiſts upon the ground of that ſchiſme, in theſe words; *Our Fathers worſhipped in this mountaine; and you ſay, that at Jeruſalem is the place where men ought to worſhip.*

Onias Prieſt in *Seleucus Nicators* time.

35 Unto *Jaddus*, being dead, ſucceeded his ſonne *Onias*, the firſt of that name, in whoſe time *Seleucus Nicator* one of *Alexanders* Captains, took Babylon, and inveſted himſelfe and his poſterity with the Kingdome of Aſia: From him deſcended the Seleucidan Princes, ſo troubleſome afterwards to the Jewes. At his taking of Babylon, began that account of the Grecian yeere, ſo often mentioned in the Story of the *Maccabees*. It began about the firſt yeere of the 117. Olympiad, the 442. yeer of Rome; See *Petavius* hereof, *lib.* 10. *cap.* 40. & 41. *Genebrard* omitteth this *Onias*, and makes *Simon Priſcus* ſucceſſor to *Jaddus*, who was his grandchilde, ſonne unto *Onias*, and next ſucceeded him in the Prieſthood, and not his grandfather *Jaddus*.

His ſon *Simon* commended for a good Prieſt, *Eccluſ.* 50. 1.

36 This is that *Simon* ſo highly commended by the ſonne of *Syrach*, *Eccluſ.* 50. 1. Simon, *ſonne of* Onias *the High Prieſt, who in his life time ſet up the Houſe againe, and in his dayes eſtabliſhed the Temple: Under him was the Foundation of the double height laid, and the high wall that compaſſed the Temple. In his dayes, the places to receive water in decaying, were againe reſtored. Hee tooke care for his people, that they ſhould not fall, and fortified the Citie againſt the ſiege. How honourable was his converſation amongſt the people, when hee came forth of his houſe covered with the vaile! He was as the morning Starre from out of a cloud, or as the Moone when it is at full.* This, and much more hath hee to the praiſe and commendation of this Honourable man. *Euſebius* hath much wronged this worthy man, who paſſing him over without name or remembrance, puts downe *Eleazar* for next ſucceſſor unto *Onias*, who was indeed his ſonne, but not the eldeſt; brother hee was unto *Simon* the juſt, and hee dying before his ſonne was of age, Tutor and Adminiſtrator of the Prieſthood for *Onias* the ſecond; and ſo was *Manaſſes*, another brother unto the ſame

De Demonſtr. Evang. lib. 8. *pag.* 244. *nova edit.* 392.

Onias,

Onias, till hee came of age, *Eleazar* being dead before.

37 In the time that *Eleazar* was Tutor and Adminiſtrator for *Onias*, did *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, ſecond of that name, the King of Egypt, procure the old Teſtament to bee tranſlated into Greek, out of Hebrew, which is known by the name of the *Septuagints Tranſlation*, ſo highly eſteemed in the Primitive Church (who had it intire), that it was accounted Propheticall, and of Divine inſpiration; the rather, becauſe our Saviour and his Apoſtles, in citing teſtimonies out of the old Teſtament, doe rather follow the Septuagint then the Hebrew Text. The Tranſlation wee have not now intire, but a miſſing one of it, *Theodotion's*, *Symmachus*, and *Aquila's* together. The Tranſlation of the Septuagint.

38 *Manaſſes* dying, (for no High Prieſt as yet gave over his place, but held it for terme of life) *Onias* ſonne of *Simon* did ſucceed, and executed the Office by himſelfe. Hee was, ſaith *Joſephus*, a man of no worth, deſert, or reckoning, a miſerable, baſe, ſordid wretch; therefore he cannot be, as ſome have imagined, that *Onias* who is ſo much commended in the Maccabeicall Hiſtory. Another *Onias* an evill man, High Prieſt.

39 Unto him ſucceeded his ſonne, the ſecond *Simon*, under whom *Jeſus* the ſonne of *Syrach* wrote his booke. After him came his ſon *Onias* the third; in whoſe dayes lewd, wicked, and profane, ſacrilegious perſons wrought much miſchiefe and trouble in Iſrael: Firſt, *Simon*, the Ruler of the Temple, concerning whom we read in the Story of the *Maccabees*, hee accuſed his Nation, and *Onias* the Prieſt, unto King *Seleucus*, not *Nicator*, (for hee was dead long before) but *Philopator*, a man much inferiour unto *Nicator*; immediate predeceſſor unto *Antiochus Epiphanes*, as in the Story of the *Maccabees*. The next wicked diſturber of *Onias* was his owne brother *Jeſus*, whom the Grecians, and Hiſtory of the *Maccabees* call *Iaſon*; who bought the High Prieſthood with a great ſumme of money of *Antiochus*, that is, for 360 talents, and for a yeerely tribute of 80. talents; and if hee might have leave to ſet up Theaters and Schooles after the Pagan faſhion, he promiſed yeerly 50. talents more; which was granted. Much miſchief begun in Iſrael by *Jaſon* and others.

40 Thus was *Onias* put from the Prieſthood, *Iaſon* thruſt into his place, who was anon thruſt out by *Menelaus*, by whom hee ſent the money unto the King; for *Menelaus* offered more, and having drawn the Courtiers unto his party, obtained a patent againſt *Iaſon*, and turned him out, being himſelfe not long after ſo ſerved by *Lyſimachus*; but *Menelaus* recovered, and turned him out again; till *Alcimus*, at length, got it from them both: So went it in a round, as *Joſephus* noteth, one undermining and ſubverting another. *Onias*, the High Prieſt in right and truth, was, contrary to the Kings mind, murthered by *Andronicus*, hired thereto by *Menelaus*, which coſt him his owne head. So miſerable were thoſe times, as at large is related by the Maccabeicall Story, under the tyranny of *Antiochus*, and other Seleucidan Princes then reigning in Aſia, and their Lieutenants. *Menelaus* buyeth the Prieſthood over *Jaſons* head.

41 Concerning *Menelaus*, the Authour of the ſecond booke of *Maccabees* will not acknowledge him brother to *Iaſon* and *Onias*, and ſonne The *Maccabees* tell of Prieſts that were not of the Tribe of Levi.

ſonne to *Simon* the ſecond, High Prieſt; but brother unto *Simon*, Ruler of the Temple, firſt authour of troubles unto *Onias*. After three yeers, ſaith that Authour, *Iaſon* ſent *Menelaus*, brother unto the fore-
2 *Mac.* 4. 23. remembred *Simon*, to carry the promiſed money unto the King. This might have been paſſable, had not the ſame man told us, that *Simon* that Ruler of the Temple was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, 2. *Mac.* 3. 4. So that we have an high Prieſt, *Menelaus*, not of *Levi*, or *Aaron*, but of *Benjamin*; and ſo the Apoſtle *Paul* was deceived, and deceiveth us, in telling us that none but of *Levi* ever ſerved at the Altar. *Salianus*, ſo captious againſt *Ioſephus*, ſhould have removed this beam out of his eye who wrote the ſacred Story of the *Maccabees*. Unleſſe the man can reconcile this, I cannot ſee why wee ſhould accept of that booke as Divine; who goeth farther, and giveth us another Prieſt out of *Benjamin*; *Lyſimachus*, brother, as hee ſtiles him, to *Menelaus*.

The true High Prieſt in theſe troubles under *Antiochus* fled into Egypt, & built a Temple there.

42 In theſe miſeries of the Jewiſh both State and Prieſthood, under *Antiochus*, *Onias*, ſonne unto the depoſed and murthered *Onias*, deſpairing utterly to recover his fathers inheritance, or to ſee better dayes in his owne Countrey, retyred himſelfe into Egypt, unto *Ptolomeus Philometor*; of whom, with much adoe, hee obtained leave to build a Temple for himſelfe, and ſuch Jewes as would repaire unto him, to ſerve God in, according to the Jewiſh uſe and law; or rather, againſt it: For Jeruſalem was the place which God had choſen to put his name there; and Prieſthood was not to be executed, but at Jeruſalem. But *Onias* alledged for himſelfe (which allegation made the King yeeld) that Text of *Eſay* 19. 19. *In that day ſhall the Altar of the Lord be ſet up in the midſt of the Land of Egypt.*

Prieſts from the Captivity till the *Maccabees*.

43 And ſo wee have the ſecond ſtage of High Prieſts in Iſrael, from the Captivity releaſed in the firſt yeer of *Cyrus*, unto the deſolation under *Antiochus* and ſucceſſion of the Maccabeicall line. 1 *Ieſus*, 2 *Ioacim*, 3 *Eliaſib*, 4 *Ioadas*, 5 *Ionathan*, 6 *Iaddus*, 7 *Onias* the firſt, 8 *Simon* the juſt, 9 *Eleazar*, 10 *Manaſſes*, 11 *Onias* the ſecond, 12 *Simon* the ſecond, 13 *Onias* the third, 14 *Iaſon*, 15 *Menelaus*, 16 *Lyſimachas*, 17 *Alcimus*, who was at laſt ejected, and put to death by *Lyſias*, Lieutenant in thoſe parts, for *Antiochus Eupator*: a juſt reward for his impiety, ſacriledge, and profaneneſſe.

Iudas Maccabeus his election to the Prieſthood.

44 *Alcimus* being ſlaine, and *Onias* fled into Egypt, with a ſettled purpoſe not to returne unto the Land or Inheritance of his Fathers, the High Prieſthood then being void, and the line of the High Prieſthood in the Houſe of *Eleazar* extinct; the Jewes, with one full conſent, aſſent and agreement, elect for Governor, *Iudas* called *Maccabeus*, ſonne of *Mattathias* of *Modin*, ſonne of *Iohn*, ſonne of *Simon*, ſonne of *Aſmonni*, of the courſe of *Iojarib* of Jeruſalem; which was the firſt of thoſe twenty four Claſſes or Courſes into which K. *David* had of old diſtributed the ſons of *Aaron*, deſcending from *Eleazar*, and from *Ithamar*. This *Mattathias* had five ſonnes, *Iohn* called *Caddis*, *Simon* called *Thaſsi*, *Iudas* called *Maccabeus*, *Eleazar* called *Avaran*, *Ionathan* called *Apphus*: when hee died, having undertaken the defence

of

of his Countrey and Religion againſt the Seleucidan Tyrants, hee appointed *Maccabeus* to bee Captaine, and the people choſe him to bee Prieſt, as being eldeſt ſonne unto *Mattathias*, howſoever he be caſt into the third place by the Author of the firſt book of *Maccabees*, and by *Joſephus*. So ſaith *Salianus* without ground or warrant.

45 *Judas* continued Prieſt and Prince five yeers complete, and then was ſlaine by *Bacchides* in the 156 Seleucidan yeere; unto whom ſucceeded *Jonathan*, eighteen yeers, who at length betrayed by thoſe of Ptolemais, was ſurpriſed and ſlaine. After *Jonathan*, who had no iſſue, ſucceeded *Simon* eight yeers: and he was alſo treacherouſly taken and ſlaine, leaving *John* his ſonne, named *Hyrcanus*, to ſucceed him; who held that place 31. yeeres; a man to bee ranked with the Worthies of Iſrael, for his valour and victories. Hee in many conflicts ſubdued the Seleucidan Princes, and often put their Captaines, Satrapa's, and Lieutenants to the foyle, and compelled them to ſue to him for Peace. Hee beſeiged Samaria, tooke the Citie, burnt it, deſtroyed their ſchiſmaticall Temple in mount Gerizim. He ſubdued the Edomites, or Idumeans; and compelled them to turne Proſelites, and be Circumciſed; or elſe hee threatned utterly to root them out. His onely blemiſh was, that in his latter dayes, hee fell off to the impious, irreligious Hereſie of the Sadducees, in deteſtation of the intolerable pride of the Phariſees, and their hypocriſie, who were oppoſite to the Sadducees.

Hyrcanus, a worthy man, Prieſt.

46 Unto him ſucceeded his ſonne *Ariſtobulus*, whom *Joſephus* commendeth for a kind, courteous man; and yet confeſſeth, that hee put to death his beloved brother *Antigonus*, for meer falſe ſuſpicion; that he impriſoned his other brethren and his mother; and all within the compaſſe of a yeere, for hee lived no longer in the State, dying out of melancholy apprehenſion, becauſe he had undeſervedly put his brother *Antigonus* to death. In the interim, he, and not his ſucceſſor, as ſome have delivered, firſt of all, after the Captivity, aſſumed the name and ſtile of a King, and wore a Diademe upon his head, which his Succeſſors uſurped afterward.

Ariſtobulus ſon to *Hyrcanus* firſt aſſumed the name of King, which his ſucceſſors alſo uſurped.

47 *Alexander* his next brother ſucceeded, called *Jannæus*, a tyrannicall, cruell man, and of ſmall worth. Hee continued King and Prieſt 28. yeeres. Hee, by *Salome*, otherwiſe called *Alexandra*, his wife, had two ſonnes; *Hyrcanus* was the elder, a man of ſo ſoft and quiet diſpoſition, that hee ſeemed to differ little from an innocent or naturall. The younger was *Ariſtobulus*, of an haughty, proud, ſtirring diſpoſition: Both, at his death, were under age; therefore, as in courſe, the execution of the Prieſts place went unto the next of kinne; ſo the Temporall Government was, by will of their father, left unto their mother *Alexandra*. Shee ſo ruled as Queene eight yeers and better; a man-like virago, of a ſtout and noble ſpirit: Shee was wholly adviſed and directed by the Phariſees, as her husband upon his death-bed had given her counſell, though hee loved them not: but ſo it is, Sometime a man muſt hold a candle before the Divell; they

Alexander H. Prieſt leaveth two ſons very young, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*.

were ſo powerfull and potent every where, that diſturbe they could, or trouble what, and whom they pleaſed.

How Judea became ſubject to the Romans.

48 When ſhee died, *Hyrcanus* the elder of her ſonnes ſucceeded, having entred upon the Prieſthood in his mothers life time. Hee had not governed above three moneths, but that his younger brother *Ariſtobulus* uſurped upon him, diſpoſſeſſed him of both Prieſthood and Princedome; *Antipater* the Idumean was his principall adviſer, who counſelled him to addreſſe himſelfe unto the Romans for aide: *Cn. Pompeius* the Roman Generall having vanquiſhed *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, and put an end unto that long warre, was then in the Eaſt, and had ſubdued many of thoſe Eaſterne Countries to the State of Rome. At his being in Syria, *Antipater* came unto him from *Hyrcanus*, requeſting his aide and reſtitution; *Ariſtobulus* alſo ſent his agents; both which being heard, had directions from *Pompey* to ſurceaſe from armes, to reſt contented with what they had gotten; for hee meant, at his returne out of Arabia, whither now he was bound, to give them audience, and ſet an end unto their controverſie. *Hyrcanus* accorded, but *Ariſtobulus* brake the order; which drew upon him *Pompey* and the Roman forces, who in that quarrell ſacked Jeruſalem, tooke *Ariſtobulus* and his ſons priſoners, ſent them ſuch to Rome, reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the Prieſthood, made him Prince in State, to bee directed and adviſed by *Antipater*; made Syria, and under it Judea, as a part thereof, a Roman tributary Province; over which hee appointed, for Lieutenant, *M. Scaurus*: And thus theſe Brethren, by home-diſſention, made themſelves and their Country ſubject to the Romans for ever after, as hath been ſhewed.

Hyrcanus his troubles and captivity.

49 *Antigonus*, one of his ſonnes, made eſcape with his father from Rome, and the ſecond time ſet troubles on foot againe in Judea; him *Gabinius* Preſident of Syria took the ſecond time, and ſent him the ſecond time to Rome priſoner; but his ſon *Antigonus*, purſuing his fathers quarrel, called in the Parthians to back him againſt *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus*, maintained by the Romans; which quarrell was purſued with varietie of ſucceſſe on either ſide. *Antipater* being dead of poyſon given him by procurement of one *Malchus* an Arabian, his ſonnes *Phaſaëlus* and *Herod* upheld the ſide; till *Phaſaëlus* being ſurpriſed, and with *Hyrcanus* made priſoners, and carried into Parthia, *Herod* was conſtrained to have recourſe to *M. Antony*, and of him, and the Senate by his meanes, obtained to be made King of the Jewes; from poſſeſſion whereof hee was by *Antigonus* and his Faction kept off above three yeers; but at laſt, *C. Soſius* Lieutenant generall to *Antonius*, took Jeruſalem by aſſault, ſurpriſed *Antigonus*, whom *Antony*, hired thereunto by *Herod*, put to death, and ſo gave an iſſue unto the competition for the Prieſthood between them.

Herod made King, maketh *Ananelus* Prieſt

50 *Hyrcanus* was then in Parthia, not as a priſoner, but a free-man; but made uncapable of the Prieſthood by *Antigonus*, when hee was taken priſoner, by cutting off his eares; the Law forbidding any man to ſerve at the Altar, who had a blemiſh or a mayme, as they tooke it.

For

For this cauſe *Herod* having procured him to returne home out of Parthia, did not re-inveſt him in that his Office, but ſent for one *Ananelus*, his ancient acquaintance, from Babylon, and made him the Prieſt. *Joſephus* ſaith he was ἐκ τῶν ἀσημοτέρων, of an obſcure or uncertaine iſſue; which was not meant a Layman, as ſome take it; for *Joſephus* in termes ſaith, hee was a Prieſt; but none of the *Aſſamonian* Family, who are by him ſtiled, *the glorious and renowned Line of Prieſts*: hee was a Prieſt of another Family, peradventure hee had been carried captive into Babylon with *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſaelus*, being taken priſoner upon *Herods* ſide: for if hee had lived all his life time in Babylon, how could he be an old and familiar acquaintance of *Herods*? Neither was hee *Annas*, as ſome have conceited, of whom mention is in the Goſpel, who is ſtiled *Ananus*; much leſſe a Proſelite, as that forged *Philo* in *Annius Viterbienſis* dreamed; as if a ſtranger, not onely from *Aaron*, but from *Jacob*, had been High Prieſt in Iſrael, which could not bee.

51 *Hyrcanus* had no ſonne, but a daughter named *Alexandra*, a woman of an high and haughty ſpirit, the mother of *Ariſtobulus* and *Mariamne*, *Herods* wife. ſhee ſo wrought with *Cleopatra*, that *M. Antonius*, wholly at her devotion, commanded *Herod*, who durſt not diſobey him, to put out *Ananelus*, and make *Ariſtobulus* Prieſt. But *Herod* ere long procured him, through ſport, to bee drowned in earneſt in the Fiſh-ponds of Jericho, going to waſh himſelfe there; and then was *Ananelus* re-inveſted. *Alexandra* againe complaines to *Cleopatra*; and ſhee both hating *Herod*, and hoping to get Judea for her ſelfe, if ſhee could make him away, urgeth *Antonius* to ſend for *Herod*, and doe juſtice upon him. Send for him hee did, but juſtice had none done; only it coſt him very dear to make his peace with *Antony* for that fact.

Antony cauſeth him to be diſplaced, and *Ariſtobulus* to be made High Prieſt.

52 How long *Ananelus* reſtored, held that place, is uncertaine: *Salianus* gives him ſix yeers, but of his owne head, there is no credit to bee given to his account: *Hyrcanus* ſurvived him, if hee held it ſixe yeers; for he lived untill after the death of *Antony*, when *Herod* going to make his peace with *Auguſtus*, and not knowing what would become of him, thought it wiſdome to rid himſelfe of a Competitor at home, if *Auguſtus* happely ſhould caſt reſpect unto him: and ſo rather out of policy, then of will, as *Joſephus* relateth; and it is probable, made away that good old man *Hyrcanus*, then aged above 80. yeers; in whom determined the male line of that renowned and famous Family in Iſrael, whereof theſe had beene High Prieſts; 1 *Judas*, 2 *Jonathan*, 3 *Simon*, 4 *Hyrcanus*, 5 *Ariſtobulus*, 6 *Alexander*, 7 *Hyrcanus*, 8 *Ariſtobulus*, 9 *Antigonus*, 10 *Ariſtobulus*, 11 *Hyrcanus* reſtored.

Hyrcanus is ſlaine. Ten Maccabean Prieſts.

53 *Euſebius*, in the eighth book of Evangelicall demonſtration, having ſummarily compriſed theſe Maccabeian Prieſts and Princes, omitting the laſt *Ariſtobulus*, concludes thus; *After* Hyrcanus, Herod *ſonne of* Antipater, *by gift of the Romans, obtained to bee King over*

Euſebius hath diverſly erred in his relation of theſe Prieſts.

the Jewes; and put Hyrcanus *the former King to death:* which is not true as he ſets it down; it was many yeers after his ſetling in the Kingdome that he put him to death. And in his Chronicle, Hee is much miſtaken about theſe particulars; his words are, Herod *killed both* Hyrcanus, *ſometime High Prieſt, lately being returned out of priſon from Parthia; as alſo his ſonne* (he means *Ariſtobulus*) *who had ſucceeded him in that Office. Hee proceeded yet further, and put to death his owne wife, ſiſter to* Hyrcanus, *and two ſons which he had by her.* Many miſtakings here are in not many lines; ſcarce one word true for the condition of the parties. Firſt, his wife *Mariamne*, whom he intendeth, was not ſiſter to *Hyrcanus*, but grandchild, daughter of *Alexandra Hyrcanus* his daughter; and *Ariſtobulus* was not [illegible], his ſonne; but [illegible] nephew, or daughters ſonne, brother to *Mariamne*: Nor did *Ariſtobulus* ſucceed his grandfather *Hyrcanus* in the Prieſthood, but *Ananelus*, *Herods* creature; nor was he made away ſo ſoone as hee returned out of Parthia, but many yeers after; nor did he execute his owne ſonnes by *Mariamne*, *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander* with their mother, or inſtantly upon her death: palpable errors all of them, in *Euſebius*; which I wonder *Joſeph Scaliger*, ſo captious an obſerver of his miſtakings, (oftentimes without juſt cauſe) did not note, and traduce in his *Animadverſions*, but paſſed them all over in ſilence.

Herod maketh Prieſts at his Pleaſure.

54 Concerning this miſorder brought into, and upon the High Prieſthood in Iſrael by *Herod*, putting in, thruſting out, chopping, changing High Prieſts at pleaſure, *Euſebius* writeth thus, *lib.* 8. *de Demonſtr. Evangelica*, *Hic primus alieno ortus genere, perturbato Pontificum ordine, qui* Moſaica *Lege ſancitus fuerat, in illa gente regnat. Lex enim Divina jubebat, ut maximus Pontifex, quamdiu viveret, Sacerdotio fungeretur: At* Herodes, *non iis qui legitimò generati ſunt, neque iis qui id juris haberent; ſed ſuppoſititiis quibuſdam, atque à ſerie, ac ſucceſſione Pontificum alienis, id muneris attribuit: ac ne iis quidem in perpetuum, ſed ad breve quoddam, determinatumque tempus gratificans; atque alio tempore aliis, ejuſmodi honorem impertiens. Hee was the firſt, being himſelfe a forreiner, who having diſpoſſeſſed and confounded the Pontificall order eſtabliſhed by the Law of* Moſes, *reigned over that people. For the Law commanded the High Prieſt for terme of life ſhould hold his place: but* Herod *conferred that Office not upon them who were of legall deſcent, and had right to it; but to intruded ones, ſtrangers to the High Prieſts line: nor to them during life, but for a ſhort time, having many to pleaſure; ſo ſometimes one had it, ſometimes another.*

More of *Herods* Prieſts made.

55 Next to *Ananelus* dead or removed, ſucceeded *Jeſus ben Fabet*; but when, or how long hee was Prieſt, *Joſephus* at all ſets it not downe: onely this hee ſaith, Hee was removed to give way to *Simon Ben Boëthi*, whoſe daughter, another *Mariamne*, *Herod* had married. Hee continued, ſaith *Salianus*, High Prieſt 21 yeers. *Joſephus* remembereth that this *Mariamne*, being detected, or ſuſpected to have beene of confederacy with *Antipater*, was by *Herod* caſt off, and her father put by his High Prieſts place; which could not bee

many

many yeeres before *Herods* death, ſo that hee held the place long. Unto him ſucceeded *Matthias Theophili*, in whoſe time, at the Feaſt of Paſſeover, the High Prieſts Office was executed by a Vicar, *Joſeph ben Elemi*: becauſe the night before, *Matthias* had ſuffered *nocturnam pollutionem*, and ſo becomming uncleane, was uncapable of executing that Office. *Joſephus ben Elemi* did not ſucceed him, but one *Joazar*. *Sigonius* was deceived in pitching upon *Joſephus*; inſtating a Vicar for a Succeſſor: *Joazar* ſucceeded him, ſonne to *Simon*, predeceſſor of *Matthias*, and brother to *Mariamne*, *Herods* wife. *Matthias* was put from his place for not hindering that demoliſhing of the golden Eagle or weather-cock, caſt downe by the ſeditious inſtigation of two Phariſees, when *Herod* lay a dying. *Joſeph. Antiq.* 17. 8.

56 In *Joazars* dayes, who yet was not Prieſt above two or three yeere, that great Myſtery of our Redemption, according to Promiſe and Predictions of old, was accompliſhed, *The Eternall Word of God became fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us*; CHRIST JESUS was born in Bethleem, of the moſt ſacred Virgin *Mary*. This *Joazar* is miſtaken, and named *Iſachar* by ſome fabulous Writers, to bee remembred afterward in the Story of our Saviour, at his Preſentation. Our Saviour born when *Joazar* was High Prieſt.

57 Unto *Joazar* ſucceeded *Eleazar*: For *Archelaus*, at his return home from Rome, put *Ioazar* out, pretending, that hee in his abſence had ſtirred commotion; who yet by his perſwaſions withdrew the Commons from factions, and quieted them; but *Eleazar* gave money for the place, and ſo had it: which hee enjoyed not long, *Ieſus ben Sias* being put into his place, as *Joſephus* writeth. *Salianus* ſubſtituteth *Ioazar* againe, becauſe in *Joſephus*, *Antiq.* 18. 1. we read, that the people, being ready to mutine at *Quirinius* his Taxation, were appeaſed by *Ioazar* the High Prieſt, who was the ſonne of *Boethus*: But that needs not compell us to acknowledge his reſtitution; for ἀρχιερεὺς, as hath been ſaid, extends to ſuch as have been, or may be High Prieſts. *Ioazar* had been, and was a man of authority, peradventure the eldeſt then living of ſuch as had borne that Office. *Eleazar* made Prieſt by *Archelaus*.

58 Unto *Eleazar* ſucceeded *Ananus*, the ſame man whom the holy Scripture calls *Annas*; though *Salianus* will not have it ſo, without any reaſon of his aſſertion: hee was put in, and *Ioazar*, or rather *Eleazar* removed, by *Quirinius* Preſident of Syria, and is ſaid by *Joſephus*, to be ſonne of *Sethi*. *Valerius Gratus* Procurator for the Emperour in Judea, of whom wee have ſpoken in the Catalogue of Preſidents of Syria, and Procurators of Judea, put him out, having beene High Prieſt ſome ſixe yeers, and ſubſtituted in his place *Iſmael ben Fabi*, who going out the next yeer as hee came in, *Eleazar* ſonne of *Annas* was ſet up in his place, both which are omitted by *Salianus*; who immediately to *Annas* ſubſtituteth *Simon ben Carmithi*, who held the place, as his Predeceſſors had done, but one yeere; and then came *Joſeph* ſurnamed *Caiphas*, ſon-in-law unto *Annas*, who continued in that Office ten yeers, ſaith *Joſephus*; but his Copies are depraved, it ſhould be 17. yeers, for ſo long he held it; and not onely 7. yeers, as *Scaliger* dreamed. *Annas*, *Caiphas* and ſome o. there.

A new High Prieſt almoſt every yeer.

59 To *Caiphas* being dead ſucceeded *Jonathan*, named *Iohn* in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles; and then *Theophilus* his brother, ſons of *Annas* fore-remembred; ſo that the High Prieſthood came in a line upon *Annas* his Tribe, although himſelf were removed for ſome deſcents: and ſo much is intimated in the *Acts*, by that ſaying, *As many as were of the kindred of the High Prieſts.* The next that ſucceeded, *Matthias*, was another of his ſonnes, then *Jonathan* or *John*, reſtored by *Herod Agrippa*; then *Simon Canthuri*, then *Elionas*, then *Ioſeph ben Cami*; all of them onely for the ſpace of one yeere or two. Next came *Ananias* ſonne of *Nebed*, whom S. *Paul* did ſtile a painted wall: And no marvell if hee profeſſeth hee did not know him to be High Prieſt, ſeeing that every yeere, or ſecond yeere at moſt, there was a new High Prieſt ſubſtituted, and the old put out. For *Herod* having once begun this cuſtome, *Valerius Gratus*, *Quirinius*, and other Roman Preſidents followed it. *Herod Agrippa* firſt after them, and then his brother *Herod* King of Chalcis, the husband of *Bernice*, remembred in Saint *Pauls* buſineſſe before *Feſtus*, obtained grants from the Emperours, *Claudius* and *Nero*, to place, diſplace, put in, and put out, whom they pleaſed, for reaſon of State, or matter of profit; whereas, by Gods originall inſtitution, the High Prieſt was to have continued for terme of life.

A Phinehas (after the Conqueſt of Canaan) firſt & laſt High Prieſt in Iſrael.

60 Next to *Ananias*, ſucceeded one *Iſmael*; not *ben Fabi*, as *Petavius* ſuppoſed, but another of that name. *Joſephus in Antiq. 3. cap. ult.* ſaith, hee was High Prieſt in *Claudius* his time, in the dayes of famine remembred in the *Acts*; then *Ioſeph ben Cabi*, then *Ananus*, or *Annas*, another of that name, for three moneths and no more; next *Ieſus* ſonne of *Damnei*, then *Ieſus* ſonne of *Gamaliel*, then *Matthias Theophili*, in whoſe time that fatall and finall Jewiſh warre began againſt the Romans, which ended with the ſubverſion, and utter deſolation of their City, Temple, State, Religion for ever, in the time of *Phinehas*, the laſt High Prieſt that ever was in Iſrael. From which time, as themſelves acknowledge, *Non eſt Sacerdotium in Iſrael.* From our Saviours Aſcenſion unto Jeruſalems deſtruction, 42. yeers, fifteen High Prieſts came in place, the laſt of them *Phinehas*, of the ſame name with him, the ſonne of *Eleazar*, ſonne of *Aaron*, who was the firſt High Prieſt in Iſrael, after conqueſt of the land of Canaan, and Iſraels ſettling in that land, as a people reckoned amongſt the Nations; which is a thing remarkable in many States. The Majeſty of the Roman Empire began in *Auguſtus*, and the ſame ended in *Auguſtalus*; the Conſtantinopolitane Empire began with *Conſtantine*, and ended alſo in a *Conſtantine*: After *Phinehas* God did bring upon them a full and ſweeping deſolation: they are no more a people, nor ſhall for ever be; No man can prove himſelfe a Prieſt, or of *Levi*, nor ſay of what Family he is deſcended, or of what Tribe in Iſrael he is extracted.

Never any Prieſt but of the Tribe of

61 From *Aaron*, firſt Prieſt by Gods owne nomination, unto *Iudas Maccabeus*, the dignity continued in *Eleazar* and in *Ithamar*, ſonnes of

of *Aaron*; father leaving it ſucceſſively to his eldeſt ſon for life. From *Judas Maccabeus* it continued in direct line, as before, untill *Herod*, that Tyrant, thruſt in *Ananelus*. Afterward, unto the deſolation of the Land, without reſpect of Law, of Nature, of Succeſſion, it was chopped and changed, altered and transferred from man to man, father to ſonne, or ſtranger, as it happened; as the Prince in State, or Governour in Authority would conferre, diſpoſe, or ſell it. And yet for all this, in all theſe hurries and confuſions, it never went from the Sacerdotall line, never any Prince, Preſident or Tyrant conferred it upon any Lay man, as Chriſtian Princes have often put Lay men into Prieſts places; none of *Iuda*, *Benjamin*, or other Tribe, but onely *Levi*, ſerved at the Altar. *Iudas Maccabeus* was not of *Iuda*, as *Genebrard* fableth, but of *Levi*: *Menelaus* and *Lyſimachus* were not of *Benjamin*, as the Author of the Maccabeicall Story delivereth it, but of *Levi*, and of *Aaron*. The Apoſtle hath aſſured us, that none of *Iuda*, no nor of any other Tribe, ever ſerved at the Altar, that it might be reſerved for his Prerogative, who was a Prieſt of a better order, that of *Melchiſedech*, to ſtand for ever. *From all the ſucceſſions CHRIST excepted.*

62 The uſe and practice of transferring the High Prieſts place, was by inveſting with the Stole, the badge and cogniſance of that Office, and not of the Princedome alſo, as *Baronius* conceited. This Stole, called *Mehil*, which *Pagnine* tranſlates *Pallium*, a Mantle, was a long robe, not ſweeping, but onely downe to the ankles, with a traine of ſcarlet in-woven, as *Hierome* deſcribeth it unto *Fabiola*. It had very large ſleeves of the ſame ſilken ſtuffe, on either ſide; at the top it was open, as our Rochets or Surpleſſes bee, to come over the head, and to reſt upon the ſhoulders; the fringes and ſelvedges were wrought ſtrong, and doubled in, that it might not rend or teare; at the bottome hung 72. ſmall bels of ſilver, and as many pomegranates; betwixt two bels a pomegranate, inter-woven of the ſame ſtuffe and colour that the Stole was of, that is, of a violet inclining to red; and interchangeably, betwixt every two pomegranates one bell: thus *Hierome*. *Ioſephus* a Prieſt, who had ſeene it, doth not differ but only in this, that he ſaith, it had no ſleeves, (which I rather incline unto) but was as our Rochets are. *The Stole, badge of the Prieſts Office, deſcribed.*

63 This Stole of ancient time was laid up under lock and key by the High Prieſt, and two Treaſurers of the Temple, in a Reveſtry for the purpoſe; from whence it was taken at ſolemne times of Service, and after ſuch Service finiſhed, laid there up againe. *Herod* having new built the Maccabeian Tower, which adjoyned to the Temple, by them named Baris, and calling it *Anthonies* Tower, a Fort to command both the Citie and Temple, that hee might have the High Prieſthood at his devotion, cauſed the Stole to bee tranſported thither, and there to be locked up by himſelfe. Which cuſtome by him begun, the Roman Deputies and Procurators did continue; onely *L. Vitellius* for his time, did the Jewes that favour, as to transferre it back againe into the Temple, there to bee kept as in former time: By which he wan *The places where it uſed to be kept.*

himſelfe

himſelfe exceeding love amongſt the people. So it continued all *Agrippa* his dayes, of whom wee read *Acts* 12. After his death, *Caſsius Longinus* Preſident of Syria called for it againe to be brought unto *Anthonies* Tower, under the Deputies keeping. The Jewes make complaint hereof unto the Emperor: It fortuned, *Agrippa* was then at Rome, who, by favour which hee had with the Emperor, obtained that *Vitellius* order might ſtand; and ſo, as I ſaid, it did ſo long as *Agrippa* lived; and then was brought back into the Tower, where it was laid up in a preſſe, and ſo often as it was to be uſed at the ſolemne Feaſts, the two Treaſurers of the Temple went into the Caſtle, and fetched it downe: the Feaſts being ended, they brought it back againe, and laid it up in the preſſe, ſetting their ſeals upon the locks; which they ſhewed ſo ſealed unto the Deputy, and departed.

Other Garments belonged to the Prieſts ſervice.

64 Beſide this Stole, the High Prieſt had ſundry other garments of Service, partly common with other Prieſts, partly peculiar to himſelfe; all which are deſcribed, for their matter and forme, in the 39. of *Exodus*, and 8. of *Levit*. The chiefe and principall appertaining to him, were the Ephod, the Breſt-plate, and Frontlet of gold; which, no doubt, were laid up together with the *Stole*, and ſo accordingly brought out for uſe; which *Hierome* to *Fabiola*, and *Joſephus* deſcribe at large: which are not appurtenant to our purpoſe.

The State ruinous at CHRISTS comming.

65 Thus ſtood the ſtate of Prieſthood in Iſrael, at, and about the time that Chriſt came to reſtore againe the Tabernacle of *David* fallen downe, To ſeek and to ſave what was loſt; a ſure preſage of ruine and deſolation in that State ſhortly to enſue, wherein holy, ſacred things were ſo farre profaned, and Gods Service and Ordinances ſo out of ſquare. The Princedome of Iſrael being in the hands of Strangers, the Prieſthood of Iſrael profaned by Strangers, what remained, but to annoint the moſt Holy, Prince and Prieſt in Jacob for ever, to repaire the ruines of either State?

A queſtion raiſed, whether *Annas* and *Caiphas* were both High Prieſts at one time.

66 But yet we have not done with the Jewiſh High Prieſts: For acceſſory unto the former diſquiſition concerning the Succeſſion of High Prieſts in Iſrael, is that which *Baronius* adjoyneth hereto, concerning *Annas* and *Caiphas*, two of them. Mention we have of them often in holy writ, both jointly and ſeverally in many places; *Act.* 4. 6. *Annas* is ſtiled the High Prieſt, and *Caiphas* ordered with the Prieſts at large. *Mar.* 14. 53. *Jeſus* was lead unto the High Prieſt, who *Matth.* 26. 57. is ſaid to be *Caiphas*; who *John* 11. 49. is ſaid to be *High Prieſt for that yeere:* and the time of Chriſts baptiſme is ſignally ſet downe thus, *Annas and Caiphas being High Prieſts.*

The Prieſt might have a Deputy.

67 For reſolving this queſtion about theſe two, *Baronius* layeth downe this as a ground, that *Never were two High Prieſts at once in Iſrael.* And this his reſolved Maxime hee enlargeth yet further, that but upon ſome urgent, inevitable, and indiſpenſable neceſſity, the High Prieſt was neceſſarily to performe his Office and Prieſtly function himſelfe, and never by a Deputy or Subſtitute. And ſo *Annas* could not be Deputy for *Caiphas*; nor yet *Caiphas* for *Annas*, upon a-

by

ny termes. *Scimus Vicariam ejuſdem Sacerdotii præfecturam, nemini ſolere concedi:* Which, if it were true, the High Prieſt in Iſrael was in very ill caſe, being ſo ſtreightly tyed, as no man in any Office or Profeſſion ever was or can bee, as to performe all duties belonging to his Office, in his own perſon. And ſecondly, *Baronius* his owne exception will overthrow his owne intent: for if ſome urgent occaſion might be, then in or upon that urgent occaſion, the High Prieſt might have a Vicar or Deputy ſubſtituted for him; and ſo *Annas* might have been Deputy for *Caiphas*, or *Caiphas* Subſtitute for him.

68 The truth is, *Baronius* was miſtaken; there nor was, nor could bee any ſuch rule: The High Prieſt had a Subſtitute often, and hee is ſometime ſtiled *Sacerdos ſecundus*, the ſecond High Prieſt, 2 *King.* 25. 18. and ſo might *Jehojada* have been High Prieſt. Hee might have a Coadjutor in caſe of mutilation caſuall, incurable diſeaſe, decrepit old age, or the like: hee might have an Adminiſtrator in minority, as *Eleazar* was for *Onias*, and yet the High Prieſt bee but one and ſingular; For no deputation depriveth the Deputer of his right. The ſame thing profecured.

69 *Pacianus* ſpeaking of Epiſcopall *place*, *authority*, and *juredictiOn*, calleth it, *Jus & fas ſingularis Sacerdotii*: and that great Nicene Councell doth provide, that through the Catholike Church, in one Dioceſſe, there ſhould be but one Biſhop and no more; not *Altare erected againſt Altar*. And yet by our Law, every Biſhop in the Kingdome may lawfully have his *Suffragan*. Amongſt the Grecians, the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople had their Suffragans. Every where Biſhops had their *Chorepiſcopos*, and *Coadjutores*. Saint *Auguſtine* at Hippo, was Coadjutor to *Valerius* the Biſhop of that See, growne, through age, inſerviceable, and not ſufficient to diſcharge the place; which was not any breach of the Nicene Sanction, as he was reſolved, being at firſt ſomewhat ſcrupulous therein. And ſemblably amongſt the Jewes, the High Prieſt had, *de jure Sacerdotali*, his Subſtitute or Vicar if need were; namely, the ſecond Prieſt in Order next himſelfe; either in *order of Time*, for *ancientneſſe in Service*, as the eldeſt Deacon was ever wont to bee Archdeacon; or in *order of Succeſſion*, next to him in bloud, and next capable of the place, his ſonne or brother, as *Ithamar* or *Phineas* unto *Eleazar*; or *order of Precedency or Authority*, after that confuſion brought in by *Herod*; where the eldeſt ſurviving, that had been High Prieſt, but was removed, did in abſence of the High Prieſt, ſupply his place, as *Annas*, I ſuppoſe, was to *Caiphas*; or laſtly, whom the High Prieſt himſelfe would appoint, as *Matthias* did *Joſeph ben Elemi* upon the fore-remembred occaſion: and ſuch were, and might bee ſtiled High Prieſts. It is not unuſuall, ſaith *Salianus*, in Scripture, for him to be ſtiled High Prieſt, who had been High Prieſt. But one High Prieſt among the Jewes at one time. An. M. 4028.

70 On the contrary ſide, ſome preſſe it as a cuſtome, though not punctually obſerved or ſpecified, that evermore in Iſrael there were two High Prieſts at once, though the elder bee onely named High Prieſt, and not the younger: So were *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* at firſt; ſo It more at moſt is was an Anarchie and diſorder.

ſo *Eli* and *Oze* afterward; ſo *Abiathar* and *Zadoc* in *Davids* time, who both are ſaid to have miniſtred before the Lord with an Ephod, 1 *Chron.* 24.2. But for *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, it is plaine otherwiſe; God ſaid *Eleazar* ſhould ſucceed in *Aarons* ſtead, not *Eleazar* and *Ithamars*; and when *Aaron* was dead, *Eleazar* ſucceeded, and not *Ithamar*; when *Aaron* was diveſted in the Mount, *Eleazar* was inveſted, and not with him *Ithamar*. For *Eli* and *Oze*, it is a meere conceit. *Zadoc* and *Abiathar* both miniſtred before the Lord, ſo did other Prieſts beſides them; both ware an Ephod, ſo did others; the child *Samuel* ſo miniſtred before the Lord. But *Zadoc* and *Abiathar*, both High Prieſts, as deſcendents from High Prieſts, might happely divide the execution of that Office by moneths or yeers, or as they pleaſed; and ſo did *Annas* and *Caiphas*, in Saint *Auguſtines* opinion: *Iſti ambo Pontifices, viciſsim ſuos annos agebant. Et erat tunc annus* Caiphæ, *quando Chriſtus paſſus eſt. Ideo, ſecundum Matthæum, cum eſſet comprehenſus, ad eum ductus eſt*: Which he againe avoweth in his 49. *Tract.* adding, that ambitiouſly contending for that dignity, they had brought it unto that compoſition: *Per ambitiones & contentiones inter Judæos, poſtea factum eſt, ut plures eſſent Summi Sacerdotes, & per annos ſingulos, per vices ſuas miniſtrarent.* In Saint *Auguſtines* opinion then, it was not ſo in *Davids* time, betwixt *Abiathar* and *Zadoc*; it came into uſe afterward. Secondly, when there were two High Prieſts or moe in Iſrael afterward, it was not out of Divine Ordination, but through humane ambition; and ſo an Ataxie and diſorder brought in.

Tract. 113. *in Johan.*

Baronius his concluſions concerning *Annas* and *Caiphas.*

71 *Baronius* having diſpatched other mens opinions, ſets downe his owne in three diſtinct propoſitions. Firſt, That howſoever there was alway but one High Prieſt ordinary amongſt the Jewes, yet the name and Title of Chiefe Prieſt is often conferred upon inferiour Prieſts. Secondly, That thoſe chiefe of the Prieſts; that is, the firſt and principall of ſeverall Families derived from *Aaron*, which were 24. in all in the dayes of King *David*, were, and might be called High Prieſts; both which propoſitions are true or probable. Thirdly, which is his owne private reſolution of the queſtion, That *Annas*, in particular, was therefore ſtiled chiefe of the Prieſts, or High Prieſt, becauſe he was chiefe of the Sanhedrin, or great Councell in Gazeth, which conſiſted of 72. Elders. So that *Caiphas* was, as he was indeed, the onely actuall High Prieſt. And further, that the chiefe of thoſe 24. Claſſes were ſtiled Princes of the Sanctuary, *Chiefe of the Houſe of God*; as well ſuch as were of the line of *Ithamar*, as thoſe who deſcended of *Eleazar*.

Baronius, in that he delivers of *Annas*, not ſatisfying.

72 Whether *Annas* were chiefe and eldeſt of any of theſe Claſſes and Courſes of Prieſts, *Baronius* cannot aſſure us: If he were, there yet remains a doubt to be reſolved, whether only *Annas*, and no other chiefe of that Councell were ſaid to be High Prieſts. This is not touched by the Cardinall, who ſeemes to think, that howſoever it be, hee was chiefe, though this were not the only cauſe why he is ſtiled High Prieſt. *Non dicimus* Annam *hac tantum ratione dictum eſſe Principem Sacerdotum,*

Sacerdotum, quia ſcilicet erat alicujus Claſsis Princeps, ſed aliâ etiam prorſus diverſâ ratione. If it were not the only cauſe, yet it was a cauſe why *Annas* is named High Prieſt. But as wee read not of that Councell in Scripture; ſo we have no where the times noted unto us, by him that was Chiefe of that Councell, as we have by him that was High Prieſt. Secondly, whereas hee ſhould have proved his aſſertion, That *Annas* was Chiefe and Principall in that Councell, he begs the queſtion, taking it for granted which is denyed. As hee proves not in the third place that which he aſſumes, and ſhould prove, That the Chief of the Sanhedrin was alſo ſtiled Chiefe Prieſt. Theſe things are paſſed over in ſilence by *Baronius*, who ſhould have told us the ſtate and nature of that Councell, which ſtood thus.

The great Councel: and where the Seats of it.

73 Conſiſt it did of Maſters and Elders in Iſrael, who not onely for yeers, or gray haires, but for wiſdome and diſcretion, were choſen and reſpected. It was diſtinguiſhed into the *greater* and *leſſer* Sanhedrin or Councell. The leſſer conſiſted of 24. and was eſtabliſhed in every good towne, as it were, a Corps of 24. Aldermen. The greater conſiſted of 72. or 71. or 70. for hereabout is ſome difference; and unleſſe at the firſt inſtitution thereof wee will exclude *Moſes* and *Aaron*, (for there was the beginning of it,) it muſt bee granted, that the number was 74. The Seate of this Councell, after that Iſrael was ſettled in the land of Canaan, is ſaid, by our Hebrew Maſters, to have been at Bethleem, then at Jeruſalem; from whence it was removed, but they ſay not whither, about the time of our Saviours Aſcenſion, ſome 40. yeers before the finall deſtruction of Jeruſalem. So long as this ſtanding Court held at Jeruſalem, it was kept in Gazeth, a place ſo named, and thence ſtiled the *Conſiſtory in Gazeth.*

Others then Prieſts of that Councell.

74 Hee that was Chiefe in this Councell, was called High Prieſt, ſaith *Baronius*; therefore it neceſſarily muſt follow, that the High Prieſt indeed was not ever made *Chiefe* of this Councell. And if it were ſo, that ſo was he ſtiled, I would gladly know the reaſon of that name: Was it becauſe the whole Sanhedrin conſiſted of Prieſts? That cannot bee: for at the inſtitution, the Elders of the people, of every Tribe ſome, were choſen and elected into that Councell. Happely becauſe in ſucceeding times, and aberration from the firſt inſtitution, Prieſts and Levites onely were choſen thereinto, as *Moſes ben Maymon* ſeems to imply; *Si non invenirentur Sacerdotes & Levitæ digni, tum ex omni Iſraele admittebantur:* as if Lay men had not been intereſſed therein, (unleſſe for want of able Prieſts and Levites, which would ſeldome happen,) or would not be admitted thereto at all.

Herod ſuffered none of the Tribe of Juda to be Counſellors.

75 But *Moſes ben Maymon* was deceived concerning the inſtitution of *Moſes ben Amram*. *Iethro* gave the Counſell, though *Salianus* bee of another minde, God approved it, *Moſes* put it into practice, and eſtabliſhed it; which was out of every Tribe of Iſrael to make choice of the eldeſt and ableſt men: In which election and appointment for that Office, if any Tribe in Iſrael was to be preferred, it was the Tribe of Juda, the Royall Tribe; it was the Houſe of David, that Regall Family.

Family. And *Philo* in *Annius* is not much amiſſe, who ſaith, that *Herod* aboliſhed the Sanhedrin, not utterly from all Tribes, not from that of Levi, but only from Juda, in the Family of David.

The great authority of the Councell, yet not over Kings.

76 But great was the Authority of this Councell, ſaith *Baronius*: It was indeed; And therefore I infer, more likely to conſiſt of the King and Prince in State, and of the Nobles in Iſrael. But the greatneſſe of their Authority conſiſted in this, That, *De Lege & Prophetis judicabant, & etiam de Regibus*, ſaith *Baronius*: they held plea, and took cognizance concerning the Law, Prophets, and the life of Kings. But *Baronius* is deceived: Let him ſhew mee where any King of Iſrael or Juda was cenſured or convented by the Sanhedrin. Shew it hee will, or hee is miſtaken, by inſtance; *Horum judicio Rex* Herodes *poſtulatus eſt*: King *Herod* was called into queſtion before them. No good Sir, *Herod* was, but not King *Herod*: his queſtioning was, when yet hee was a private man; long before hee was King: His father *Antipater* was then alive, *Hyrcanus* was then Prieſt, and Prince in State; hee gave *Herod* intelligence, out of his love, of the confederacy againſt him in the Synagogue, *Herod* appeared, but little to their comfort; hee came in ſuch ſort, they durſt not meddle with him. When *Herod* was King he convented them, who, when hee was convented, was not King; and he convented them with Authority; it coſt them their lives for ſo conventing him a private man.

That it was not extended over the King.

77 But *Baronius* in this inſtance meant well unto Papall Authority, when hee put it downe for *Doctrinall truth*, That the Sanhedrin, all Prieſts and Levites, might arraigne and call the Kings of Iſrael into queſtion: a thing never practiſed, heard of, or deſigned. They were ſubordinate to the King, as a ſtanding Court of Juſtice, ſuperiour unto them; and not the King ſubjected unto them.

Nor ſimply over the Prophets.

78 Nor is it true, without limitation, that *De Prophetâ cognoſcebant*: As if it had beene in their power to judge and determine, whether *Elias*, *Iſaias*, or *Jeremy* were Prophets; as if without their licence they could not propheſie, nor their writings paſſe for Canonicall without their approbation.

Baronius would have Kings & Prophets ſubject to the Sanhedrin.

79 *Baronius* would prove it from our Saviours arraignement: But firſt, hee takes it for granted, which is not expreſſed, That hee was convented by the Sanhedrin, becauſe hee was brought unto *Annas* firſt, *Caiphas* being then High Prieſt. Secondly, this inſtance would rather have fitted him a turne for conventing of the King before the Sanhedrin, then of the Prophet: For at the arraignement of our Saviour upon his life, before the High Prieſts, or great Councell, the queſtion or accuſation was not about a Prophet, *Art thou that Prophet?* but, *Art thou the King of the Jewes?* And againe, *Hee ſaith, that hee is the King of the Jewes*: And againe, *whoſoever calleth himſelfe a King is not* Cæſars *friend*. All which paſſages may probably inferre, that the Sanhedrin might queſtion and convent the King, becauſe *De facto*, they convented him, and condemned him

him too, who was reputed, and ſo queſtioned as a King. Againe, when the Jewes ſent meſſengers unto *John Baptiſt*, from Jeruſalem, to enquire of him concerning his ſtate and miniſtery, one queſtion amongſt many was, *Art thou that Prophet?* If the Jewes who ſent to make this queſtion were the Sanhedrin, as peradventure they were, and I wonder *Baronius* doth not ſo inſiſt upon them; then, without doubt, the meſſengers ſent were Apparitors of that Court, who yet do not cite him to appear, but only aske for their own learning and information, *Art not thou Hee?*

80 If Kings and Prophets came under cenſure of this ſtanding Court, I wonder, no King or Prophet, eſpecially, ſo many of them being ſaid to have beene perſecuted, in any *conſtat* or memoriall extant, are reported to have beene convented by them. Great oppoſition hath beene ſaid in Scripture to be made unto the Prophets of all ages, by Princes, Prieſts, and Grandees; inſomuch, that our Saviour expoſtulates with them thereabout, *which of the Prophets have not your Fathers killed?* and yet no Judgement given in Sanhedrin againſt any one of them.

No *conſtat* that at any time they were ſo.

81 *Baronius* would prove his Aſſertion, That the Sanhedrin did judge of Prophets, becauſe that CHRIST was firſt had to *Annas*, then to *Caiphas*; and *Annas* was *Roſh Sanhedrin*, as you muſt beleeve upon his word, for other proofe hee bringeth none. So one uncertainty, That the Sanhedrin did take cognizance of Prophets, is proved by another, That *Annas* was *Roſh Sanhedrin*, head of that Court, as *Baronius* dreamed: for both are alike his dreames; That *Annas* was Chiefe of that great Councell, and, That becauſe hee was Chiefe, hee was firſt carried to *Annas*: Both which ſhould have beene proved, not begged; nor yet one brought to prove the other. It is ſaid, that CHRIST was carried before *Annas*, who was father-in-law unto *Caiphas*, as if ſome honour had beene intended unto him in that reſpect; or becauſe it was ſuppoſed hee would prepare examinations ſo well, out of reſpect unto his ſonne-in-law, that when the priſoner ſhould bee brought before him, hee ſhould not neede much adoe to convict him, matters having beene ſifted before; or rather becauſe his houſe was in the way, as they led him from the mount of Olives to the Conſiſtory, and ſo they would firſt acquaint him with the buſineſſe, being a Prieſt of eminent note amongſt them.

Why our Saviour was carried firſt before *Annas*.

82 It is true, I grant, *Cognoſcebant de Propheta*, ſo farre as for matter of *Fact*: *Cognoſcebant de Lege*, in point alſo of *Fact*; Not to expound the Law, or any part of it, for matter of Religion, and Gods Service; but in deciding doubtfull controverſies betwixt parties contendent in points of Fact. *If controverſie ariſe betwixt bloud and bloud*, in Capitall, Criminall, in Secular caſes, for deciſion herein, ordinary courſe appointed by Law, was to be taken, and the laſt reſolution was

No appeale from the Sanhedrin, Prophets, or any other in matter of fact were cenſured by it.

from this Court; to which any might appeale from inferiour Courts, but from this Court by no appeale, being, as it were, a ſtanding Parliament of Seculars and Spirituals; whereof, not the High Prieſt, nor any other Prieſt was Head, but hee that was Prince in State. And though this Court, as others, was ſubject to errour, miſtakings, injuſtice, and the like; yet to the judgement and decision of that Court men muſt ſtand: It was capitall not to obey the deciſion what ſoever it was. GOD in wiſdome thought it more fit to admit of a miſchiefe ſometime, that might happen unto ſome, rather then of a generall inconvenience unto all. And, rather then men ſhould contend everlaſtingly, hee would put an end to controverſies, though ſometime with ſome inconvenience; So deare was Peace unto him.

Baronius diverſly falls in his Hiſtory concerning this Councell.

83 It is falſe that the Sanhedrin conſiſted onely of Prieſts and Levites, and not of Seculars alſo intermix'd. It is falſe, That the Head of the Sanhedrin, or Preſident of the Court was a Prieſt onely; or that hee was ſtiled *Chiefe Prieſt*, which Title was communicable unto many. It is falſe, That the King was liable to the cenſure of that Court: Rather, the Court was at the devotion and diſpoſition of the King. It is falſe, That *Annas* is therefore ſaid, with *Caiphas*, to have beene *High Prieſt*, becauſe, that as *Caiphas* was actually High Prieſt, for his Office, ſo *Annas* was Preſident of the Sanhedrin: *Caiphas* rather ſhould have beene the one, in reſpect that hee was the other. All theſe, and more peradventure then theſe, are the irreſolutions of *Baronius*.

The beginning and continuance of the Sanhedrin

84 The Sanhedrin was, if not inſtituted by *Moſes*, yet ordained and inſtituted according to project and patterne left and practiſed by *Moſes*; who being Prince in State, was Chiefe of that Councell himſelfe while hee lived, and ſo were his Succeſſors after him, Judges, Kings or Dukes. The aſſeſſors in this Councell were Elders in Iſrael; ſuch by Gods appointment they were to bee; not ſo much for yeers, (though *cæteris paribus*, that was required,) as for wiſedome, diſcretion, experience, courage, innocency, and dexterity in mannaging of affaires; as being Judges, Directors, Guides of the people, and Maſters in Iſrael. This ſtanding Court erected at Jeruſalem, ſtood and continued ſo long as Jeruſalem ſtood: at the deſolation of that State, came the diſſolution of that Court. *Herod* did not demoliſh the Court, though hee put to death the Elders that were of that Court, becauſe hee was convented before hee was King. The *Naſi*, or *Roſh Sanhedrin*, Preſident of the Councell was evermore the Prince, if hee were pleaſed to bee there; otherwiſe the High Prieſt, in his abſence, or ſome man of ſpeciall note deſigned by the King. It may bee *Annas* was Head and Preſident at the time of our Saviours Paſſion: but that is not the cauſe why hee and *Caiphas* are ſaid to bee High Prieſts; but this.

85 Accor-

85 According to prime and originall Inſtitution, there was to bee but one High Prieſt in Iſrael; ſo was *Aaron*, ſo *Eleazar*, ſo *Eli*, and *Abiathar*, during their lives; *Ithamar*, *Oze*, or *Zadoc* were not High Prieſts with them, but next unto them. So it continued after the Captivitie to the *Maccabees*; ſo with them, untill *Herods Principate*; and ſo in that great diſorder and confuſion, even to the deſolation of that State: there never was but one High Prieſt in act, in being, in ſtate, and office: if one were put out, another ſucceeded. He that was removed, till hee was removed, was alone: and he that ſucceeded did ſucceed alone, the other being removed, that ſo he might be alone, without any coparcener in the Office. And yet the Scripture in expreſſe termes nameth *Annas* and *Caiphas* High Prieſts; and ſometimes one, ſometimes the other, the reaſon I conceive thus:

But one in the High Prieſts Office at one time.

86 *Annas* was *de jure*, and in truth High Prieſt, according to Divine Ordinance at the firſt Inſtitution; but *Caiphas* was *de facto*, and *in eſſe* then High Prieſt, according to the miſordered cuſtome then in uſe; having beene intruded againſt the Law, (which appointed the Office to bee hereditary, and for life) by *Valerius Gratus*, the Roman Procurator in Judea. The Evangeliſts who name them, Saint *Luke* eſpecially and Saint *Matthew*, have reference, in their writings, to both what was *in being*, and what *ſhould bee*. Saint *Luke*, *Acts* 4. 6. names *Annas*, not *Caiphas*; becauſe *Annas* ſhould have beene (*de jure*) High Prieſt. Saint *Matthew* names *Caiphas*, and not *Annas*, becauſe *Caiphas* was High Prieſt. Others beſide *Annas* were then living, who had beene deprived, betwixt himſelfe and *Caiphas*; but hee was the eldeſt then ſurviving, and ſo of due and right was High Prieſt. And in ſo doing, the Holy Ghoſt hath done as good Hiſtorians ſhould doe, deliver as well *All the Truth*, as *Nothing but the Truth*. This is, I take it, the true cauſe of this diverſity about *Annas* and *Caiphas* being Prieſts.

Annas Prieſt *de jure*, *Caiphas de facto* at the ſame time.

87 For their Conſecration to this Office, it is in Scripture delivered, at the firſt Inſtitution. There is one thing materiall in *Baronius* concerning their Marriage, which hee ſpeaketh of in two places. It hath beene touched already in the paſſage concerning the *Maccabees*, and more fully ſhall bee in the kindred betwixt *Elizabeth* and the bleſſed Virgin; wherein *Baronius* contradicts Scripture and himſelfe. And ſo wee have done with the firſt part of the Synagogicall State amongſt the Jewes, the Order and Succeſſion of their High Prieſts, which continued with varietie much and often, according to diverſity of Times, for almoſt two thouſand and foure hundred yeers, to the finall deſolation of the Temple, in place of that more ancient Prieſthood amongſt the Patriarchs, which was the Order, as it is ſtiled, of *Melchiſedech*, the firſt known Prieſt of the moſt High GOD; of whoſe Order and Rank hee was to be, who was to come a Prieſt of a greater, and better, both Teſtament

The Order of *Aaron* vaniſhed at CHRIST his comming; and *Melchiſedech*'s is ſet up for ever.

and Covenant then that of *Aaron*. Of him, and of his everlaſting Prieſthood, that temporary Prieſthood of *Aaron* was a Type, which began to waine when hee was to come, and inſtantly vaniſhed when he was come; and having performed the firſt Act of his Prieſthood by his *eternall Sacrifice* of himſelfe, aſcended into heaven to performe the ſecond, to *Make interceſſion unto God for us*. Since when, there is no Prieſthood at all in Iſrael, nor ſhall bee hereafter any more for ever, till Heaven and Earth bee no more. *Aarons* Order removed from the Altar, and Service of the Temple, and *Melchiſedech* his Order reverting *Poſtliminio*, the portion or ſalary of the Prieſthood Tythes reverted to *Melchiſedech* and his Order for ever indefeiſably.

CAP. 7.

CHAP. VII.

The Jewiſh State in Spirituals. Their ſundry Hereſies.

THE SUMMARIE.

PARAG.

1 *IMpairing in Religion through miſbeliefe, and in Converſation through misbehaviour, goe commonly hand in hand.*

2 *The Jewiſh State in Spirituals, from the comming up out of Egypt till the deportation into Babylon.*

3 *Idolatry the generall fault afore, now Superſtition.*

4 *Hereſie and Schiſme whered in by Superſtition.*

5 *The three firſt and eldeſt Sects amongſt them, (whereof two are remembred in Scripture, the third not.)*

6 *Diverſity in opinions, and the effects thereof. What?*

Herodians.

7 *The* Herodians *and* Phariſees *brethren in evill.*

8 *Who the* Herodians *were.* H. Card. *confuted upon the* 12. *of Saint* Matthew.

9 Druſius *his dreame likewiſe is rejected.*

10 *'Tis likely they might be* Herods *Courtiers.*

11 *Not likely they were his Publicans or Exactors.*

12 *Leſſe likely they ſhould bee ſome Relignes of* Judas *his Sedition in Galilee.*

PARAG.

13 *Or if ſo, yet no likelihood they ſhould be abetted by* Herod *and his Courtiers in their Not paying Tribute.*

14 Baronius *his conjecture of the* Herodians, *and their Doctrine, moſt probable.*

15 *Saint* Jerom's *Reflexe upon a paſſage of* Tertullian's *examined.*

16 Theophylact *among the Greekes, of the ſame minde with* Tertullian *among the Latines, concerning the* Herodians.

17 *S.* Jerome *(upon ſecond thoughts) of* Tertullians *minde; namely, that the* Herodians *were ſo called from* Herod, *whom they taught to be the Chriſt, and true Meſsias.*

18 Herods *barbarous inhumanitie: and yet applauded by ſome, and flattered by others.*

19 *Of all opinions, the moſt warrantable ſeems this, That they were an hereticall Sect amongſt the Jewes; their Hereſie conſiſting in this,* Herod was the Meſsias.

20 *Whence they came: and who was Founder of their Sect.*

Phariſees.

21 Sammai *and* Hillel *are the reputed Patriarchs of this Sect: the ancienteſt record whereof may be gathered (out of* Joſephus) *to bee about*

200. yeeres afore Christ.

22 In briefe; they seeme to have been elder then the Maccabees, but later then the Captivity, and after all the Prophets.

23 The Character of their Religion, Practices, and Manners out of Josephus.

24 Their Saint-seeming purity sufficiently punished.

25 Their cunning practices by complying with the weaker sex.

26 The Character of their private and home-conversation.

27 Their Hypocrisie in two particulars. First, They said and did not. Secondly, They bound heavie burdens, &c.

28 Their Doctrines and Traditions concerning the Law.

29 Their superstitious Baptisms, and often Washings.

30 The practice of their Schooles in avoiding all converse and company with publicans and notorious sinners. Their blind Guidance of the people.

31 The two Pillars of the Divels Exchange. Pride and Covetousnesse, uphold the Pharisees building.

32 Of their severe Discipline kept over themselves, and of their charity and almes-deeds.

33 Of their Fasting, and Watchings, &c.

34 Their long Prayers, but short intent. To devoure Widows houses.

35 Their Tythe payd ever duely and truely. Their disposition affable and courteous, though little seen in their carriage towards our Saviour, and his successors.

36 Their outward garb and fashion.

37 Their Philacteries: the end or use of them; with a reason of the name.

38 Christians prohibited the use of Philacteries.

39 What was written in their Philacteries: and whereof, and how they were made.

40 Their Traditions, of which Christ bade his Disciples beware.

41 Their confession in many fundamentall points sound and Orthodox: but then some Gentilisms were interforged, which quite blotted out the truth of those tenents.

42 They beleeved the immortalitie of the soule; but withall, Transanimation, though not so promiscuous and generall as Pythagoras.

43 The end of their Transanimation falls at last into the Sadduces Heresie. So absurdly doth impiety ever fall foule with it selfe.

44 From this conceit of theirs, grew that strange opinion they had of Christ our Saviour: that hee was Elias John Baptist, Jeremias or one of the old Prophets.

45 Another Pythagorean Heresie they held likewise: That of inevitable, fatall Necessity.

46 But Josephus their Scholler, not so leavened herewith as the Pharisees his Masters: That there is no such Decree.

Scribes.

47 Their Office: and severall names of old, and why so termed.

48 They were of Levi his Tribe: their calling was to teach the people the Law of God, and to instruct them in his wayes: which Office belonged in proper to the Levitical Tribe, and none other might intrude upon it.

Sadduces.

49 Their conversations profane, loose and atheisticall: their opinions as opposite to the Pharisees as contradiction could make them. Fewer in number then the Pharisees, but for the most part wealthy, and of honourable place.

50 Their desperate tenents, and doctrinall conclusions.

51 They received only the five books of Moses; whereupon the wisdome of God by the mouth of our Saviour convinced them out of the 4. of Exodus, in the Article of the Resurrection by them denyed. See PARAG. 144.

52 Their

52 *Their greateſt diſſention from the Phariſees, wherein.*

53 *They were as great Heretickes, but not ſo great Schiſmaticks as the Samaritans.*

54 *How ancient ſtanding this Sect is of, cannot be aſſured for certain out of any record.*

55 *Whence they had their denomination.*

56 *A proſecution of the former Paragraph, with a ſtumble of* Baronius

57 *The* Sadduces *have not their name from any* Sadoc *whatſoever.*

58 Baronius *his obiections anſwered, and the caſe determined againſt him*

Eſſens.

59 *No mention of theſe in Scripture. Nor were they Chriſtian Monks Schollers to S* Mark *at Alexandria, as 'tis commonly thought.*

60 *Ridiculous fancies who the* Eſſeni *were.*

61 *The evidence of* Philo *and* Joſephus *ſhould bee herein preferred before all other roving opinions and conjectures.*

62 *That neither the* Eſſeni *nor* Jeſſæi *could be Chriſtians.*

63 *The* Eſſens *Character for their morals.*

64 *Their habit carriage, and manner of deportment.*

65 *Their ſingular piety, hoſpitality, and exact honeſty upon word or promiſe.*

66 *The cognizance of their Order: and the ſolemnity wherewith all novices are admitted into it.*

67 *Their exact rigour in point of Judicature: and extreme obſervance of the Sabbath.*

68 *Their admirable patience in pain or torment, ariſing from their beleefe of the ſoules immortality. Of another ſort of them differing from the former, in that they marry.*

69 *The ſumme of all* Joſephus *his diſcourſe of them.*

70 Philo *his narration of the ſame Sect.*

71 *Their habitation. Employment. Care of peace. State of life.*

72 *Their Ethicks. Their religious repaire unto the Synagogues. Their vertuous courſe of life: and adminiſtring their Families.*

73 *Of the ſtrange community that was obſerved amongſt them.*

74 *Their diſpoſition, and their devotions.*

75 *How in holy exerciſes they ſpent the day.*

76 *Their poſture in hearing of Lectures. Their Commons, &c.*

77 *The order and faſhion of their meales and diet.*

78 *Their Table-talke: and their ſacred vigil after Supper, till the next morning.*

79 *The Romaniſts would have theſe* Eſſens *to have beene Chriſtian Monks or Anchorets: and they prove it by authorities and reaſons.*

80 Euſebius *his Teſtimony firſt alledged:*

81 *Which is anſwered double.*

82 } *S* Jerom's *authoritie next; and*
83 } *that anſwered alſo.*

84 *The manners and orders of the Canobites or Liuers in common.*

85 *Their diet and diſcourſe out of S.* Jerome.

86 Epiphanius *his authoritie next. Of the* Hebdomada pœnoſa *or* ſancta.

87 *A ſaying to* Epiphanius.

88 *A ſaying to S.* Jerome.

89 *Another ſaying to* Epiphanius.

90 } Baronius *noted.*
91 }

92 Caſſians *authority faintly alledged by* Bacon, *here examined.*

93 *That the* Eſſens *ſhould be Chriſtians, is inconſequent in Chronologie.*

94 Sozomen's *authoritie rather againſt, then for the Annaliſt.*

95 Nilus *and* Suidas *their authorities concerning theſe* Eſſens.

96 *So that all Ancients were not of the minde that they were Chriſtians.*

97 Baronius *his Argument from the name no proofe.*

98 Plinie *and* Solinus *of the antiquity of this Sect.*

99 *Their authorities overlaſhing temper'd by a moderate interpretation.*

100 *The Annaliſts ſecond Argument to prove them Chriſtians from concealment of their names in the old Teſtament is meerly* ſcopæ diſſolutæ.

101 *The* Eſſeni *not touched in that of the Apoſtle,* Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtaine from meats. See more, Parag 122.

102 *Reaſons why they are not remembred in the Goſpel.*

103 *'Tis more likely they were Anabaptiſts, or at leaſt the Patriarchs of that Faction, then Chriſtians in religion and pietie.*

104 *The former* Paragraph *made good and amplified.*

105 } *A ſecond reaſon at large, againſt*
106 } *their being Chriſtians.*

107 } *A third argument that they were*
108 } *not Chriſtians from the Egyp-*
109 } *tian & Hyeroglyphicall courſe of interpreting Scripture.*

110 } *Their Sabbatizing (wherein*
111 } *they were moſt rigid) was a marke of Judaiſme, not of Chriſtianity.*

112 *Their Syragogues which they then had & uſed were neither built nor named after the Chriſtian courſe or order in thoſe Primitive times.*

113 } *A Synopſis of the practice of the*
114 } *ancient Church for ſervice of*
115 } *God in their meetings: which*
116 } *expedits and reſolves the true*
117 } *ſtate of this aſſertion of* Euſebi-
118 } us *and* Baronius.

119 *Their Idolatricall worſhip of the Sun a plain argument that they were no diſciples of S.* Marke, *or abſolute Chriſtians.*

120 *The coldneſſe of their devotions, in compariſon of that Primitive Chriſtian fervour, a ſigne that they were not Chriſtians.*

121 *Their faſting alſo nothing anſwerable to the abſtinence of thoſe originall Chriſtians who then lived.*

122 *Their faſting a jejune argument of their Chriſtianity.*

123 *Their expecting of the evening-Star ere they broke their faſt, a token that they were of the Jewes.*

124 *How far the ancient Chriſtians went beyond this.*

125 *Wedneſdaies & Fridaies through the whole yeer were faſted till 3. of the clock in the afternoone.*

126 *Such diverſity there was in the uſe of faſting, that no concluding argument can paſs for the* Eſſens *being Chriſtian Monks, when their faſts were nothing ſo rigorous as the Monks were.*

127 *Later Romaniſts out of their ingenuity are aſhamed of the abſurdity of* Baronius *his opinion in this point.*

128 *Another ſhift, that the Theorick (though not the Practick)* Eſſens *might be Chriſtians, examined and anſwered.*

129 *In ſumme, The diſcongruity in their beliefe and practice from that of the firſt Chriſtians, plainly evinceth they were nothing leſſe.*

130 *Jews they were by birth, & Jews by profeſſion, though as Hereticks & Schiſmaticks in the Synagogue.*

Samaritans, *And their ſeverall Sects.*

131 }
132 } *Of the* Samaritans *as a people.*
133 }

134 *Their ſchiſme in point of Religion, and practice of piety.*

135 *That of S.* John *expounded:* The Fathers ſerved God in this place. See more, Parag. 141.

136 *The wavering of theſe* Samaritans; *one while clayming, another while renouncing the kindred of the Jewes.*

137 *And indeed, a cleere difference our Saviour himſelfe put betwixt them and the Jewes,* Mat. 10. 5.

138 *The Jewes as inſenſe to the Samaritans, as they to them: for as there is no tie to that of Religion: ſo no diſaffection to that of Religion.*

139 *Difference in Religion is not more high and irreconcilable betweene extreme oppoſits, then betwixt ſubordinate Profeſſors, that profeſſe both one God, but not both one way.*

140 *The*

140 } *The threefold proceſſe of the Sa-*
141 } *maritan ſchiſme.*
142 *Schiſme for the moſt part ends in hereſie: ſo did theirs.*
143 *Which hereſie again appeared in their magick & ſorcerie. Which that the Samaritans were anciently defamed with, that blaſphemy againſt our Saviour intimated.* Joh.8.48.
144 *Again, heretick they were for denying holy Scripture, all but the Pentateuch,* as in Parag.51.
145 *Their fond ſuperſtition in often waſhing and purifying themſelves.*
146 *All Schiſmaticks are oppoſed commonly, and divided among themſelves: ſo were theſe.*
147 *The Samaritan* Oſſeni, *and thoſe Jewiſh* Eſſeni *remembred above, were in effect both one.*
148 *The hiſtory of the Sebueans: their not obſerving the Law of* Moſes, *in tranſpoſing the legall times of the legall Feaſts.*
149 Epiphanius *his narration of the* Gortheni.
150 } *The miſerable ſtory of* Doſithe-
151 } *us, the grand Patriarch, and firſt Founder of the* Samaritan *Hereſie.*
152 *The Jewiſh ſuperſtition in keeping of their Sabbath.*
153 *Which* Baron. *would have come from* Doſitheus *his Schoole.*
154 *A remarkable Story about ſuch an obſervation.*
155 *Whence they had their pretence or colour for ſo rigid an obſervance of that day.*
156 *The Jews have firſt and laſt ſufficiently paid for this their ſuperſtitious folly.* Joſephus *his own opinion in the point. It ſhould ſeem in our Saviours time they were grown older and wiſer.*
157 } *Though the Jewiſh State were*
158 } *thus generally corrupted, yet ſome remained unblamable in their lives; of whom* Jo. Baptiſt *and our Saviour deſcended.*
159 *The neceſſity of* CHRIST *his comming into the World.*

WHere once there is a generall diſſolution of life and manners grown in upon a State, and great (as it were) dilapidations of ancient diſcipline, then commonly enſueth a falling away from piety, an apoſtacie in points of Faith and Doctrine; men impairing in *Religion* through *misbeleefe*, as well as in *honeſt life and converſation* through *misbehaviour*: Such inſeparable aſſociats bee *Faith* and *good Works*, Church and State, that, as *Eros* and *Anteros* in the Poets, they live and die together: the one hath no permanency nor ſubſiſtence without the other. The Jewiſh State and Polity was then under hatches, their Kingdome gone, and Scepter departed, aliens and ſtrangers lording it over them, commanding their ſervice, lands, goods, bodies, lives: and tyrannizing even over their ſoules; their ſtate Synagogicall, for Religion and Gods Service, was as much or more confuſed, embeaſelled, defaced, gone. Darkneſſe was over all Iſrael, palpable, Egyptian darkneſſe in their greateſt Lights. The Maſters of Iſrael were *blinde Guides*, and underſtood little in the things of God. The Scribes and Phariſees were no better then Ignaroes and Ignorants, knowing as little, for divine Truth, as thoſe ſimple ones whom they miſguided, though otherwiſe affected then as of old.

Impairing in Religion through miſbeleefe, and in Converſation through miſbehaviour, goe commonly hand in hand.

2 Before their deportation into Babylon, from their firſt going up out of Egypt, prone they were, and inclined to Idolatry. Ever after comming up out of Egypt, till the deportation into Babylon, continuing

The Jewiſh State in Spirituals from the

continuing in their generations, regardleſſe of God, his Commandements, the very letter of his Law. The Prophets every where charge them home, and taxe them deepe for breach of Sabbath, blaſpheming his name, running a madding after Idols, to the gods and religion of the Gentiles, ever after that *they made a Calfe in Horeb*, according to what they had ſeene in Egypt, *Turning their glory into the ſimilitude of a calfe which eateth hay*. They followed the faſhions of other Nations, ſerving for God, *Baal*, *Aſhtaroth*, *Chemus*, *Milcom*, and ſuch puppet petie gods of the Pagans. They ſacrificed men, their own children to *Moloch*, and unnaturally burned them to pleaſe the Divell. Commonly they had Teraphims, Altars, Groves in high places; cakes and wine they offered to the Queene of heaven, and conſecrated horſes to the Sunne, as if they never had heard of the God of their Fathers, The God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, The Great and Mighty God of Heaven and Earth; had not beene beholding to him any way, nor been acquainted with his will. The Prophets generally complaine of ſuch, ſo great ingratitude, and every where caſt in their teeth their Idolatrous deſertion of God, and violation of his Law: Such was their begun, and ſo continued ſtate and diſpoſition, from their comming up from Egypt, till their deportation into Babylon. So that ancient Writer, *Juſtin Martyr*, diſcourſeth and proveth againſt *Tripho* the Jew.

Idolatry their generall fault afore; now ſuperſtition.

3 All otherwiſe it went with them in ſucceeding ages, though not inſtantly after their returne home againe; and I may ſay, not inſtantly; for it appeares by *Eſdras* and *Nehemias* after their returne home, they diſpoſed themſelves to break Gods commandements, to violate his Sabbaths, to marry ſtrange wives, not to pay their Tythes unto the Prieſts: but in ſucceeding ages they cannot be generally charged with Idolatry, nor with profaning Gods Service or Sabbaths, as before; not with breach of the Law in polluting themſelves by ſtrange marriages, prohibited meats, or the like: but the contrary rather may bee charged upon them, their falling into Superſtition, their giving God too much, more then he would have, or deſired at their hands, ſo ſaith the Prophet, *For who required this at your hands?*

Hereſie and ſchiſme uſhered in by ſuperſtition.

4 Now, as they fell upon Superſtition, ſo did they into Hereſie; for commonly Superſtition uſhereth in Hereſie and Schiſme in point of Religion and Gods Service. Thus *wee* finde it in the Church, and ſo was it with *them* in the Synagogue. Many Sects and Schiſmes divided them not long after the Captivity. *Joſephus* his aſſignement for their *three* principall Sects, is ἐκ παλαιοῦ παλαιοῦ, of very ancient time; which will very neere reach unto the beginning wee ſpeake of; beſide the great Diviſion of Jewes and Samaritans, in which, Altar was erected againſt Altar, Temple againſt Temple, Mount Gerizim oppoſed to Mount Moriah. Hereſies many, and different many waies, were afterward diffuſed and regnant amongſt them; each Sect diſſenting from another, and all diſſenting more or leſſe from God, his Truth, his commanded Religion, his perfect rule of Righteouſneſſe, and true

true Piety, his holy Word in Spirituall and in Temporall things.

5 *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and others represent unto us many strange and uncouth Names of Sects, and Doctrines maintained by those Sects; the *Genistæ*, *Meristæ*, *Hemerobaptistæ*, *Massbothëi*, *Esseni*, *Dositheans*, *Gorrheans*, and sundry others of inferiour rank, divisions, accounts, branched forth in later times from elder Sects; which, saith *Josephus*, were anciently three capitall ones, and Progenitors of the rest, all extracted from these three, the *Pharisees*, the *Sadduces*, the *Esseni*. The Esseni are not at all remembred in Scripture, though it seemeth by Writers the most remarkable of all, and in Writers Ecclesiasticall are very frequent; therefore I balke them in this Originall Story of the Church. The two former are famous in those sacred Records, the Pharisees and Sadduces, especially the Pharisees, to whom are, inseparably almost, annexed the Scribes; and beside them the Herodians, whatever they were. The three first and eldest sects amongst them (whereof two are remembred in Scripture, the third not).

6 Every Jewish Heresie, but especially the Scribes, Pharisees, and Sadduces, had sectaries and followers, moe or fewer, as the men, their doctrine, manners or carriage were more or lesse plausible unto, more or lesse favoured & fancied by the multitude, most commonly lead on to like or dislike by seemings and shews; being at great odds and variance (the common course of sectaries) amongst themselves, they distracted and perplexed the inconstant multitude. Thus commonly it ensueth upon diversity in opinions; which experience manifesteth in our contentious times, where infinite and inextricable controversies are raised and set on foot with violence and great contestation, though many, if not most of those things which bee controverted and disputed of, be not very materiall nor important; yet factionists maintaine them in high termes of separation, upon hazzard of everlasting Life and Death: The issue is, distractions and perplexities; hatred and malice hereupon ensueth; much scandall and offence accrueth unto the Cause, as well as to the Persons. From much and often disputing of what is True to bee held or beleeved, in the end proceeds neglect and contempt of the Truth. Nothing paves the way to Atheisme and irreligiousnesse more plainly, then to hurry and harrasse upon the things of God and his Service boysterously. But from this generall view of the Jewish Synagogicall State, so farre then disordered, I come to instance and exemplifie in particular, for such Sects as bee remembred for enormities in holy Scripture; The Herodians, the Sadduces, the Scribes, and Pharisees, whom I cast into the reare, as being the most to bee insisted upon, as principally interessed in opposition to our Saviour, the forlorne hope, to say plainely, and Divels *Triarii* against God and Heaven. Diversity in opinions, and the effects thereof what.

7 The *Herodians* are remembred in the Gospel, in three severall places by name, *Mar.* 3. 6. *Mar.* 12. 13. *Matth.* 22. 16. and once by explication. For whereas it is *Matth.* 12. 14. thus, *And the Pharisees going forth, held a Councell against* Jesus, *how they might destroy him*: *Mar.* 3. 6. relating the same passage, hath these words, *And the Pharisees* The *Herodians* and *Pharisees* brethren in evill.

riſees going forth, ſtraightway with the Herodians tooke Councell againſt him how they might deſtroy him. This, as it is differently related, ſo was it a diſtinct act from that other, *Matth.* 22. 16. and *Mark.* 12. 13. where they propoſe unto him that dangerous queſtion of giving Tribute unto *Cæſar*; which, in anſwering, they thought muſt needs entrap and undoe him one way or other; and could not otherwiſe bee avoyded, but it muſt caſt him upon hazzard, either of falling foule with the multitude, if he affirmed it lawfull; or bring him within the compaſſe of high Treaſon, if he denyed it: for the Commonalty of the Jewes, ſo taught by the Phariſees, and out of an opinion of freedome, being the ſeed of *Abraham*, could not endure to heare of that Character of ſubjection, or Badge of ſlavery to bee faſtened on them: and if he ſhould avow it, they then would abandon him, whom they eſteemed as a Prophet, and ſo by eſteeming of him kept his malicious enemies in awe, that they durſt not hurt him. This was the drift of the Phariſees and the Herodians; ſo that for their malice againſt the innocent, they were no better then the reſt, Scribes, Phariſees, Sadduces, whoſoever they were, or whatſoever hereticall or ſchiſmaticall opinions they held.

Who the Herodians were, *H.* Cardinall confuted upon the 12. of St. *Matthew.*

8 This I add, *whoſoever they were,* becauſe it is queſtioned, being not reſolved in Scripture, who they were, whence they came, of what condition or profeſſion. *Hugo Cardinalis*, in his Annotations upon *Matth.* 12. fableth, that they were *ſouldiers*; which is not improbable: but he ſaith further, 200. *in all, ſent by* Cleopatra *Queene of Egypt, to* Herod's *ayd*; though when, or for what ſervice, he tels it not, nor, I beleeve, could he tell. Firſt 200. ſouldiers, unleſſe ſuch men as the Worthies of *David*, was a poor ayd for *Herod*, whatſoever his uſe, need, or employments were; an handfull of men; not beſeeming her to ſend, being a Queene of that Power, Command and State; nor advantagious for him, to any purpoſe or ſervice, who, when hee ſtood in need of his friends or forreine ayd, had many, powerfull, and great enemies to deale withall, eſpecially the Parthians in ayd of *Antigonus* againſt him, and his ſide. For ſecondly, hee had no need or employment for them, but either before hee was declared King of the Jewes, in the quarrell of *Hyrcanus* the High Prieſt, and Prince of right, againſt *Ariſtobulus* and his children, pretenders for, and uſurpers of both, upon *Hyrcanus*; or elſe in his owne quarrell afterward, againſt *Antigonus* ſon to *Ariſtobulus*, his Competitor; and then indeed he had need of ayd; but of greater then 200. men; and yet not ayd at all times neither, but at one time, when he was forced to fly into Egypt; not for ayd at *Cleopira's* hands, who never could endure him, ſought his ruine and deſtruction many wayes, and often: but at *Antonies*, by whom hee was relieved to purpoſe, and aſſiſted with ſix Roman Legions, who ſettled him ſure in the Scepter of Juda. Thirdly, If all of them, or any of them did at this time ſurvive, they were *old ſouldiers* indeed; for the laſt yeere of that Action, when *C. Soſius* took *Antigonus* priſoner, and ſacked Jeruſalem, was at leaſt 68. yeers before

before this queſtion by them ptopoſed, and *Cleopatra* was dead about 60. yeers before; ſhee could not ſend them then, being duſt in her grave; and they were fitter, if any were alive, for ſome Spittle or Hoſpitall, then for any ſervice that they were able to do for *Herod*: At leaſt, they were *Emeriti*, and ſo disbanded out of Caſh. Fourthly, *Herod* himſelfe, that *Herod* who only was, and could bee knowne unto *Cleopatra*, who was of any account for action, was dead ſome 32. yeeres before this queſtion was propoſed by the Herodians, thoſe ſouldiers: ſo inconſequent and antihiſtoricall is this opinion of *Hugo Cardinalis*.

9 Next, *Druſius* dreamed ſome ſtrange dreame ſure, *in monte*, not *Caballino*, or the learned Mount; but *Rabbinico*, when he told a tale of ſome who lived in the greene Woods, and haunted the wilde Foreſts. He tels us they were Grecians born, whom *Herod* brought with him out of ſome Defert, where, when, upon what termes, you muſt if you will, goe blow the ſeek; and before he brought them out of that Deſart home unto his Court and ſervice, gave them allowance (conceive it,) to keep them true men, *in terrâ habitatâ*, an inhabited and peopled Country; which was ſome Country doubtleſſe, peradventure the ſame, where theſe Talmudicall men tell us *Adam* was made, and thence being taken, was put into Paradiſe, having foorded it over the deep and wide Ocean, ſo tall a man he was in the day of his Creation, that hee might well be father to all Giants; in compariſon of whom, the Anakims or Zanzummins were but Pygmies, or rather as moats in the Sun. And doubtleſſe, the wilderneſſe in which they wandred before they came into a land inhabited, was the ſelfe ſame deſart, where the bird Ruck makes her neſt in the ſands, which will ſnatch up an Elephant, tower, men and all, from whence *Herod* brought them when hee laſt was there, leſt that ravenous kite ſhould have devoured them, to dwell ſafely with him at Jeruſalem, and be of his Guard. So true it is, *Nullum magnum ingenium ſine inſania*, our great Hebrecians have many fooliſh fancies out of their Rabbins. This opinion deſerves no better then to be ſcoffed out.

Druſius his dream likewiſe is rejected.

Herodem ex Deſerto attuliſſe ſecum Græcos, qui in terrâ habitatâ fuerant ab illo toti, qui ſectam novam fecerant & à loco, unde abducti, vocantur in *Talmud*, Dorſiothiti, aut Dorſiani.

10 The Syriack Interpreter ſaith they were *Herods* Courtiers; which opinion *Beza* preferres above all; *Expenſis omnibus*, are his words, *placet mihi Syrus Interpres, qui* Herodianos *interpretatur De bit Hirandis, id eſt*, Herodis *domeſticos vel aulicos*: And yet he is not certaine, nor ſatisfied therewith, for hee falls upon this, They were *homines profani, inſtar Herodis*, as profane and impious as was *Herod*, who invented and brought in a new hotchpotch Religion, conſiſting of Judaiſme and Paganiſme intermiſled. And as wee uſe to call Atheiſts or Politicks, Matchiavelliſts, of that irreligious Florentine Secretary; ſo of *Herod*, in whoſe ſteps his ſons after him did tread, ſuch Polititians were in thoſe times denominated Herodians. It is credible enough, nay plaine and evident out of *Joſephus*, that *Herod* and his Courtiers were ſuch men, fit Inſtruments for any irreligious impietie.

'Tis likely they might be *Herods* Courtiers.

Nor is it materiall, if wee take them thus, to contend, whether they took their name of *Herod* ſonne to *Antipater*, the infant queller, or *Herod Antipas*, his ſonne, the Tetrarch, who beheaded *John* the Baptiſt; the ſonne was as bad as the father; an ill bird of an ill egg, as the Proverbe is. But if they were *Herods* Courtiers, they could not well be a Jewiſh ſect of Hereticks, or Schiſmaticks in their Schooles, as Scribes, Phariſees, and Sadduces were; For Courtiers are no religious Order; though they may be, and eſpecially ſhould be religious and orderly men: and men profeſſed in religious orders may live and ſerve (why not?) in Princes Courts. And ſo, it is not improbable, nay, I take it true, though not through in that ſenſe, they might be of *Herods* Court, and his Religion too; for the Princes Religion is the Courtiers: but that *Herod*, either the King or Tetrarch brought in amongſt the Jewes the profeſſion of any Sect, Schiſme, Religion, Service, I beleeve *Beza* cannot ſhew nor make good. They were indifferent for any, not ſollicitous or ſcruplous for this or that, ſo it ſtood with their affaires, and reaſon of State.

κακὸν κόρακος κακὸν ὠὸν.

Not likely they were his Publicans or exactors.

11 Next, *Stapleton* is of opinion, they were Publicans, or *Exequatores*, Cuſtomers, Collectors, Toll-gatherers, Farmors of the Emperors dues and Tribute; altogether diſſenting from the Phariſees. Oppoſites in State, oppoſites in Affection and in Profeſſion were theſe combined Herodians and Phariſees, or Phariſaicall diſciples; yet confederated together againſt God and his Chriſt, with an unanimous conſent. But if the Evangeliſts had intended them Cuſtomers, or Publicans (for ſuch Publicans were), why did they not ſtile them Cuſtomers, or Publicans rather, by a name ſo frequent in the Goſpels, ſo well knowne, not ambiguous, or which might cauſe doubting; rather then Herodians, an unuſuall and obſcure title? There is no probability of this opinion; there is abſurditie in the reaſon rendred by him, why he ſtiles them ſo. *Herod*, he ſaith, was made King for that intent and purpoſe, to collect the Tribute for *Tiberius Caſar*. Firſt, *Herod*, who lived in *Tiberius* his time, never was King, but only Tetrarch of Galile; he had nothing at all to doe in Judea. Secondly, Though hee lived Tetrarch under *Tiberius*, yet was hee not by him made Tetrarch, but by *Auguſtus*. And thirdly, Nor was his father made King, nor hee Tetrarch to collect the Tribute for the Emperor, who had Officers of his owne for that purpoſe, who made no returne or account thereof to *Herod*, but into the Emperors Exchequer. The man was better verſed in Schooles then Courts, a learned Divine as any of the ſide, but unskilfull in Story every way.

Veniant Phariſæorum diſcipuli, immunitatis aſſertores. Veniunt Herodiani, tectigalium exactores, ut Chriſtiana cauſa tectigalis caperet, & aliquo cavillo vincula inveniret.

Leſſe likely they ſhould be ſome real ques of *Judas* his ſedition in Galile.

12 *Maldonate* the Jeſuite conceiveth of them thus; That the Herodians were a Jewiſh Sect; that *Judas* of Galile was authour of that Sect, who in the daies of Tribute, as *Gamaliel* relateth in S. *Luke*, lead away much people after him, exciting them to rebellion, denying it lawfull to pay Tribute to *Caſar*; who, howſoever himſelfe miſcarried, being ſlaine in the action, and his followers ſcattered by *Pontius Pilate*, yet the fire once by him kindled, could not ſo ſuddenly or throughly

throughly be quenched, but that he left behinde him certaine remains of ſedition, who being his diſciples, profeſſed and taught, That the children of *Abraham* ought not to pay Tribute to the Romans, ſtrangers from the loynes of *Abraham*. Theſe diſciples, remaines of that Aſſociation, ſaith the Jeſuite, were named Herodians, becauſe *Herod* pretended to favour them and their Doctrine, upon hope to become popular, and wind into favour with the Multitude; which is by him delivered *gratis*, without any warrant or ground of ſurmiſe. *Herod* the King never affected nor cared for popularity; his rule was, *Oderint dum metuunt*, I care not if they hate mee, ſo that they feare mee: but had hee been never ſo much inclined to popularity, hee could not favour the party of *Judas* of Galile, who roſe nine or ten yeers after his death, upon the deportation of *Archelaus*, and when *Cyrenius* the ſecond time came into Syria, Lieutenant in ordinary, with Commiſſion to taxe the Land. And as for *Herod* the Tetrarch, he durſt leſſe have done it, though *Judas* roſe (it is true) in his dayes; for all his means and dependance was upon the Romans. *Pontius Pilate*, then the Deputy in Judea, at difference with *Herod*, as the Goſpel tels us, would have made much of ſuch an opportunity, and quickly have laid hold upon ſo faire and palpable occaſion to have ruined *Herod*, had hee any way been favouring to the ſide of *Judas* of Galile; nor durſt hee advow the denomination, that *Judas* or his Sectaries ſhould call themſelves Herodians. Of all other opinions this is moſt abſurd; not ſo ridiculous indeed, as that of *Druſius*, but as falſe as that, and with common ſenſe, which the other wants, rejectitious.

13 *Beza* ſeemes to favour this conceit, and *Maldonate*, I ſuppoſe, had it from him. *It is probable*, ſaith *Beza*, *that they who maintained, It was not lawfull to give Tribute unto* Cæſar, *of which faction* Judas Gaulonites *of Galile, and* Sadoc *the Phariſee were principals and chief*, as *Joſephus* writeth, *Antiq.* 18. 2. *were by* Herod *and his Courtiers protected, upon pretence of upholding the publick liberty, ſo farre as with ſafety they durſt doe it; the rather, becauſe* Herods *children tooke it in ill part, and were diſcontented that the Romans had taken from them a great part of the Kingdome enjoyed by their Father.* Which is ignorantly aſſerted; They that gave might take, having no way entailed or confirmed their gift to him and his heires. Their father had no Kingdom but of gift. Give hee could not what was not his to give. Therefore *Herods* will went no further in diſpoſing, then with the aſſent and pleaſure of the Emperor; at his will and devotion they ſtood or fell: and then, how could, would, durſt they ſeeme to countenance Rebels againſt their Liege Lord and good Benefactor without feare? And yet further, at this time *Herod* the King had no children alive, but *Herod* the Tetrarch, and *Philip*, a man of a ſoft, gentle, and quiet diſpoſition: So this ſurmiſe is groundleſſe, no Story for it; againſt Story it is. And it is no leſſe groundleſſe and improbable which followes, That all the Herodians, thoſe remaines of the Galilean Rebellion, were Sadduces in opinion and beleefe; whereas *Joſephus* ſaith expreſſely, they

Or if ſo, yet no likelihood they ſhould bee abetted by *Herod* and his Courtiers in their not paying Tribute.

were Pharisees in all points but this, of Not paying Tribute.

Baron. his conjecture of the Herodians, & their Doctrine, most probable.

14 *Baronius* makes these Herodians, as they were, a Profession and Sect, and conceiveth truly, to my apprehension, That their first rising was in the dayes of K. *Herod*, not *Herod Antipas*; and withall, that the substance of their Belief and Profession was, *That* Herod *was that Messias promised, prophesied of, and foretold of old time, who was to rule over the House of* Jacob, *the Scepter being taken from the House of* Juda *and* David, *from the kindred and people of the Jewes, and put into the hands of an Edomite, a Stranger.* So *Epiphanius*, whose declaration is, *They were Jewes by birth and in profession; who, to flatter and insinuate with* Herod *the King, then in State, said and taught, That he was that Messias, or Christ the Lord:* To him they applied that memorable Prophesie of *Jacob, The Scepter shall not depart from* Juda, *nor the Law-giver from betwixt his knees, untill Shiloh come*, and the people be gathered unto him; the more and rather, because they saw him established in Power, Authority, and Command, and a man of great performings and undertakings: *Quamobrem quod ex alienâ ille Gente regnare ceperat, cùm hactenus à* Juda *&* Davide *regnum, atque ex* Judæ *stirpe Principes ac Patriarchæ perstitissent, quod inquam Imperium in externum hominem translatum fuerat, idoneum illis visum est erroris argumentum, ut* Herodem *esse Christum arbitrarentur. Baronius* cites *Tertullian* for the same opinion, and hee in few words roundly delivers it so; *Cum his Herodianos, qui Christum* Herodem *esse dixerunt.* As for *Hierome*, in whom likewise *Baronius* instanceth for the same, hee not onely holds the contrary, but withall, as his manner and custome was in points of controversie and opposition, hee flatly dissents from it, by taxing those with vehement asseveration for ridiculous absurdity who opined so; and, as I ghesse, directed his pen against *Tertullian*, though hee name him not: *Quidam Latinorum*, so are his words, *ridiculè putant Herodianos esse, qui* Herodem *dicebant esse Christum: quod nusquam legitur.*

Judæi meri sunt inertes & simulatores, qui *Herodem* Christum Dominum esse dicebant; cum, inquam, Christum, qui in Scripturis omnibus ac Prophetis expectabatur, esse *Herodem* existimabant. *Epiphan.*

S. *Hierome* his reflexe upon a passage of *Tertullians* examined.

15 This was once his censure of that opinion; far from that which Cardinall *Baronius* puts upon him. But how means he, *Nusquam legitur*, It is no where so? If hee intend it No where in Scripture, that's true, the Scripture saith not so; for if the Scripture had said it, without all contradiction, that saying must stand: all contrary opinators must give way unto Scripture. But then the exception was frivolous, and more ridiculous then his saying, whomsoever hee intended. Many things were done amongst the Jewes, which bee not reported in Scripture; many things true, wherein Scripture is silent. All Truths are not revealed nor comprehended in Scripture: there is a Morall Truth in Nature, as well as a Divine Truth in Scripture. All things found and read in Scripture be infallibly true; but all things true are not found in Scripture. If his *Nusquam legitur*, It is no where read, bee left to bee taken at large, as No where read, no where found so, in no Author generally, sacred or profane, I would gladly know how

Hierome

Hierome could averre ſo, who nor read nor ſaw all Authors extant in his time. Secondly. How can he be excuſed from contradicting himſelfe in this very paſſage? for, *Nuſquam legitur* is contradictory to *Legitur in quibuſdam Latinorum*. He had read it, I doubt not, in *Tertullian*, as wee at this day doe read it in him; and that made him ſay, which he could not elſe have ſpoken, *Quidam Latinorum*, contemptuouſly enough, a certaine *Quidam*, of ſo great a Clerke as *Tertullian*. The ſolid deep learning, and accurate judgement of that man deſerved a better cenſure then his *Ridiculè putant*; eſpecially, himſelfe having formerly written and taught otherwiſe; or at leaſt, upon better advice, changed his minde. For in his Commentaries upon *Matth.* 22. hee ſaith, Auguſtus Cæſar *conſtituted* Herod *the ſonne of* Antipater, *a forreyner borne, a Proſelite in Religion, King over the Jewes, to overſee the collecting of the Roman Tribute, and to bee a ſubject vaſſall to the Roman Empire*: which, to put upon him his owne phraſe, is much more ridiculous then that which *Quidam Latinorum* did hold, againſt all truth of Story. *Bracha* of *Herod*, Cuſtome of the Romans in ſuch Donations, and that which enſueth in him, is of no better a ſtampe. *The Phariſees ſend their Diſciples with the Herodians; that is, with* Herod's *ſouldiers, whom the Phariſees, in contempt, doe name Herodians*. So much *Hierome*, not recitally delivering other mens opinions, but poſitively putting downe his owne, which in oppoſition he addreſſeth to that which *Quidam Latinorum* did hold.

16 So that both wayes *Baronius* is deceived, in that, neither did *Hierome* hold with *Epiphanius*, That the Herodians accounted *Herod* for Chriſt; and *Hierome* went wrong in his opinion, which yet *Baronius* approveth as good, in ſaying *Nuſquam legitur*, which *legebatur apud quendam Latinorum*. And though I finde it not in any Greek Father extant, which *Hierome* ſeemes to inſinuate in his *Quidam Latinorum*, elder then himſelfe; yet doubtleſſe *Quidam Latinorum*, were not onely of that minde: For how came *Theophylact* to fall upon it, who underſtood no Latin, being a Grecian borne; whoſe Commentaries extant upon the Goſpels and Epiſtles are but meere Racemations, or Collections from the Writings of elder Fathers then himſelfe, though hee bee much younger then is *Hierome*? In him wee finde it. Who were thoſe Herodians? Either they were *Herods* ſouldiers; or a Sect of certaine Hereticks then lately riſen up, who beleeved and taught that *Herod* was the Chriſt or Meſſias, becauſe the lineall ſucceſſion of Jewiſh Kings and Princes determined in him, who was an Alien borne, deſcended of *Eſau*, and ſet over the Jewes to bee their King. Of the two opinions thus remembred, *Theophylact* hath rather embraced the later; and for thoſe three which bare the name of *Herod* in Scripture, Grandfather, Sonne, and Grandchild by another Son, becauſe it might bee doubted from which of them three they toooke denomination, and were called Herodians, hee decides that, and caſts it upon the firſt, in ſurceaſement of the Jewiſh State, which was onely accompliſhed ſo in him, as not at all verified in either of the other

Theophylact among the Greeks of the ſame minde with Tertullian among the Latins, concerning the Herodians.

two. Wherefore *Maldonate* the Jeſuite wrongs him the more, in ſaying, he meant it of the Tetrarch *Herod*: It was his Goſſip *Stapleton*, not *Theophylact*, who committed that error.

Saint *Hierome* (upon ſecond thoughts) of *Tertullian* his minde; namely, That the Herodians were ſo called from *Herod*, whom they taught to bee the Chriſt, and true Meſſias.

17 Laſtly, *Hierome*, as it ſeemes, did alter his opinion upon better advice and ſecond thoughts: For, writing againſt the Luciferians, his words are; *I purpoſely omit to ſpeak of hereſies and hereticks amongſt the Jewes; who, before Chriſt was incarnate, had aboliſhed the Law of* Moſes. *I mention not* Doſitheus, *chiefe amongſt the Samaritans, who utterly rejected all the Phophets. I ſpeake not of the Sadduces, branched forth from him, who denyed alſo the Reſurrection from the dead. Nor yet the Phariſees, thoſe Jewiſh ſeparatiſts, who in regard of dividing themſelves from the vulgar, in many ſuperfluous Rites and Ceremonies, were deſervedly ſtiled by the name of Phariſees. Nor yet the Herodians, who held and maintained, that* Herod *was the Meſsias:* So *Hierome* in his better mood, in a calmer language, followeth *Tertullians* judgement, and almoſt word for word tranſcribes his paſſage, whom before hee taxed under thoſe termes of *Quidam Latinorum*. But this their opinion, beliefe, and profeſſion hindereth not them from being *Souldiers of his Guard*, Courtiers attending, οἱ Βασιλικοὶ, as *Joſephus* names them, and the Evangeliſt withall; for theſe conditioned men bee the fitteſt inſtruments of ſuch flattery.

Herods barbarous inhumanity; and yet applauded by ſome, and flattered by others.

18 True it is, *Herod* was, as hath been ſhewed, an odious and an execrable Tyrant, deteſted and abhorred of God and men; even ſuch as were neereſt allied unto him. So *Ben. Gorion* truly. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 4. *Herod* was an irreligious and importable Tyrant, one who grieved and oppreſſed the Jewes intolerably with an heavie yoke of bondage. Reigne he did not, as a King, but as a proud, cruell Tyrant, exerciſing all barbarous inhumanity upon the Jewes, by murthers and maſſacres even in his hoary and decrepit old age. Hee ſpoyled the poore commons, and ſtripped them naked by his grievous exactions, not onely ſheering, but fleecing of them, beggering the native Jewes to enrich Strangers. Impiouſly he ſet up Images in the Temple, and defiled the moſt holy place. Happy were the dead, who lived not to ſee the barbarous inhumanity of *Herod*; and ſuch as lived in the dayes of the Captivity of the Land, when wee were in ſubjection to the Kings of Babylon, were not ſo miſerable. For this *Herod* did more grievouſly afflict us in our owne land reigning over us, then did our enemies in their lands, when we were in Captivity under them. All which the Jewes ſuffered, as he truly ſaith, under *Herod*, having juſt cauſe to hate and complaine of his barbarous inhumanity: yet wanted there not ſome amongſt that people, who would be content to, and in moſt baſe and palpable ſort did applaud his courſes, ſooth and flatter him in his actions, and advance him upon the ſtayres of Honour and Magnificency. Ever ſo it hath been, and ever will bee uſed: The moſt prodigious monſters of men, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Heliogabalus*, *Caracalla*, had Titles aſſigned them, of another ſtile then their courſes and actions proceeded in, *Pii*, *Fœlices*, *Patres patriæ*; to which they did

did not ſo much as look afarre of, having no good part, or commendable quality in them, whereas *Herod* yet had many: ſo that Courtiers they might bee in reaſon of State, who in reaſon of Religion were impious hereticks.

19 Nor is it improbable which *Joſeph Scaliger* addeth, That the Herodians were a *Confratria*, a Guild, Fraternity, or Brotherhood, (ſuch as were many in England, till the diſſolution of them by King *Edward* the ſixth,) who aſſociating themſelves in an Hall, as it were, kept an annuall mind and memory Feſtivall upon his Birth-day, as being in their opinion the promiſed and expected Meſſias. And this, ſaith hee, continued a cuſtome in *Nero*'s time, long after the death of *Herod*: which aſſertion hee proveth out of *Perſius* the Satyriſt, who then lived.

Of all opinions, the moſt warrantable ſeemes this, that they were an hereticall Sect amongſt the Jews; their hereſie conſiſting in this, Herod *was the Meſſias.*

Herodis *venere dies, unctâque feneſtrâ*
Diſpoſita pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ,
Portantes violas, rubrumque amplexa calinum
Cauda natat thynni, tumet alta fidelia vino.

The old Scholiaſt thereupon gloſſeth, *Herodiani, Natalem* Herodis *obſervabant, ut etiam Sabbata*: No otherwiſe then they uſed to keepe holy the Sabbath day, did the Herodians celebrate the Birth-day of *Herod*. The Jeſuits cry downe this doctrine of *Scaliger*; but with big voice onely, no proofes. *Serarius*, one of the ſociety, but more learned then the moſt, oppoſeth, that *Herod* was then dead, and rotten before *Perſius* wrote his Satyrs; which is true: otherwiſe they could not have celebrated his annuall Memory: and yet might they of him be called Herodians in the remembred reſpect. *Cain* was dead and rotten long before any hereticks Cainites aroſe in the Church out of *Valentinus* his School, a branch of the Gnoſtick roote, who yet honoured *Cain* as their Father and Founder, profeſſed the Sodomites, *Eſau* and *Judas* their Brethren: and why might not the memory of *Herod*, one of that Houſe of accurſed *Cain*, ſurvive in reſpect, memory, honour, with ſome after his death, eſpecially in a Colledge, or Fraternity, or Academy, if you will, which peradventure was founded, inſtituted, and indowed with meanes by him? Why might they not honour him as their Patron, Founder, Benefactor, or Patriarch, as being content, deſirous, and, it may be, Authour of that opinion, to be held and eſteemed of as Meſſias? A King hee was, and reigned ſo, at leaſt 37. yeeres; a man of many eminent parts, which cannot be denyed; though he reigned with bloud and cruelty, yet his long reigne had ſettled his State, and his reigne withall was ſo renowned through his great undertakings, that few of the ancient Kings of Iſrael were to bee compared with him: a Stranger he was by deſcent, not a Jew borne, of the Thigh of *Jacob*; and therefore the Herodians might probably found their hereſie, That in him was accompliſhed that part of *Jacobs* Propheſie, concerning the departure of the Scepter from *Juda*, and that *Shiloh* was come.

Qui Caiani vulgo nuncupantur, hæreſim ſuam a *Caino* cognomina: unt: hunc enim prædicant & parentem ſuum appellant. *Epiph. Hær.* 38. *Judam* quoque affinem ſuum eſſe jactitant, eidemque excellentem quandam vim cognitionis aſcribunt.

come. It cannot certainly be affirmed, it is not neceſſary to be beleeved, that the Herodians mentioned in the Goſpel, were theſe; but of all opinions it is moſt warrantable, That they were an hereticall Sect amongſt the Jewes, That their hereſie conſiſted in this, Herod *was the Meſsias*, That they were not Gentiles, as the Authour of the imperfect Worke upon S. *Matthew*, who falſely goes under *Chryſoſtomes* name, eſteemeth of them, That they were not *Gerims*, *Georæ*, or the Iſſue of the old inhabitants of that Land, as *Maldonate* beleeved; which *Gerims*, *Serarius* as untruely reputeth for Gentiles.

Whence they came, and who was Founder of the Sect.

20 The *Phariſees* are frequently remembred in Scripture; not in the old, for then they had no being, but in the new. The Goſpel makes often mention of them, and of their profeſſed malice and oppoſition to *Chriſt Jeſus*, in the whole courſe of his Miniſtery upon earth; who not once, but often, hath cenſured and condemned their Doctrine, Diſcipline, Life, and Converſation; and hath many times denounced againſt them, wrath, judgement, woe, everlaſting woe, for their cloſe hypocriſie, ſeeming ſanctity, double iniquity: who took great paines to goe themſelves, and ſend others packing unto the Divell; to make themſelves wretched through their miſerable ſcleragogie upon earth, to become everlaſtingly wretched and miſerable in hell. For it was told them, by him that could tell, and muſt pronounce ſentence againſt them, they ſhould not eſcape damnation in hell. Concerning whom, the firſt inquiry is, Whence they came, and who was Founder of their Sect.

Sammai and *Hillel* are reputed Patriarchs of this ſect: the ancienteſt record whereof may be gathered out of *Joſephus*, to be about 200 yeers afore Chriſt.

21 It is no where remembred in Scripture, whence they were; nor can we be reſolved therein by *Joſephus*; all that we can get out of him, is, They were of very ancient ſtanding. More hee ſaith not; and it is likely hee could ſay no more. *Baronius* paſſeth upon them thus, *I will briefly touch what Hierome hath ſaid concerning theſe Phariſees.* And that which he there toucheth, I more briefly tell it thus; There was an old Tale told and talked of in the Church, remembred by *Hierome* upon *Eſay* 8. *Sammai* and *Hillel*, Jewiſh Rabbins, were the Founders and Patriarchs of Scribes and Phariſees; men who lived in high reputation with the Jewes, not long before the Incarnation of our Saviour: To them ſucceeded *Achibas* in that Schoole, whoſe ſcholler was *Aquila* the Proſelite, but ſucceſſor was *Meïr*; to whom next came *Johanan* the ſonne of *Zachei*, then *Eleazar*, next *Doſitheus*, then *Joſeph* of Galile, and after him *Joſua*, who lived at the deſolation of the Temple by *Titus*. A meere fooliſh, falſe, traditionary fiction, from the head and hand of ſome heretick in the firſt age of the Church; of which ſort were many: a fiction void of ſenſe, reaſon, and congruity; for every paſſage, point, particle therein is either abſurd, or impoſſible, or both. *Baronius* relates it as if hee gave credit thereto; and voucheth *Hierome* for a Reporter, who did beleeve it: which hee nor did, nor could, being ſo generally learned as hee was. I confeſſe, *Hierome*, in the remembred place, hath all that *Baronius* mentioneth: but he gives no credit or witneſſe to it, which is fathered upon

upon him by *Baronius*; either in part or in whole, upon theſe words of *Eſay*, *And a ſnare unto both the houſes of Iſrael*: *Hierome* writeth thus, *By the two houſes of Iſrael are intended and meant (as the Nazarites did expound the text) the Scribes and Phariſees deduced from* Sammai *and* Hillel, *unto whoſe ſucceſſors our Saviour became a ſnare and a ſtumbling block, becauſe they did not beleeve in him.* *Hierome's* words formall at large, are theſe; *Duas domos Nazarei, qui ita Chriſtum recipiunt, ut obſervationes Legis veteris non omittant; duas Familias interpretantur,* Sammai *&* Hillel, *ex quibus orti ſunt Scribæ & Phariſæi, quorum ſuſcepit Scholam* Achibas, *quem Magiſtrum* Aquilæ *Proſelyti autumant, & poſt eum* Meir, *cui ſucceſſit* Johannan *filius* Zachei, *& poſt illum* Elieſer, *& per ordinem* Delphon, *& rurſum* Joſeph *Galilæus, & uſque ad Captivitatem Jeruſalem,* Joſua. *Et hos eſſe duas domos, quæ Salvatorem non receperant, qui factus eſt iis in ſcandalum & in ruinam.* Thus he, as a meere relator of what the Nazarites delivered, not as a witneſſe, or confirmer of their opinion. Hee knew it was not poſſible for *Aquila* of Pontus, the Proſelyte, and Tranſlator of the Scripture into Greek, to bee ſcholler unto *Achibas*, the immediate ſucceſſor of *Sammai* and *Hillel*, Founders of the Scribes and Phariſees, who were of very ancient ſtanding in *Joſephus* his dayes. *Aquila* lived under *Adrian*, about 128. yeeres after Chriſt. *Baronius*, to make his opinion more paſſable, concealeth that of *Aquila*; the more was his diſcretion, but the leſſe his honeſty. *Sixtus Senenſis* is as much to blame; who, as out of *Hierome*, ſets it downe, that *Aquila* lived before Chriſts Incarnation; who yet tranſlated Scripture under *Adrian*: but *Sixtus* knew ſo he muſt have lived, if he were Scholler unto *Achibas*; which that hee was, hee beleeved out of *Hierome* miſtaken, or out of the Nazarites tradition remembred by *Hierome*; ſuch great overſights ſometimes befall ſo great Clerks as *Sixtus* and *Baronius*. *Joſephus*, who indefinitely ſaith no more, but they were ἐν τοῖν παλαιοῖν, elſewhere remembreth them under *Jonathas* brother to *Judas Maccabæus*, in his Negotiating with the Spartans; κ) τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τρεῖς ἦσαν αἱρέσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων. At this time three Sects were amongſt the Jewes. This is the ancienteſt record I finde of them, about 152. yeers before Chriſt; to which add *Joſephus* his age, for his writing after Chriſt, and his very long time will fall upon ſome 200. yeeres. His ἐν τοῖν παλαιοῖν, I grant, will goe much further, but how much I cannot ſay.

22 Others caſt them for originall upon *Antignus*, or *Antigonus Sochæus*, ſucceſſor, as they ſay, unto *Simon* the Juſt, about 300. yeers before Chriſt; but it carrieth improbability in front: For if ever there was ſuch a man in being, hee was not, hee could not be ſucceſſor to *Simon* the Juſt; for he was High Prieſt in Iſrael, unto whom, in the minority of his ſonne *Onias*, not *Antignus*, but *Eleazar* ſucceeded, and after his death, *Manaſſes*, till *Onias* came to age; which yet was with expectancy of *Manaſſes* his death: For whoſoever was High Prieſt, *quocunque titulo*, was to enjoy it during life. Secondly, *Antignus*, if hee were ſucceſſor unto *Simon* the Juſt, lived not in the dayes

In briefe; they ſeeme to have bin elder then the *Maccabees*, but later then the Captivity, and after all the Prophets.

dayes of *Alexander magnus*, but many yeers after. More then this I cannot ſay for the antiquity of the Phariſees; elder, I ſuppoſe, then the Maccabees; not ſo old as the Captivity; after *Eſdras*, *Nehemias*, *Malachy*, and all the Prophets, who ceaſing in Iſrael, no marvell if Sects, Schiſmes, Hereſies did ſucceed, which continually encreaſed untill the finall deſolation of that State.

The character of their religion, practices, and manners out of *Joſephus*.

23 So much for their being: Now, for their manners, religion, doctrine, practices, courſe of life and converſation. *Joſephus*, a Prieſt by birth, a Phariſee by profeſſion, (as all Jewes affected one ſect or other) hath given us this Character of them in his 23. Book and third Chapter; *There lived at that time amongſt the Jewes a ſort and ſect of men wondrous well conceited of themſelves, for their moſt ſtrict and rigorous obſervation of the Law; through which pretenced ſanctity, and ſeeming holy perfection, they had throughly poſſeſſed, and wound themſelves into the great good favour and liking of the Ladies of the Court: who, good, poore, ſilly, deceived ſoules, imagined, that by favouring and countenancing them, they ſhould doe God very good ſervice, and deſerve wondrous well of him. Theſe fellowes were named Phariſees, men of very great credit, reputation, and prevailing power with the popular multitude; ſo farre, that they durſt conteſt with, and ſtand in oppoſition againſt Kings. Stateſmen they were, of deepe judgement, of great advice, reach, and fore-ſight more then ordinary; excellent cunning artiſts for plotting, contriving, carrying of devices and projects afarre off; miſchievouſly diſpoſed, upon the ſudden to hurt him whom they hated. Thoſe of this ſect, when all other Jewes whoſoever, of all ſtates, degrees and conditions whatſoever, took oath of allegeance to the Roman Emperor, without any reluctancy or ſcruple, did abſolutely and peremptorily refuſe to take it, though it ſtood upon the hazzard of their lives: They were then to the amounte of 6000 men.* So *Joſephus*, one of themſelves; which gave occaſion to *Baronius* to brand them thus as he doth; *Genus hominum, aſtutum, arrogans, Regibus plerunque infeſtum; ut eos, etiam apertè, impugnare non vereantur.* Such commonly all popular novelliſing factioniſts and infimating ſectaries bee in theſe dayes, who through colour of piety trouble all.

Their Saint-ſeeming puriſty ſufficiently puniſhed.

24 This proud and inſolent deportment in oppoſition to Princes, often coſt them deare. *Johannes Hyrcanus* the Aſſamonean, was a great friend, favourer, and follower of them and their ſect a long time, till the uncivill carriage of *Eleaſar* a Phariſee, made him fall off and leave them, turne Sadducee, unto the oppoſite faction, and by his publick Edict, command all the Jewes, upon paine of death, to leave and abandon them and their doctrine. *Alexander* his ſonne was by their means and procurement driven out of his Kingdome; but recovering, hee beſieged them in Bethſhemes, tooke 800. of them priſoners, firſt ſlue their wives and children before their eyes, and then crucified them every one. *Herod* burned many of them alive for inſolent demeanour againſt him; for miſ-leading and miſ-bringing up of youth and children, whom they tooke to Schoole, to teach and

and bring them up in Gods Law, as they pretended.

25 *Alexander*, though in his life time their mortall enemy, did yet upon his death bed adviſe his wife *Salome* or *Alexandra*, whom hee left Regent during the minority of his ſonne *Hyrcanus*, to hold good correſpondencie, and comply with them; becauſe, as hee ſaid, they were factious and powerfull, able to breed her much vexation and trouble, as they had done him, which he had experimented to his coſt. This his counſell ſhe followed, and loſt not by it; for they kept her in the Regency ſo long as ſhee lived, though both her ſonnes were growne, and of full age. And ſuch power had they over the weakneſſe of her ſex, that Court-favours, Honours, Offices, all things were at their diſpoſition and command: Shee ruled others, and the Phariſees ruled her, ſaith *Joſephus*. To which popular credit and woman-reputation they attained firſt, and afterwards held it by their ſaint-ſeeming ſanctity, their ſhew and pretence of piety, religion, and great devotion: *Nulla enim res*, ſaith *Quintus Curtius*, *multitudinem efficaciùs regit quàm Religio*. In which courſe, theſe Hypocrites eſpecially applyed themſelves, as the Divell did at firſt, as many doe in theſe daies, to the weaker ſexe, the women, with whom they could doe any thing. *Joſephus* reports, that when *Herod*, for ſome inſolent miſdemeanors, had ſet a great fine upon them, his brother *Pherora's* wife, & other Ladies of the Court paid the fine; and they, to ſeeme thankfull for ſuch a courteſie, told *Pherora's* wife that *Herod* ſhould ſhortly die, (for they pretended inſpirations, revelations, and Propheticall ſpirits,) and after his death the Kingdome ſhould deſcend unto her children; For which predictions *Herod* hanged them up, and their good Ladies could not ſave their lives, and ſhee was deceived; her poſterity failed, and *Herods* continued a good while. Many other inſolencies are related by *Joſephus*, which expreſſely declare what factious ſpirits they were poſſeſſed withall; and eſpecially in complying with women: which, becauſe it ſucceeded ſo well with the Divell againſt mother *Eve*, hath been plyed to purpoſe by his Agents ever ſince.

Their cunning practices, by complying with the weaker ſex.

26 For their private, at home, or ordinary converſation with men, the Searcher of all ſecrets, and Decipherer of all cloſe carried, colluding hypocriſie, who beheld them within, at home, in the boughts and windings of a deceitfull heart, and ſaw intuitively, which men could not diſcerne, hath doomed them, and proclaimed them to bee ſuch as they were; firſt, by his ſervant *John Baptiſt*, then by himſelfe: *Mat.* 3. 7. *When* John *ſaw many of the Phariſees and Sadduces come unto his Baptiſme, hee ſaid unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath fore warned you to flee from the wrath to come?* *John* conjoins in one Phariſees and Sadduces, brethern in evill, and ſonnes of one father, the Divell, though diverſly diſpoſed, as wicked men are: But our Saviour ſpecially uſeth the ſame phraſe of the Phariſees alone, *Matth.* 12. 34. *O you generation of vipers, how can you being evill, ſpeake good things!* But hee hath deciphered them at large, and thundered out moſt fearfull denunciations and execrations againſt them, *Mat.* 23.

The character of their private, & home-converſation.

where

where is a liſt exhibited of their innate conditions, and outward deportments. Nor be the ſins ſo fearfully taxed in them, thoſe crying, roaring, hideous, horrible ſinnes regnant and prevalent in the world, which openly, impudently, with an high hand, doe ſet themſelves againſt God and Nature: but of another Houſe and Family, the iſſue or attendants of hypocriſie, ſelfe-love, good opinion and conceit of themſelves, their worth, merits, zeale to Gods ſervice, love to religion, their affected devotions, long, tedious, ſtretched-out prayers, with much babling, and prating, they nor knew, nor cared what; their gloited-up eyes, their groning bellies, as if they were *Engaſtrimuthi*, ſuppoſing they deſerved God ſhould heare them for taking ſuch pains to talk ſo long with him to ſo little purpoſe; and that alſo not in ſecret, or private retiredneſſe; ſuch place ſorted not with their end or humour, to be ſeen of men. Theſe, and the like, were no ſins of oppoſition, or with an high hand; yet were they abominable, and deteſted by God: all which, with others, be caſt upon hypocriſie: which in particular be remembred theſe:

Their hypocriſie in two particulars. Firſt, *They ſaid & did not*. Secondly, *They bound heavy burdens, &c.*

27 Firſt, *They ſay and do not*, which is down-right hypocriſie, when words and actions are far aſunder; which more generally of all the Jewes, and particularly of the Phariſees, our Saviour out of *Iſa.* expreſſeth thus: *This people draweth neere unto mee with their mouthes, they honour mee with their lips, but their heart is removed farre away.* To draw neere unto God, was a thing commanded and accepted with promiſe of, *I will draw neere to you.* They drew neere with their mouthes, as to honour him with a kiſſe, according to the curiality of that Country; the neglect whereof Chriſt blamed in his Hoſt *Simon*, and performance whereof *David* adviſeth upon perill of diſpleaſure, in, *Kiſſe the Sonne leſt hee bee angry.* They did honour God, which was their bounden duty; and that with their lips, the chiefe inſtrument of prayſe: ſo it might ſeeme, that grace in natures key had tuned vertues ſtrings to ſing a ſong of high obedience to pleaſe God withall: But the Baſe, and beſt part wanted to make good muſick; the heart was untunable and out of frame. Saint *Baſil* compares them to the Babylonian Idoll *Bell*, which was ſhining Braſſe without, but durt and clay within; and our Saviour out of the ſame reſpect, compares them anon to Tombes and Sepulchres, faire without and foule within; ſeeming Saints, but being Divels: *Simulata ſanctitas*, the ſaying is, *duplex iniquitas*: and *Baſil* thereto, Τὸ δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, μὴ εἶναι δὲ ὑφεστὼς ἐστὶ τῆς ἀδικίας διπλῆ. To ſalute kindly, as *Joab* did *Amaſa*, *How does my good brother?* and ſtab him unexpectedly to the heart, is double murther: had I a dog that would bite and never barke, I would hang him; and doubtleſſe the hypocrite lyeth loweſt in hell. Therefore, let the tree be good, and the fruit good; or let the tree be evill, and the fruit bad, *Mat.* 12.33. It was an iſſue of, or appurtenance to that former hypocriſie of *ſaying* and not *doing*, which is imputed next unto them; *They bind heavie, grievous, and importable burthens together, and lay them upon other mens ſhoulders, but will not themſelves*

ἀνδρὸς ἦν ἀνδρὸς ἀπάτημα, σχήματι μυστικῆς λειτουργίας τὸν βίον. Cle. Alex.

Serm. in aliquot locos ſcript.

touch

touch them with one finger. Intending thereby, not ſo much a rigorous courſe of diſcipline in obſerving the Law, as impoſing of other things beſide the Law. The Law it ſelfe of Ceremonies, was, as it is ſtiled by Saint *Paul*, a burthen importable. The Phariſees were externally profeſſors of expounding and obſerving the Law; in which courſe they proceeded moſt rigidly, and improved the naturall rigour of it, by their interpretations and exactions; as in that of the Sabbath, rigorous enough of it ſelfe, ſo the Pædagogie of that people required; but much more improved and aggrandiſed, by their additions againſt works of neceſſity, mercy, not only congruity and conveniency: from which we are exempted by ceſſation. But ſome of this brood would of late, for hypocriticall ends of their owne, bring us back to Judaicall and Phariſaicall practice: who, ſhould they have a Sabbath, as they deſire, would be full loth withall to have the law of Sabbath revived, to be ſtoned to death if they brake it; or as the Earle of Glouceſter in our Stories is reported to have uſed a Tewkesbury Jew. But the burthens impoſed by the Phariſees, were inventions of their owne, ſuperinducted againſt the Law; above the Law, as neceſſary ſupplements of the Law, which they ſtile the Traditions of the Elders; So I underſtand this imputation upon them with *Origen* and *Theophylact*: ſome of which I ſhall inſiſt upon *in proceſſu*. Generally, they pretended great affection, care, devotion to Gods ſervice in the Law, and outwardly were ſuperſtitiouſly affected to keep the Law; but to the ſurface onely, or the letter, not *medullam*, the true meaning or intent; and yet not ſo much as to that indeed. For, by their invented and invected Traditions, they are charged to have made Gods word, the Law, of none effect, leaving men at liberty to keepe or not to keepe Gods Commandements; or to redeem by indulgence the breach of them; but propoſing their owne addittaments, and ſuperinducted Traditions to bee kept inviolably, indiſpenſably, in moſt rigid and punctuall manner, under paine of eternall condemnation, and ejection from the Synagogue.

28 In point of opinion, as I ſhew anon, they held many profane and Paganiſh doctrines, which yet bee not taxed, nor reproved, or ſo much as named in holy Scripture, either in direct or covert terms, but only thoſe things, wherein as Jewes and Legaliſts they did offend; by which they undervalued and wronged Gods Law, and brought a cenſure of hypocriſie upon their own perſons. Their invented Traditions, and διδασκαλίαι, τὰ ἐπισακτὰ, as *Clemens* names them; many of them being idle, vaine, fooliſh, baubiſh, ridiculous; many of them prophane, impious, and blaſphemous: all which they referred unto God, as Authour of them, no leſſe then of the written Law. For they taught, that God delivered the morall Law unto *Moſes* in mount Sinah, written with his owne hands in two Tables of ſtone; where alſo hee from heaven openly proclaimed the Judiciall Law and Ceremoniall, which particularly concerned Iſrael in their ſtate and affaires, for ordering of them in Temporals and Eccleſiaſticals. All

Their doctrins and traditions concerning the Law.

theſe *Moſes* receiving from God, did by his direction tranſmit by writing unto Poſterity. But over and above theſe Morall, Judiciall, Ceremoniall Lawes written, hee committed to *Moſes* certaine ſecret, myſticall, and more reſerved Doctrines, not to be by him written, as the Law was, but to bee left recommended by word of mouth to the Elders of Iſrael, ſo to be paſſed from hand to hand, as certaine *Acroamata*, more ſublime, divine, and heavenly, then what by writing was publickly imparted to the promiſcuous multitude of Iſrael. Concerning which, *Serarius*, that learned Jeſuite, hath obſerved out of the Rabbins, thus: *Wee conceive, that the Jewiſh Doctors teach and beleeve, that God delivered to* Moſes *a twofold Law, which* Moſes *recommended to Joſua, and he tranſmitted to ſucceeding poſterity; the one written,* νόμον ἔγγραφον· *the other* ἄγραφον, *not written, but traditionary, and delivered by word of mouth: The firſt they name* Thorah bictab; *the other* Thorah ſhebe halpeth: *The former they eſteemed as ſimple, plaine, literall, and no more; but the other they accounted myſticall and ſpirituall. From this diviſion of a twofold Law iſſued their* Cabala, *and* Maſoreth. *There were yet further more amongſt them certaine Doctors, who conceived ſundry rules, precepts and obſervations, either as neceſſarily expedient, or as very conducefull to Gods ſervice, the due obſervation of the Law, good of mens ſoules, which they termed* Gezeroth Hezekedim, *the Decrees and Ordinances of the Elders; or* Miſnaioth, δευτερώσεις, *ſeconds, as it were, and acceſſories to the Law of* Moſes. *From whence was contrived the Jewiſh* Talmud, *conſiſting of two parts,* Miſnah, *and* Gemarah; *whereof, the firſt is as it were the Text; the other, the confirmation, perfection, gloſſe, or commentary upon the ſame Text which our Saviour names, Traditions of the Elders, and Traditions of men, as not to eate meat with unwaſhed hands, not to converſe with ſinners or prophane men; to waſh often, as at meales when they come from the exchange; to waſh cups, pots, diſhes and platters, &c. Which Traditions brought in beſide the Law, were derived from three ſeverall Authors or Founders of them: for, the ſonnes of* Asmonai, *or the Maccabees, invented ſome; others were delivered by Rabbi* Achibas; *a third ſort were inſtituted by one* Annas, *otherwiſe named* Andas, *or* Indas: *But all were invented, inſtituted, taught, delivered, brought in for direction in doctrine, life, converſation, to ſupply and fill up the imperfections and inſufficiencies of the Law.* So much in generall that learned Jeſuite hath delivered, for underſtanding the ſtate of Judaicall and Phariſaicall Traditions remembred in holy Scripture.

Their ſuperſtitious Baptiſms, and often waſhings.

29 It was, to deſcend unto particulars, an appurtenance unto their ſeeming ſanctity, and affected purity, that they uſed much, frequent, cleane waſhing of cups, platters, diſhes, pots, tables, not onely before, but at, and in meales, of all manner veſſels or utenſiles about the houſe; becauſe, holy and ſanctified as they took themſelves to bee, nothing common, prophane, uncleance, or unhallowed might touch or defile them. It is the Character of an hypocrite, in the Prophet, *Qui ſe amat ſine rivali*, to ſay, *Stand aloofe, come not neere mee, touch*

me

me not, for I am holyer then thou. In which regard, theſe hypocrites were not onely Hemerobaptiſts, but Horabaptiſts, and Holobaptiſts, waſhing not onely once every day, but almoſt every houre in the day, if not their whole body, yet ſome parts of the body; when they aroſe in the morning, came from the market, burſe, exchange, or any publick place of meeting, before they ſate downe to meate, at meale, often upon drinking, pledging, changing, pots, glaſſes, &c. ſuch opinion had they of the powerfull cleanſing facultie of water: for which cauſe and employments, they had in their Parlours, or dining roomes, great pitchers with water at hand; ſo wee read in the ſtory of the marriage at Cana, *Iohn* 2. *Joſephus*, a Phariſee in profeſſion, writeth of his Maſter, a Phariſee of auſtere life and diſcipline, For cleanſing and purifying of himſelfe, his uſe was to waſh often in cold water, night and day. As if, for ſo they beleeved, God were promerited with ſuch waſhing ſervice; or, not that which came from out of mans mouth, but what went in, did defile the man. Beſide, their cuſtome in waſhing, when they did waſh, was not after the ordinary uſe, it was too baſe for them; but ſingular, after fancies of their owne. The manner *Serarius* relates out of the Rabbies, which the Doctors gave by way of direction to their Novices: *When you waſh your hands, you muſt ſtand bolt upright, not leaning againſt a wall, not relying or reſting upon any ſtay. Next, choice muſt bee made of the water, it muſt bee cleere, cleane, ſweet; not brackiſh, foule, ſuch as a dog will refuſe to lap. It muſt be powred out three times upon the hands; at firſt powring on, the fingers muſt be held ſtraight and upright, at the two laſt powrings you muſt hold them downeward. Both hands muſt bee waſhed together; and not firſt one, then the other. In ſo waſhing, obſerve this rule, that the left hand ſerve the right. It is not ſufficient to rub or cleanſe the hands with a dry napkin. Nor muſt you ſit downe to meales without waſhing. Nor muſt you lay your bare hands upon the meate at all, but uſe a ſpoone, a fork, a knife. He that inſtantly comes unto the table from easing Nature, muſt waſh his hands twice.* Thus theſe holy hypocrites in their preciſe purification; a generation, in *Salomons* language, *righteous in their owne eyes*; but yet never purified from their uncleanneſſe.

30 Out of ſemblable opinion of their owne ſanctity, they avoyded the company of perſons noted, detected, or by themſelves eſteemed for notorious lewd ones, ſinners and Publicans, and harlots; in which point they did uſe to fall foule with our Saviour, for eating, drinking, and converſing with Publicans and ſinners, *Mat.* 9. *Jeſus* called *Matthew* a Publican from the receipt of Cuſtome, to be a Diſciple, and to follow him; *Matthew* obeyeth, and inviteth him home to his houſe to dinner; Chriſt came, and thither alſo came of *Matthews* Profeſſion, many Publicans; which when the Phariſees ſaw, they ſaid to his Diſciples, *Why eateth your Maſter with Publicans and ſinners?* as therein tranſgreſſing the Traditions of the Elders, and contrarying the practice of Phariſaicall Schooles, which was directly againſt the intent of Gods Schoole, as our Saviour declareth in his

The practice of their Schools, in avoiding all converſe and company with Publicans and notorious ſinners. Their blind guidance of the people.

anſwer, which is threefold; Firſt, *They that be whole need not a Phyſitian, but they who are ſick:* Secondly, *Goe and learne what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not ſacrifice.* Thirdly, *I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance:* which could not bee done but by converſing with them. This was a Phariſaicall Tradition, No commerce upon any termes is to be had with him who is reputed a man of wicked life. Another is that which is remembred, *Mat.* 23.16. *Woe unto you, you blinde guides, which ſay, whoſoever ſhall ſweare by the Temple, it is nothing*; that is, no breach of Gods Commandement, *Thou ſhalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vaine:* But *whoſoever ſhall ſweare by the Gold of the Temple, hee is a debtor: And whoſoever ſhall ſweare by the Altar, it is nothing; but whoſoever ſhall ſweare by the Gift upon the Altar, is a debtor*: which is not onely an impious, but a falſe Tradition; for the Temple is more then the Gold, becauſe the Gold, otherwiſe profane and common ſtuffe, is made ſacred and holy by the Temple; as is alſo the Sacrifice by the Altar. But eſpecially, ſuch is that, *Mar.* 7.11. *But ye ſay,* (againſt that which *Moſes* delivered from God, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*) *If a man ſhall ſay to his Father or Mother, it is Corban, that is to ſay, a gift, by whatſoever thou mighteſt be profited by me, hee ſhall be free*; That is, from Gods Law and Commandement, of honouring, maintaining, ſuſtaining Parents, if ſo be, when they demand reliefe, it bee anſwered, I have conſecrated all that I have to God, and made a deed of Feoffment to the Church: which is, in effect, the very ſame with that which inſtantly is objected unto them, of paying Tythes duly and truly, even to a garden penny, as wee call it, or of very flowers and pot-herbs that grow in our garden; but *majora Legis* are neglected. Tythes ought to be paid, Tythes of all, as being Gods portion and part, which the Phariſees obſerved in exact, and moſt preciſe manner; which therefore is commended in them, and ſtiled *the Righteouſneſſe of the Scribes and Phariſees*; and herein they will riſe up in judgement againſt many Chriſtians, faulty that way: but before paying Tythes, they ſhould have had care of *majora Legis*, which they utterly, and altogether neglected. In like ſort, what is *Corban*, not by Gods aſſumption, but mans voluntary conſecration, is *Sanctum Sanctorum Domino*; and cannot be inverted, nor averted by any power, to any other purpoſe: yet if it ſhould happen, that our Parents muſt ſterve, or *Corban* be impeached, the leſſer things of the Law muſt give place unto the greater: Τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἀδιάφορον θεῷ, invincible, and indeclineable neceſſity is diſpenſable with God and man: this referred unto Phariſaicall covetouſneſſe, as commonly hypocrites even with us be, who in their practice of piety ever ſquint upon the bag; which is more neerly touched in *devouring widowes houſes.*

The two Pillars of the Divels exchange, Pride and Covetouſneſs, uphold the Phariſees building.

31 *Ultra*, They were *ambitionis animalia*, proud, arrogant, ambitious, none more then they: Theſe two pillars of the Divels Exchange, Pride and Covetouſneſſe, were, and are συνεκτικὰ ἐρείσματα, that which holds up, and holds together Phariſaicall building *ad gehennam:*

nam: to which two, or one of the two, all referrs what we can ſay of them. To *build* and adorne *the Tombes and Sepulchres of holy Prophets* is, ſimply conſidered in it ſelfe, a worke of magnificence, piety, and affection, as it is a worke of religious devotion to offer at Gods Altar, for his ſervice, or at the Shrines and Monuments of Martyrs, for his ſake, who in life and death have honoured God, been glorious in their generations, and left us a patterne and precedent of imitation: But to do it out of vanity and oſtentation, to be talked of by men, and commended for it, is Phariſaicall, *& receperunt mercedem ſuam.* They have what they aymed at who doe it thus, popular applauſe and approbation, no more is to bee expected at Gods hand: If they want this, peradventure they are not dealt with as they ſhould; but if they have it, *receperunt mercedem ſuam.* To rebuild Churches is a worthy work; but to doe it for the praiſe of men, doth, as dead flies, cauſe the ſweet ointment of the Apothecary to ſtinke, and is not acceptable unto God, no more then the coſts and paines taken and undertaken by the Phariſees, with hazzard of their lives oftentimes, to make one Proſelyte or Convert to their Religion; whom having gained, and brought over to Circumciſion, they made ten times more the childe of wrath and hell then he was before: For, he that knows his Maſters will, and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with moe ſtripes then if he had not knowne it.

32 But principally, wherein yet very few now adaies will follow them, they are obſervable for their rigid and auſtere Scleragogie, or bringing of their bodies into ſubjection, as Saint *Paul* calls it, many wayes. *Faſt* they did *often*; which is a good worke, done to good purpoſe, in true humiliation, and due devotion of the heart, very pleaſing and acceptable to God, who likes nothing better then *a contrite heart*; whereto Faſting is an excellent conducing meanes: So bee alſo workes of mercy, and charity very pleaſing unto God, almeſ deeds relieving and refreſhing of the poore; wherein, for the outſide, the Phariſees were punctually preciſe, but yet polluted theſe good workes by their hypocriticall uſage of them: For when they gave almes, it was done with ſound of Trumpet, and Proclamation, as Players with us uſe to give notice of a Play, which directly layeth this charge upon them, It was no worke of devotion or charitie, but of oſtentation and vanitie, that all might heare, and the whole Citie take notice of ſuch a dole to day, by ſuch a Phariſee; which, beſide manifeſt vanitie, to have praiſe of men, carried alſo with it, upon the back, by ſuch largeſſe and dole-diſtribution, to make recompence and ſatisfaction for many couzenages and extortions by them put in practice. As commonly all ſeeming religious Hypocrites bee, they are charged to have beene *devourers of Orphans goods, and Widowes houſes*; and no doubt, as many doe, did perſwade themſelves that they tooke but their owne: *And what ſhould them affray, To take their owne where-ere it lay?* It is a doctrine preached

Of their ſevere diſcipline kept over themſelves, & of their charity and almes-deeds.

and publiſhed, that the *meek muſt inherit the earth*; the *wicked* are *malæ Fidei poſſeſſores*, Intruders upon the good things of the earth, which are the Lords, and belong to them alone who bee elect, heires apparent unto all the world: ſo that if a man can once perſwade himſelfe that he is of the number of Gods Elect, and ſuch a man, or ſuch a man one of the Reprobates, which is eaſily done; whatſoever he enjoyeth is none of his, but Gods and his childrens, and may be recovered any way. It may be the Phariſees were not ſo farre advanced: but *one day teacheth another*, and now upon improvement ſuch opinions are paſſable. But the Phariſees charity was no otherwiſe then the thiefes, who taking an hundred pounds from a traveller, gives him, out of good nature and charitie, tenne groats to pay for his ſupper, or bring him home: or if a Tradeſman, who hath gained much by often breaking, and enforcing Creditors to compound for a little, by falſe meaſures, bad wares, uſury, and brocage, hath gotten much, and leaves a faire eſtate to his heire, ſhould account himſelfe diſcharged before God, if hee build an Almeſ-houſe for twelve poore people, and allow them ſix pence weekly, with a frize gowne, a way, rather to multiply and make, then to avoid beggars: Such was the charitie, ſuch the almeſdeeds of thoſe profeſſing Phariſees; who, I feare, have many diſciples in theſe dayes, and many that are not ſo charitable, who fee in all, but iſſue nothing to charitable uſes; and of all doctrines in the pulpits, cannot digeſt that of Reſtitution.

Of their faſting, and watchings, &c.

3 Faſting they uſed much, great, and often; every week in ſet abſtinence they faſted twice: So, *Luk.* 18. one of the tribe puts God in minde, leſt hee ſhould forget it, or take no notice of it, *I faſt twice a weeke*. The ſtanding daies for their weekly Faſts, were Mundaies and Thurſdaies; upon which daies, their faſting was not in abſtinence from fleſh, or white meates, as they call them; but totall and true faſting it was; they did neither eate nor drinke, untill the *riſing of the ſtar*; that is, till the Sunne being ſet, the Starres in the Firmament began to twinkle. Some faſting Jewes left off at three of the clocke, ſome others at Sun-ſet; but the Phariſee would venter up, and ſtretch out his day of faſting to the utmoſt. Upon which ſet, and therefore knowne daies of faſting, but eſpecially upon extraordinary dayes for extraordinary occaſions, they compoſed themſelves in deportment, to be taken notice of; carrying ſowre and ſevere countenances, looking pale, wan, and meagre, that men might ſay of them at the bluſh, *This man faſts to day*; which their practice S. *Matthew* expreſſeth by ἀφανίζειν, and the vulgar Latin Interpreter excellently renders *exterminare*, *Matth. 6. 16.* that is, to expunge, aboliſh, drive away the viſnomie, figure, faſhion of their faces, τὸ σχῆμα κατασκευάζουσι ἄσχημον φαίνεσθαι, to looke wanne and pale for oſtentation ſake; for thence it proceeded, *to be ſeene of men*: and δακτυλοδεικτούμενοι, pointed at as they went in the ſtreets. But alſo when they did not faſt, yea, even in feaſting, their diet and cheere was never exceſſive nor riotous; gluttony and exceſſe were ſtrangers unto them, their diet was thin,

thin, their diſhes ordinary and few: for *Aſcetæ* and *Scleragogiſts* they were in moſt ſevere and rigid manner, tyrannizing over themſelves, and their bodies, to make their ſoules miſerable and wretched for ever; as in faſting, ſo in *watchings*, *lying hard upon the ground*, to tame and ſubdue the fleſh; which courſes of rigour they uſed moſt willingly, frequently, affectedly. *Many Phariſees*, ſaith *Epiphanius*, and out of him *Baronius*, *when they purpoſed to impoſe upon themſelves the vow of a ſtrict life, for continency, abſtinency, watching, praying, or the like, which they would continue and hold on for ſix, for eight, for ten yeers, for moe or fewer yeers, as they were diſpoſed. Continuing all the time of their ſuch vow and profeſſion, they would not at any hand come into the company of, or neere unto any woman that was comely, or faire to looke upon, leſt they might bee tempted with her beauty.* This they borrowed, as many things elſe, from the diſcipline of Pagan Schooles, whoſe *Pugiles*, *Pancratiaſtæ*, and *Gymniſtæ* obſerved the like Aſceticall courſe. *So often as naturall neceſsity put them upon ſleepe, moſt commonly they laid themſelves downe to reſt upon narrow planks, that ſo ſlipping off, and falling downe when they turned on the ſide, they might eſtſoones awake, ſhake off drowſineſſe, diſpoſe themſelves afreſh to prayer, reading, meditation of Scripture, or Traditions. Some uſed to lie downe upon hard pebble ſtones or flints, others to lie upon bryars, buſhes, thornes; all to keep them waking as much as poſsibly might be. But when they were waking and walking too, they uſed thorns, as remembrancers of thoſe duties; which thornes they ware in the hems and fringes of their garments.* So *Hierome* of them, *Faciebant grandes fimbrias, & in iis ſpinas ligabant acutiſsimas, ut videlicet ambulantes & ſedentes, interdum pungerentur, & quaſi in hac admonitione retraherentur ad Officium Domini, & miniſteria ſervitutis ejus.* All, or moſt of this out of vaporie, fooliſh, hypocriticall oſtentation, making themſelves voluntarily miſerable here, to be eternally miſerable hereafter.

Hieron. Mercurial. lib. 1. c. 15. Gymnaſt. & Pet. Faber. Agoniſt. 3. 4.

34 Faſting and Prayer moſt commonly goe together in Gods ſervice, true or pretended: Accordingly the Phariſees, as they *faſted often*, ſo alſo did they *pray much*, and frequently, *Luke* 5. 33. their prayers continued, hanging one in the neck of another, which were long and ſtretched out, *Luk.* 6. 2. *Mat.* 23. 14. that men might admire their devotion the more; and that not onely in private, if yet at all in private, but in publick, *Matth.* 6. 5. in the open Synagogues, and corners, or turnings of the ſtreets, that paſſengers might take notice of them; though in ſuch their often and long prayers, they had a private and ſhort intent, *Mat.* 23. 14. *to devoure widowes houſes*, firſt, by conſuming their meanes and ſtates, in giving them entertainment at their houſes; for ſilly women are ſuperſtitious, and ready to part with any thing to ſuch good, ghoſtly fathers, and deere brothers: or having, under pretext of their ſeeming ſanctitie and counterfeited pietie, wound themſelves into a good opinion, ſo farre, as to bee truſted with their eſtates, deceive them thereof, and convert it to their private uſe.

Their long prayers, but ſhort intent; *To devoure widowes houſes.*

35 Ano-

Their Tythes paid ever duly and truely. Their diſpoſition affable, & courteous; though little ſeene in their carriage towards our Saviour and his ſucceſſion.

35 Another chiefe point of their ſeeming ſanctitie and counterfeited Piety was, in a Legall duty required, and of all to bee performed, who have God their Lord, doe find him their Patron, Protector, Benefactor: Theſe they paid, as all ſhould willingly, duely, truely, liberally; foure conditions required in all Gods ſervice. They gave evermore the beſt of their increaſe, the top of the heape, the flower of wheate, the firſt running of wine, &c. all was *Therumah* of a faire eye. No Phariſee ever was or could bee taxed or challenged by the Levits, as defective in point of paying his Tyth. It was a rule and dictate of their Schoole, that *Decimæ*, the Tyth for quantity, ſhould bee *Primitiæ*, the beſt or Firſt-fruits for quality; nothing was too deare, or too good for God. And this was well done, it was according to Gods Law, which they were ſcrupulous to fulfill: our Saviour approveth the doing of it, and ſtiles it the righteouſneſſe of the Scribes and Phariſees. Which, had it been done with an heart referring to God alone, and not out of affecting the praiſe of men, it had been well pleaſing unto God, being that which ought not bee left undone. So in performing of Vowes, preſenting Oblations, after the ſtricteſt courſe of Law, no Jewes ſo punctually preciſe as they. And for their private carriage and deportment with men, *Joſephus* gives them commendation, to have beene affable, courteous, kinde, mercifull and gentle; which might well bee true in a generality, for ſo is the faſhion of popular hypocrites, ſo long as they bee ſoothed up, or complyed withall; at leaſt, not croſſed nor oppoſed in their courſes. But wee have no great cauſe to commend their mercy, or civill courteſie, nor yet common humanity toward Chriſt and his Apoſtles, whom they uſed moſt barbarouſly upon all occaſions. But ſeeme good and mercifull they would, and deſired ſo to bee accounted of, which made them build and beautifie the Tombes of the Prophets: And it ſeems, their ſtitch againſt our Saviour was, that he profeſſed himſelf Meſſias, being no way, as they imagined, fitted for that Office: for they, as all Jewes, expected Meſſias a temporall Prince, of the houſe and linage of *David*; wherefore *Jeſus* of Nazaret they could not endure, the Carpenters ſonne, but oppoſed, accuſed, traduced, perſecuted him many wayes, unto death, a cruell and ſhamefull death, hated him living and dead; no great evidences of any pitifull, mercifull, compaſſionate diſpoſition, which received an aggrauidiſation in continuing the ſame to his name, memory, and ſucceſſion.

Their outward garb and faſhion.

36 In their apparrell, which is often *Index animi*, Many things were obſervable; It never was curious, gariſh, rich, coſtly, but as Friars gownes and caſſocks, of ordinary ſtuffe; yet of a peculiar faſhion and colour to diſtinguiſh them from other men; all one with that of the *Scribes*, as *Epiphanius* ſaith; which he deſcribeth in this ſort: *They ware certaine fringes and borders upon their apparrell, to manifeſt their courſe of life and converſation: The faſhion was for ſhew and oſtentation, that the beholders might bee taken therewithall, and commend them for it. Upon their upper garments they bare Phylacteries; that is, certaine*

taine borders of embroydered purple, interwoven with ſentences of the Law. It may bee thought, that whereas wee read in the Goſpel of their Phylacteries enlarged, that thereby is meant certain aſſumenta, or braceletts appendant on their garments: for appendants are by ſome men named Phylacteries. But that is not the meaning of that place: but becauſe they uſed Stoles, and long Mantles faſtned at the top, beſet with purple in graine wrought into the ſtuffe, which broad purple in-works ſome have ſtiled Phylacteries; our Saviour uſed the ſame phraſe; which is further yet explained and declared to bee ſo, by that which followeth. Againe, the fringes and borders of their garments, both appurtenances unto their apparrell, the utmoſt limb and border thereof, and the in-ſet adorning the needle work, In the one were the Phylacteries, or brooches of purple; in the other, the Craſpeda, or fringes of Pomegranates. Which apparrell, proper to the Scribes, was uſed alſo by the Phariſees that were no Scribes, when they went abroad. So farre *Epiphanius*, who inditeth it a womaniſh and effeminate attire, the rather, becauſe their ſhooes and ſlippers were latchetted and tied with ribands, as Gentlewomens ſhooes and ſlippers were.

37 The name Phylacteries was applyed from the uſe whereto they ſerved; which is to preſerve and ſafe keep, περὶ τὸ φυλάττειν: the Jewes named them *Totaphoth, Deut.* 6. 8. where the 70. render the word ἀσάλευτα, immoveable. God commands the people by *Moſes* thus; *The words which I command thee this day ſhall bee in thy heart, and thou ſhalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and ſhalt talke of them when thou ſitteſt in thine houſe, when thou walkeſt by the way, when thou lyeſt downe, and when thou riſeſt up. And thou ſhalt binde them for a ſigne upon thy hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets* (ἀσάλευτα, immoveable) *betweene thine eyes; and thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thy houſe, and over thy gates.* From which Text the Scribes and Phariſees tooke their ground of making Frontlets, Fringes, Phylacteries, which they uſed, as the letter of the Law runneth. *whereas the Jewes,* ſaith *Chryſoſtome* upon *Mat.* 23. *were taxed, and much and often complained againſt by God, by his Prophets, that they forgat eſtſoons the goodneſſe of God unto them and their whole nation. Hee commanded them to write in ſmall labels or ſcrolls, the wondrous works which hee had done for them, and to hang them about their wriſts, or carry them with them in their hands, that ſo they might ever bee in their ſight. Theſe ſcrolls were named Phylacteries, as preſervers or remembrancers.* And that they might remember them the better, and be more ſeriouſly put in mind of their duty, as it is a cuſtome amongſt men to tie a thred or a riband about their fingers whom they would have to remember a buſineſſe the better; ſo God took the ſame courſe with his people: For hee commanded them to carry a woofe in the lower ſelvedges and fringes of their garments; to the intent, that having it ſtill in ſight, they might the better beare Gods Commandements in minde: this they called *craſpedon*, or a *fringe*, thus S. *Chryſoſtome*. *Hierome* differeth, and is not of opinion (no more is *Chryſoſtome* apparently) that the Law was

Their Phylacteries; the end or uſe of them, with a reaſon of the Name.

to

to bee taken literally, but that the Scribes and Phariſees, miſunderſtanding it, took it ſo. God having by *Moſes* given Iſrael a Law, addeth in concluſion, amongſt other charges, this, *Thou ſhalt binde them as a ſigne upon thy hands, and they ſhall bee as frontlets betwixt thine eyes; Whereby God intended this, Let my Commandements bee ſo in thy hands, that thou doe and performe whatſoever I command thee: and ſet them ſo before thee continually, that night and day thou inſtantly meditate upon them. Now the Phariſees miſunderſtanding this commandement of God, wrote the ten Commandements in a ſcroll of parchment, which they folded up, and wore it in their foreheads betwixt their eyes, and put it as a wreathe upon their heads, to call the Law of God to minde continually. Which is a cuſtome at this day practiſed by Indians, Perſians, Babylonians; who account him or them the moſt devout and religious in their profeſſion, that carry ſuch Phylacteries about with them.* And as touhcing the name Phylactery, thus he, *Pitteciola illa Decalogi Phylacteria vocabant, quòd quicunque habuiſſet ea, quaſi ob cuſtodiam & munimentum haberet. They called thoſe little ſcrolls, in which the Decalogue or tenne Commandements were written, Phylacteries; becauſe, whoſoever uſed them did beare them about him, to protect and defend himſelfe thereby:* So that they were uſed as Amulets, or περιαπτα, or ſpels to preſerve the bearers of them, men and women, from danger. In which ſenſe, and according to which meaning, the Pagans alſo uſed the word, as *patet* by *Horapollo*, in his Hieroglyphicks; Εαυτὸς φυλακτηρίζεται, ἵνα τῶν δαιμόνων κρείττων ἐφαίνηται. *They phylacterize, or bleſſe and defend themſelves, that no ill Spirit or Divell annoy them.*

Chriſtians prohibited the uſe of Phylacteries.

38 From Jewes and Pagans it began at length ſuperſtitiouſly to be taken up by Chriſtians, and is prohibited in *Can.* 61. of the Councell in Trullo: *Phylacterii*, ſaith *Balſamon they are named, who give unto them, whom through divelish illuſion they have deceived, certain knots and knolls of ſilk made up together, which they commonly call a pouch; in which ſometime they incloſe written ſcrolls, ſometimes with no writing at all, but ſome other traſh that came next to hand; And they make men beleeve, that if continually they weare thoſe pouches about their necks, they ſhall be preſerved from hurt and evill.* The words of the Canon which he interpreteth, are, *Qui vatibus ſeipſos tradiderunt, vel iis qui Hecatontarchæ dicuntur, aut aliis ejuſmodi, vel ab illis diſcant, ſi quid ſibi revelari velint, convenienter ius, quæ de ipſis à Patribus conſtituta ſunt, Sexcennii Canoni ſubjicientur. Et ipſi autem eos quoque ſubjici oportet, qui urſas, vel ejuſmodi animalia ad ludum, & ſimpliciorum noxam circumferunt; & fortunam, ac fatum, ac genealogiam, & quorundam ejuſmodi verborum multitudinem, ex fallaciæ, impoſturæque nugis proferunt; eoſque qui Nephodioſtæ, Goëtenta, Phylacterii & Vates ſunt. Chryſoſtome* and *Hierome* relate, that certaine fooliſh, ſuperſtitious women in their time did the like with the Goſpels, with Crucifixes, & ſuch other Monuments of Chriſtian piety; not the intire foure Evangeliſts, but onely ſome Text and part thereof, *Hoc apud nos ſuperſtitioſæ mulierculæ, in parvis Evangeliis, & in Crucis ligno, & iſtiuſmodi rebus, uſque*

hodie

hodie faciunt; Quæ habent quidem zelum Dei, ſed non juxta ſcientiam. It may ſeeme, that other Iewes uſed Phylacteries, beſides Scribes and Phariſees, and that they differed only in faſhion, which is named enlarging of Phylacteries, wearing them much broader then other men uſed, for ſhew and oſtentation.

What was written in their Phylacteries; and whereof, and how they were made.

39 And whereas it may bee demanded, what part of the Law was written in thoſe ſcrolls; It may be likewiſe anſwered, in all likelihood, the Decalogue, as *Hierome* thought: But *Serarius*, out of his Rabbies ſaith not the ten Commandements, but foure ſeverall ſentences taken out of foure ſeverall Texts, in ſo many ſeverall ſcrolls of parchment, the firſt that out of *Exod.* 13. *Sanctifie unto mee every firſt born, which firſt openeth the wombe*; and ſo on from the 7. to the 11. verſe. In the ſecond, *And when he ſhall have brought them in*, to the 17. verſe. In the third, *Heare O Iſrael, the Lord thy God is God alone.* In the fourth, *Deuter.* 11. from the 13. to the 19. verſe: a Cuſtome, ſaith the ſame *Serarius*, as yet in practice amongſt the Iewes, who do weare a certaine Coronet or bend upon their heads, of leather, knit up with two knots; in one of theſe knots, placed on their foreheads, thoſe ſcrolls, ſo as hath been ſaid, inſcribed, are knit up: in the other knot placed behind, nothing is included; for God, ſay they, commanded *Moſes* ſo to uſe them: the forme whereof, according to preſcription, hee thus ſets downe out of divers Rabbies collected; Firſt, that parchment ſcroll muſt bee made of the skinne of cattell, or of other tame and cleane beaſts. It muſt be a skinne without hole or flaw, that the inke doe not run or ſoke thorough. The parchment muſt be written upon that ſide which was next unto the fleſh. Howſoever the Scribe or Writer bee otherwiſe left-handed, yet theſe ſentences muſt be written with the right hand: yet if hee cannot uſe his right hand, then hee may in ſtead thereof uſe his left. If the Writer cannot write ſtreight without a line, it is tolerated that hee draw a line to direct his hand by. If after that the letters bee ſet downe and written, any one chance to be wiped out, that a child, who can otherwiſe reade written hand, cannot read it, the letter muſt not ſtand; but if hee can read it, then it may ſtand. In the upper ſide of the Phylactery, no more ſpace muſt bee left then the letter *Lamed* will ſtand in: in the lower, no more then will hold *Caph finalis*, and *Nun*. The whole entire writing of the Phylactery muſt be compriſed in foure lines; but it mattereth not to have thoſe foure lines drawne betwixt the written lines. Whenſoever any body weareth theſe Phylacteries on their heads, they muſt not by any means come within 4. cubits of a Church-yard, or buriall place. In what room ſoever the ſacred Bible, and theſe Phylacteries do lie, no man muſt have carnall knowledge of his wife; but either he muſt carry them forth of the room, or he muſt ſhut them up in a cheſt, and that cheſt muſt be cloſed in another cheſt, and that ſhut up in a third. Such curious ſuperſtition did theſe Hypocrites uſe in and about their Phylacteries, which were never therefore uſed by our Saviour, or his bleſſed Mother, as ſome have fancied.

40 Such

Their traditions, of which Christ bade his Disciples beware.

40 Such was their life and converſation in Judaiſme, this their doctrinall practice in part related: Concerning which, and other ſpeculations in generall, our Saviour gave his Apoſtles this caveat, *Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the Phariſees*; that is, their Doctrine with which they did ſeaſon the ſoules of their Novices, & gained Proſelytes. And though hee juſtly taxed them for making Gods Law of no validitie through their Traditions, yet thoſe Traditions did not extend to Pagan impieties, or Atheiſticall dotages, of which they were not free; but unto Doctrines about the Law: But as they were Patrons of the one, ſo were they infected with the other.

Their Confeſſion in many fundamentall points ſound and Orthodox; but then ſome Gentiliſmes were interforg'd, which quite blotted out the truth of thoſe tenents.

41 But firſt, they rightly beleeved, taught and profeſſed againſt the impious Hereſie or Atheiſme of the Sadduces, That the ſoule of man had an eternall being and ſubſiſting after death. They profeſſed the Immortalitie of it, the Reſurrection of the bodie, the Judgement to come, Spirits and Angels they acknowledged; all theſe being maine fundamentall points of our moſt holy faith. But with theſe religious, and orthodoxall confeſſions, ſome Pagan impieties, and Gentiliſmes were interforged. *Joſephus*, a Sectary, doth not excuſe them; *Epiphanius*, and other Fathers, charge it on them downe-right. Howſoever they held the ſoule immortall, and that it dieth not, is not utterly diſſolved into ayre, or nothing, and that the dead body ſhall riſe againe from the duſt of the earth; yet they caſt upon them ſuch Pagan impieties, as quite blotted out the truth of thoſe Tenents. Abſurdly & impiouſly they held, that when the body & ſoule were ſeparated by death, the ſoule by tranſmigration went from body to body, and no otherwiſe, then by ſuch interchanged tranſition ſubſiſted everlaſtingly, and not alone: which is an Implication with that which they profeſſed of the Reſurrection. For if ſeven or eight, peradventure ſome eightſcore bodies were activated by one fleeting ſoule, at the Reſurrection what body ſhall poſſeſſe her? Whoſe ſoule ſhall that ſoule then be, which did animate ſo many bodies? That which was *Abels* ſoule at firſt, whoſe was it afterward, when hee was ſlaine by *Cain*? Suppoſe *Seths*: but where was it beſtowed till *Seth* was borne? whither went it when *Seth* died? and at the Reſurrection, what body ſhall have it, which *interim* paſſed to many hundred bodies? Secondly, it muſt needs ſuppoſe the world immortall, to continue for ever, that ſo there may be an everlaſting tranſanimation and paſſing of ſoules from body to body; but with the worlds eternity Reſurrection cannot ſtand: but one generation muſt paſſe, and another come inceſſantly.

They beleeve the immortality of the ſoule, but withall, Tranſanimation, though not ſo promiſcuous and generall as *Pythagoras*.

This impiety they drew from *Pythagoras* Schoole, a Phenician, and their neighbour, and ſo eaſily tranſeant to Judæa, eſpecially after thoſe times wherein the Seleucidan Princes brought in Paganiſme to Judæa. *Pythagoras* (all know) taught μετεμψύχωσιν, tranſanimation, or change of ſoules; and μετενσωμάτωσιν, alteration of veſſels, but univerſally, and indiſtinctly: that is, of All ſoules, of All men, of good and bad; which when by death they were divided from their own bodies, went inſtantly

inſtantly directly into other bodies, not onely of rationall creatures, men and women, but alſo of irrationall, birds and beaſts. Samius *Sophiſta* Platoni *author eſt animorum de recidivatu revolubili ſemper ex alterna mortuorum atque vivorum ſuffectione*, Tertul. *de Anima cap.* 28. And for himſelfe, *Pythagoras* beleeved that his ſoule had been the ſoule of *Euphorbus*, ſlaine by *Menelaus* at the ſeige of Troy,

Ipſe ego, nam memini, Trojani tempore belli
Panthoïdes Euphorbus *eram, cui pectore quondam*
Hæſit in adverſo gravis haſta minoris Atridæ,

before he was ſoule to *Æthalides*, one of the Argonauts; then to *Pyrrhus*, a Fiſherman: So *Tertullian*, *Quomodo mihi perſuadebit* Æthalidem, *&* Euphorbum, *&* Pyrrhum *Piſcatorem*, *&* Hermotimum, *ſe retro ante* Pythagoram *fuiſſe*. Nor thoſe onely; but after many Tranſanimations he became a Peacock, *Tum fieri Pavom memini me*, as old *Ennius* ſaid of him; and ſo, from men to beaſts, from beaſts to men, ſoules paſſed interchangeably and indifferently in his opinion. But the Phariſees limited this genefall aſſertion of *Pythagoras*, and taught, That the ſoules of good and righteous men went not into beaſts, but from one mans body into another: That the ſoules of the wicked and impious, inſtantly after ſeparation, were haled to judgement, and ſo to the place of eternall execution, without any replevin or manumiſſion for ever. And this they learned of *Pythagoras*, who did not hold Tranſanimation promiſcuouſly, or without exception, ſaith *Jamblichus*; but that ſome beaſts there were into which mens ſoules did not enter at all, and ſuch might bee ſacrificed or eaten of, becauſe mens ſoules did not paſſe into them.

Εἰς μόνον τῶν ζώων οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθαι ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν, οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ τυθῆναι διὰ τοῦτο, τῶν ἀδυσωπήτων χαὶ ἀδίκων μόνον, οἷς αὐτὰ ἐσθίειν καθήκει δι' ὃ δὲ μήδενὸς ζῴου. *Jamb. de vit. Pythag.*

43 But leaving *Pythagoras*; it is demanded of the Phariſees, If (as they taught) the ſoules of righteous men onely do paſſe from body to body; do they ſo paſſe only into the bodies of righteous men? or alſo, into the bodies of wicked livers? this they muſt doe, if alone they doe paſſe, and then they ceaſe to bee tranſanimated; for according to their beliefe, wicked mens ſoules be not tranſanimated at all; and if they ceaſe to bee tranſmitted, then is Tranſanimation gone. There muſt be a ſupply of ſoules for men to be borne, either by new creating of new ſoules, or by aſſuming them already created, as out of a Promptuary, Repoſitory, or ſome Stowage of ſoules; or ſoules muſt be traduced by propagation, as bodies are, good from good, bad from bad, or interchangeably. And if the righteous ſoule of *Abel*, by ſuch tranſmigration, came at length into *Cham*, *Eſau*, *Core*, *Judas*, as it might, or rather muſt have come; ſhall that ſoule be puniſhed, or rewarded, or both? and if ſo, how, in what manner and meaſure muſt it bee, ſeeing interchangeably it became good and bad? But being ſo diſpoſed of by omnipotent power, how can God in juſtice puniſh that ſoule for ſinning, which needs ſo muſt ſinne, being of neceſſity inevitable and indiſpenſable to paſſe into bodies of wicked men who muſt ſinne? doubtleſſe, hee that muſt ſinne unavoydably,

The end of their Tranſanimation falls at laſt into the Sadducees Hereſie; ſo abſurdly doth impiety ever fall ſoule with it ſelfe.

cannot in any equity be puniſhed for it, which hee would have avoyded, but could not, do what he could. And if they therefore brought in this impious hereſie of Tranſanimation, becauſe, in their opinion, the ſoule could not ſubſiſt ſeparate or alone, but muſt needs have a body to ſubſiſt *in* and *by*, and ſo no otherwiſe be immortall; then doe they in effect, fall into the Sadduces hereſie, who denyed that there were any ſpirits ſeparated from bodies, and ſubſiſting alone. For otherwiſe the Sadduces did not deny that ſoules were ſpirits; at leaſt, ſpirituall in oppoſition to, and diſtinction againſt bodies. So abſurdly doth impiety ever fall foule with it ſelfe. But ſo it is, He who once is departed out of the right way, wandereth infinitely into by-paths, and inextricable errors.

From this conceit of theirs grew that ſtrange opinion they had of Chriſt our Saviour, that he was *Elias, John Baptiſt, Jeremias*, or one of the old Prophets.

44 From this conceit of Tranſanimation, the Phariſees, and Jewes their diſciples, ſuppoſed that Chriſt Jeſus was *Elias, Jeremias*, or one of the Prophets riſen from the dead, *Mat.* 16. 4. Chriſt asketh his Diſciples, *Whom doe men ſay that I am?* They make anſwer, *Some ſay thou art* Elias, *ſome* John Baptiſt, *others* Jeremias, *or one of the old Prophets:* Upon which Text *Baronius* truely obſerveth, *Strange it is how much that Phariſaicall hereſie was diffuſed and propagated in Galilee, which taught, That the ſoules of men dead, were, anſwerably to their deſerts, tranſlated into other bodies.* And from this conceit, *Herod* the Tetrarch, as a Diſciple of the Phariſees, when he heard of the fame of *Jeſus*, ſaid, *This is* John *the Baptiſt whom I beheaded, and therefore great works are done by him.*

Another *Pythagorean* hereſie they held likewiſe, That of inevitable, Fatall Neceſſity.

45 From the ſame Pagan ſhop of *Pythagoras* they brought into the Synagogue another impious hereſie of Fatall Neceſſity, over and upon all things, which do omnipotently come to paſſe, as they come to paſſe, being ſo ordered and diſpoſed irreverſibly, and irreſiſtibly; *fortiter*, by ſtrong hand, and not *ſuaviter*, after inclination, conveniency, or diſpoſition of the thing; and that, *καθ' εἱμαρμένην*, by a mutuall adheſion, annexation, & concatenation of cauſes, one within another, and upon another; which being ſo faſtned and ſuſpended, are inalterable for themſelves, and unavoydable for their effects, drawing powerfully, and inforcing coactively, impelling violently all men, actions, conſultations, determinations one way reſolved from eternity. *Baronius* chargeth them herewith by warrant of *Joſephus* himſelfe, a Phariſee: nor doth hee miſ-report *Joſephus*, who writeth thus of himſelfe, *I betooke my ſelfe to the profeſſion and ſect of the Phariſees, which is much like the Stoicks amongſt the Grecians.* And *Joſephus, Antiq.* 18. 2. affirmeth, that they utterly (as they muſt doe, holding fatall peremptory Neceſſity) diſclaymed, rejected, aboliſhed Free-will in man; holding this poſition, That all things were not onely *neceſſarily*, but *coactively* ordered and diſpoſed of by Fate: which yet *in* 2. *de bello*, hee ſeemeth to deny or allay, as if Fatall Neceſſity and Free-will had been ſo divided betwixt thoſe three principall Families of

Fatis agimur, cedite fatis. Non ſollicitæ poſſunt curæ mutare rati ſtamina fuſi. Quicquid patimur mortale genus, quicquid facimus, venit ex alto: ſervatque ſuæ decretum colus *Lacheſis*: dura revoluta manu omnia certo tramite vadunt, primuſque dies dedit extremum. Non illa Deo vertiſſe licet quæ nexa ſuis currunt cauſis. Ite cuique ratus, prece non ulla mobilis, ordo.

of Jewiſh Sectaries, that the Eſſeni aſcribed abſolutly all things unto Fate; the Sadduces all things peremptorily to Free-will; but the Phariſees inſiſted in a midling courſe betwixt both, aſcribing all unto Fate, ſo that notwithſtanding it reſts, for the moſt part, in the power and will of man to doe good or evill: And this is, I grant, the qualified doctrine of ſome Stoicks, not to deprive mans will of all abilitie, notwithſtanding inevitable Fate. Which two opinions, how they can ſubſiſt, I underſtand not, though it be alſo the doctrine of ſome moderne Divines: Fatall Neceſſity (not ſimple Neceſſity) and freedome of will are incompetible; for that is antecedently coactive, and forcibly impelling every way. Will cannot be free but where it is indifferent; but Fatall Neceſſitie leaves not Will in indifferency, or to his choice, but determines unavoydably the thing that muſt bee done; ſo done, and no otherwiſe, with all circumſtances, by the moſt powerfull over-awing might, force, and operation of cauſes in act efficient, effectually working in concatenation, and coherencie together, that they doe, and muſt, and cannot but produce effects determined inevitably: For ſo have they reſolved of it into Philoſophicall Schooles, who ſo did explaine and maintaine it, and ſo hath it ever been underſtood and taken by all who know what the Stoicks meant by their εἱμαρμένη, ſo farr, that it was not in the power of God himſelfe to alter it; an infallible concatenation of cauſes depending interlacedly one upon another, and all upon one firſt, as farr engaged in unevitable Neceſſity as any of the reſt, no way a voluntary free Agent. Which cauſes, howſoever, for order and decencie they propoſe, as the firſt, ſecond, third, yet were they all, as they conceived of them, coexiſtent together in eternity, and ſo coequall with God, immixed and immerſed, as a part coagmentative of the whole entire Univerſe, and ſubſiſtence of things: Yet ſo, that rather they bee ſuperiour then ſubordinate to God, whom they ſuppoſe ſo fettered by them, that hee cannot alter or undoe what is by them diſpoſed to bee done.

Φυσικὴ συνίταξις τῶν ὅλων ἐξ αἰδίου ἑπομένων ἑπομενοῖς ἐπαλλαθέντων, καὶ ἀπαραβάτου ὄντος τοῦ τοιούτου συμπλοκῆς, Gell. lib. 6. 1. Hinc illa nomina, Εἱμαρμένη, Πεπρωμένη, μοῖραι, χρεών, Λάχεσις, Κλῶθω, Ἄτροπος, quarum ſub jure tenentur Omnia quæ ſeriem fatorum pollice ducunt: Longos ſeratis evolvunt ſecula penſi. Etiam Deo inalterabilia; unde, Fata Deus ſcripſit, ſed ſequitur. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς μάχεσθαι. Dicebat Pittacus apud Laërtium, & Iupiter ipſe apud Q. Calabrum, οὐκοῦν γὰρ ἀμηλογεῖ ἐστι τῷ ἡμῖν. Quocirca multo minus ἔστιν ἀλύξαι ἀνθρώπους, ἐκ μόρα κατὰ κλωπῆς ἐστιγεν.

Deum namq; ire per omnes Terraſque tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum; Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum, Quodq; ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.

46 And in this ſort doe they, and muſt they talke of Fatall Neceſſitie, who know what Poets, Stoicks, Pythagoreans, Chaldeans, Aſtrologers, Mathematicians, Figure-flingers meant by it, whom the Phariſees herein did follow: In which their Scholler *Joſephus* forſooke them, and was, as in many things elſe, of a better judgement then the Phariſees, his Maſters, were: For thus he delivers his owne opinion thereabout, *God hath held it convenient to put a temper betwixt his own Decree & mans will, that ſo vertue, goodneſſe, juſtice, uprightneſſe might poſſeſſe and take up the whole life of man, which cannot bee where fatall coacting Neceſsity ſwayeth all:* which is much more according to Chriſtian piety, then the doctrinall deciſions of ſome Chriſtian Divines.

But *Joſephus*, the Scholler, not ſo leavened herewith as the Phariſees his Maſters. That there is no ſuch decree.

vines. *Fataliter conſtitutum eſt*, they ſay, *quando, quomodo, quantopere unuſquiſque noſtrûm pietatem vel colere, vel non colere debet:* It is fatally determined when, in what ſort, how much, and how farr every one of us ſhall diſpoſe himſelfe to enſue, or not enſue pietie. Againe, *Deum velle, decernere, procurare hominum peccata, eorumque opera inſana, ſtulta, crudelia, & ſacrilegam ſui Nominis blaſphemiam:* God willeth, decreeth, procureth mens ſins, their mad, fooliſh, cruell works, the ſacrilegious blaſpheming of his owne Name. Againe, *Ex vi & efficacia arcanæ voluntatis, ſeu Decreti Divini, omnia, non bona tantum, ſed & mala neceſſariò fiant; adeò, ut quicunque peccant, reſpectu Divini Decreti, non poſſint non peccare:* By force effectuall of the ſecret will or Decree of God, all things whatſoever, not onely good, but bad, are neceſſarily done; ſo farr, as that whoſoever doe ſinne, in regard of Gods Decree cannot chuſe but ſin. And yet worſe, *Deus, ad peccata quæ palam prohibet, occultâ ratione homines impellit. Deus vult peccatum volantate beneplaciti. Cauſa cauſæ eſt cauſa cauſati: Si ergo Deus eſt cauſa* Adami, *&* Adam *cauſa peccati, cur non ſit Deus cauſa peccati?* God, by his hidden meanes and carriage doth violently drive on and impell men to commit thoſe ſinnes which publickly yet hee forbiddeth. God willeth ſin with the will of his good-pleaſure. The cauſe of another cauſe, is the cauſe of the thing cauſed: If then God bee cauſe of *Adam*, and *Adam* be cauſe of ſinne, why is not God the cauſe of ſin? Many ſuch wholſome and bleſſed aphoriſmes, worſe then the *leaven of the Phariſees*, arè extant in the Writings of ſome Divines, whom I can name. But no Decree of God doth impoſe ſuch a neceſſity upon man, his will, his actions, or any thing elſe: For no Decree in God doth antecede the effect of that Decree, and therefore doth not drive nor inforce to iſſue. Gods actuall Decrees, and acts intrinſecall are coeternall, and coexiſtent every way in his meaſure of eternity. When externally hee worketh in or upon man, hee diſpoſeth things in particular actions proportionably, becauſe ſubordinate unto generall order. *Et ſic ſine ulla repugnantia dicitur aliquid eſſe mutabile in tempore antequam ſit, quod in æternitate manet immutabiliter, non antequam ſit, vel poſtquam eſt, ſed indeſinenter; quia nihil eſt ibi ſecundum tempus:* And thus without any repugnancy, a thing is ſaid to bee mutable in time before it is, which conſiſteth unchangeably in eternity, not before it is, or after it is, but indeſinently; for nothing there is to be meaſured for exiſtence with time. If by ſuppoſition of impoſſibilitie (as well wee may conceive impoſſible things) wee imagined that God in his eternity were purpoſed not to doe any thing in Decree, before that actually hee did it in time; wee then and ſo can conceive, that the thing done, before it was done, was contingent, not neceſſary: but true it is which *Scotus* hath, *God can as freely will what hee will, as if his Will were undetermined.* That which is, when it is, muſt needs bee; but before it was what it is, it might indifferently have been, or not have been ſo or ſo. Wee fondly imagine, that the Decrees of God, which bee his

acts,

acts, doe at all *transire in præteritum*, paſſe on to what is paſt, as ours doe, which being acted, are done and gone, have their diſpatch for ever irrevocable: In Gods eternity is no ſuch matter; which is an indiviſible, indiſpertible Duration, Continuance, or Being all at once in act without ſucceſſion, comprizing, yet tranſcending all termes and times, even preſent: *Æterno præſenti clauditur omne tempus, & quæ ſunt in quolibet tempore.* Therefore, when the Apoſtle ſaith, *God foreknew* his holy Saints, that hee *predeſtinated, called, juſtified, glorified* them; none of theſe ſeverall and different acts, to us, are firſt or ſecond in God; but, *omnia ſimul æterno præſenti intelliguntur*; hee *calls* not, in eternity, before hee *juſtifies*; and when hee doth *juſtifie* hee alſo *glorifies*. That which is not, is with him; and what was long ſince, is not diſpatched and gone. In reſpect then of his eternall Decree, nothing is neceſſitated, which of it ſelfe is contingent; and ſo, no fatall Neceſſity thereupon impoſed, as the Phariſees ſometimes, and many now doat upon a Stoicall Fate.

47 Phariſees were old, ἐκ παλαιῶν· but Scribes were elder amongſt the Jewes: they were when Phariſees were not, and yet are now Phariſees are gone. The name is elder then the Captivitie; uſed at, and in the Captivitie; and from it, continued to, and after the Deſolation: We finde it in *Davids* time 2 *Sam.* 8. 17. given unto *Saraias*; ſo, 2 *Sam.* 20. 25. and, 4 *Reg.* 12. 10. which was no office in, or for the Synagogue. Thoſe Scribes were Clerks, *Amanuenſes*, Secretaries to the Prince, men of quality, employment, truſt, councell: not taken from amongſt the company of Scriveners, as ſome have fabled out of the Rabbins, who tell, that they taught children to write and to reade; who made Indentures, Contracts, Bonds, Obligations, being of the poore Tribe of *Simeon* onely; which Tribe is ſaid (but falſely, for the contrary is plaine *Joſ.* 19.) to have had no inheritance amongſt their Brethren, nor any alotment (which is true) of Tyth with *Levi*, and therefore did maintaine themſelves, and get their living by that profeſſion peculiarly appropriated to that Tribe: But both Secretaries of Princes, and Scriveners betwixt man and man, might be, and were of other Tribes, as well as of *Simeon*; if not all, yet the moſt of them, and moſt skilfull in their profeſſion were of *Levi*. But of what Tribe ſoever, they were not the Scribes mentioned in the Goſpel, who goe hand in hand with the Phariſees: they were ſuch as *Baruch* the Amanuenſis to the Prophet *Jeremy*, and ſuch as *Eſdras*, a perfect Scribe in the Law: ſuch as they *Judas Maccabæus* appointed to teach the people the Law of God, who were therefore named γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ, Scribes of the people, *Mat.* 24. not becauſe they taught children to write, or engroſſed Deeds, made Bonds or Obligations; but becauſe they taught them the Law of the Higheſt. *Joſephus* ſaith *Eſdras* was the firſt that had that Title; but certainly, he was not the firſt that executed the Office, and ſo much *Joſephus* himſelfe will avow, who tels us, *Antiq.* 7. 11. that King *David*, long before *Eſdras*, appointed certaine Levites to teach the peo-

Their Office: and ſeverall names of old, and why ſo termed.

ple by reading and expounding the Law unto them in the Synagogue; whereto Saint *James* had reference in the Synod at Jeruſalem, *Moſes of old time had in every Synagogue thoſe that preached him every Sabbath day*; who, as from the *object* of their profeſſion the people were called *Scribes of the people*; and from the *ſubject* which they taught them, they were *Scribes of the Law, Lawyers, Law-men, Law-teachers, Law-expounders*; γραμματεῖς τῦ νόμυ, νομικοὶ, νόμυ διδάσκαλοι, and the like names by which they were called.

They were of *Levi* his Tribe; their calling was to teach the people the Law of God, and to inſtruct them in his wayes: which Office belonged in proper to the Levitical Tribe, and none other might intrude upon it.

48 As they were not of *Simeon*, ſo nor of *Juda*, but onely of *Levi*. It was one part of the eſſentiall Office of the ſonnes of *Levi*, to teach the people the Law of God, and to inſtruct them in his waies: for which ſervice, Tythes, their wages was aſſigned them; nor could this Office bee intruded upon by *Simeon*, *Juda*, or any other Tribe, without ſacriledge, whatſoever *Druſius* and *Scaliger* have talked to the contrary, whom others have as unadviſedly followed; as if Orders were nothing in Church or Synagogue, but all that would might teach the people: it is as true as that Rabbinicall tale told by *Genebrard*, out of the Rabbins, That Scribes were Pedants of the poore Tribe of *Simeon*: The poverty of which Tribe, above all Tribes in Iſrael, I know not what, whence, or how great it was: as for that *dividing in Jacob, and ſcattering in Iſrael*, it concerned *Levi*, and not *Simeon*, who had his inheritance apart as other Tribes had, but *Levi* had none. Nor is it Catholick doctrine which *Baronius* delivereth in his *Apparatus*, that thoſe Phariſees who were employed in reading of the Law, and expounding of the ſame unto the people, were by a ſpeciall title named Scribes, and the reſt Phariſees; ſo all Scribes and Lawyers muſt have been Phariſees: as if all that ſay Maſſe, or heare Confeſſion in the Church of Rome are Jeſuites: There were Scribes in Iſrael before Phariſees were heard of, as there was Confeſſion in the Church before *Ignatius Loyola* was maymed at Pampelona, or met with *Robin-good fellow* in his way to Rome, about inſtitution of his Order. When the Phariſees were a potent Faction in State, (as they were a long time, even under *Herod*, as well as before him) then was this a reall diſtinction of Scribes and Phariſees in that State: And ſo much Saint *Luke* hath directed us unto, where hee ſpeakes of *Scribes upon the Phariſees part*; intimating, that there were Scribes upon the Sadduces part, at leaſt, not of the part of Phariſees; Sadduces and Phariſees were of any Tribe, as a Jeſuite or Puritan may bee of any Nation; but Scribes were onely of *Levi*, as they muſt bee of Chriſtians. *Joſephus* was a Phariſee, and hee was a Prieſt; S. *Paul* was a Phariſee, and he was of *Benjamin*; *Hyrcanus*, and ſo moſt of the High Prieſts in our Saviours time, were Sadduces, but of *Aaron*; thoſe that wee read of to have been Scribes, *Baruch* and *Eſdras*, were both of *Levi*. Advocates, Proctors, Atturnies, Counſellors, Clerks of Aſſiſes at civill Barrs, in lay Courts, might bee of any Tribe but *Levi*; but to *Levi* belonged it properly to teach and expound the Law to the people; to which courſe in Iſrael Saint *Paul* alludeth,

1 *Cor.* 1.

1 *Cor.* 1. *Where is the wiſe man and the Scribe become?* which was taken from *Eſay* 33. *What is become of the learned? where is hee that pondereth the word of the Law? where is the inſtructer of the little ones?* It might, and did fall out, that one and the ſame man might bee a Scribe and a Phariſee, as a Monk by profeſſion may bee a Prieſt in Orders. *Sanè, alii erant Legis periti, & alii Phariſæi: Nam Phariſæi videbantur, ut Monachi, & qui ab aliis ſe ſegregabant. Legis verò periti Scribæ erant, & Doctores qui ſolvebant Legis queſtiones. Every Scribe that is learned toward the Kingdome of Heaven,* was ſpoken with reference to their calling, *learned men,* in account of others, and in their owne opinion. In truth, their learning was ignorance, they blinde guides, as our Saviour taxeth them: The Phariſees, by their ſuperinducted Traditions had made Gods Law of none effect; the Scribes, by their Gloſſes and falſe Interpretations had depraved the true ſenſe of the Law; ſuch were theſe Doctors of Iſrael, Scribes and Phariſees at our Saviours Incarnation, *Hypocrites, Mat.* 23. *Covetous, Luk.* 16.14. *Fooles, blinde guides, Matth.* 23.17,19. *Vain glorious, Matth.* 6. 12. *painted ſepulchres; full of raven, uncleanneſſe; an adulterous generation; a generation of vipers; the children of Hell:* and yet ἀκριβεστάτη, in Saint *Pauls* judgement, ſingular, ſingularly conceited of themſelves, under-valuing, vilifying, contemning all other; out of which conceit they called themſelves Phariſees, that is, a ſeparatiſt, a man alone, a ſingularly ſanctified holy man. Chriſt, who knew them *intus & in cute,* hath doomed them already to everlaſting woe, *You ſhall not eſcape damnation in hell.*

49 The Sadduces, ſaith *Baronius, were not much better then the Phariſees*; rather much worſe, if a downe-right Atheiſt bee worſe then an hypocriticall or hereticall Chriſtian, namely, reſpecting opinion, doctrine, beliefe in God: though in life and converſation, the Sadduces were as they ſeemed, and ſeemed as they were, not ſuch impoſturing hypocrites as the Phariſees were, appearing to be by his coat a *Sheepe,* but in his heart a *ravening Wolfe*; but the Sadducee was a profane, looſe libertine, in mouth and practice, as well as in heart and opinion, a meere Atheiſt: his hopes roſe up no higher then this preſent; nor did his aymes, deſires, apprehenſions ſtretch farther then this world, to live therein as hee liſt, and doe as hee pleaſed, as conceiving no ſubſiſting after this life; *Nec ſtyga, nec tenebras, nec nomina vana timentes:* Τὸν καὶ ἅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσι. They reject, ſaith *Joſephus,* all rewards or puniſhments in the other world. And it may bee they came up into this impious conceit through perverſe oppoſition unto the Phariſees, who beleeved both: For they were, and would be, and in every particular deſired to be in termes of oppoſition to the Phariſees; Ἐναντίαν Φαρισαίοις αἵρεσιν ἔχουσιν, as *Joſephus.* Such is the courſe and practice of the Father of diviſion; as hee ſets up his agents in oppoſition unto God, ſo hee makes them thwart and contrary one the other, to undermine and undoe one the other: ſo ſtood the Sadduces againſt the Phariſees, in courſe of State, in points of

Their converſations profane, looſe, and atheiſticall: their opinions as oppoſite to the Phariſees as contradiction could make them. Fewer in number then the Phariſees, but for the moſt part wealthy, and of honorable place.

Lib. 2. *Antiq.* 12.

of Doctrine, in acts of life and convertation. They were not, ſaith *Joſephus*, popular in their carriage, no way diſpoſed to applaud or flatter multitudes; they were not inſinuators with the female ſexe, which was the Maſter-worke of the Phariſees, nor in any grace or favour with them: In common Councels, at popular mootes, they could beare no ſway, men rough, ſowre, unſociable, untractable, not aſſociating one with another, much leſſe with men of contrary faction or affection, being in common carriage ſterne, difficult, rude, ruſtick, ſavage, altogether incomplyable with any ſide; but of all, they hated and oppoſed the Phariſees moſt; and yet, when they were to ſpeed, or paſſe any project with the people, they were conſtrained to have recourſe unto, and uſe the mediation of the Phariſees: This we are aſſured of, that conſpire they did, and combine with them in oppoſing and perſecuting *Chriſt Jeſus*, and his Apoſtles, which well agreed with their naturall and habituall diſpoſition, *Præ cæteris Judæis, in ſupplicijs crudeles & acerbi*; in compariſon of whom, the Phariſees were accounted mercifull, gentle, and compaſſionate men. Hardly were the Sadducees drawne to take any Office, or to meddle at all in any publick affaires; but were well contented, and deſirous to live retiredly and privately to themſelves, to enjoy their owne wils, wealth, carriage, liberty, freedome alone, as being, through their rigour, ἀνεκτοὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν, not feiſable or indureable with the multitude; few in number, compared with the Phariſees; but for the moſt part wealthy, and of honourable place, ἔντιμοι καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρῶτοι. How this can ſtand with that premiſed of their retired, ſolitary, private life, I know not; but this later aſſertion is true: for a Sadducee was *Jonathas*, chiefe favourite with *Hyrcanus* the Maccabee; ſuch were *Hyrcanus* himſelfe, and his two ſonnes, *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*; ſuch was *Herod* and his Court; ſuch *Annas*, *Caiphas*, *John*, *Alexander*, and many of the High Prieſts, if not all; ſuch was their carriage and converſation.

Τέταν ἦθος πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγριώτερον, ἢ τὸ ἐπιμιξίαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀπήνεες.

Their deſperate tenents, and doctrinall concluſions.

50 Their doctrinall opinions and concluſions wee underſtand from report of *Joſephus*: They held it a vertue and great commendation to be opinionative, refractory, and ſelfe-conceited, in no caſe yeelding or giving over their conceits, but conteſting with others for any point litigious; which, it were to be wiſhed, had been a Sadducaicall diſeaſe, and not ſo obvious or frequent with Chriſtians, eſpecially in that their *palmarium facinus*, as *Joſephus* hath it, That they held it a vertue and chiefe commendation to contend and hold argument againſt Superiours, not to yeeld one joynt unto Authority. Secondly, They beleeved and taught that the ſoule was mortall, living and dying together with the body, vaniſhing at laſt gaſpe, by pure annihilation into nothing, as it was made of nothing; that as a dog, ſo dies a man, having no ſubſiſtence after death, nor returning againe any more for ever: Hence they inferred, as a neceſſary conſequence, That there was no reſurrection of the body; which appeares, *Matth.* 22.23. *Mark* 12.18. *Luke* 20.27. *Acts* 23.8. where Saint *Paul* perceiving

ceiving that the *Concilium malignantium* collected againſt him, were intermixed, partly Phariſees, partly Sadduces, takes occaſion to caſt in a ball of diſtraction amongſt them, and from the caſe and ſtate of the Reſurrection, denyed by the one, beleeved and maintained by the other, to divide and ſet them one againſt another, by telling (which was true, though not as they conceited it) that for holding and preaching the Reſurrection hee was then queſtioned; whereupon, in oppoſition to the Sadduces, of which Sect the High Prieſts were, the Scribes and Phariſees took his part. Thirdly, they denyed, as needs they muſt, being a neceſſary dependant upon the former two opinions, heaven and hell, the reward of righteouſneſſe, and of puniſhment in any world to come; all which the Phariſees beleeved not ſo ſincerely as piety required; yet for certain and unfallible they did maintaine, that ——— *Lethum, non omnia finit*

Luridaque evictos effugit umbra rogos.

Fourthly, they beleeved and taught, that as the humane ſoul had no being or ſubſiſting after death; ſo no ſpirit did at all ſubſiſt, ſeparatedly, ſubſiſting alone, out or beſide the body, neither Angels of heaven, nor Devils of hell; for Angels denyed, it is expreſſe *Acts* 23.8. which Familiſts and Libertines have renewed againe, and re-enforced from hell in theſe dayes: and withall, they herein denyed God, who is by us beleeved and profeſſed to be a Spirit inviſible, impaſſible, incommixtable, *actus puriſſimus in æternitate ſua, à parte ante, & à parte poſt*, ſubſiſting ſubſtantially, in, from, by himſelfe. They conceived him to be onely a meere notion; as I take it, *Ens rationis*, a *Chimæra*, *Scindapſus*, *Tragelaphus* talked of, ſaid to bee, but indeed no ſuch thing. And beſide, as *Epiphanius*, and *Philaſter* of Brixia underſtand the word *Spirit*, they did withall, as needs they muſt, utterly deny the Godhead or being of the holy Ghoſt, and ſo were *Pneumatomachi* in an higher degree then the after-ſucceeding Macedonians or Eunomians. Conſequently, they muſt caſt off all divine Providence; they inferred fate, fortuition, concurrence, and co-incidency of all things; that God, who was not, did not doe or good or evill, becauſe, *Non entis non eſt actio*, that which is not cannot operate. So many maine grounds of our Religion and moſt holy Faith were denyed by theſe Imps of iniquity, whoſe onely ayme was *vivere ut vellent*, having no future hopes, but preſent fortunes. Fifthly, which muſt needs follow upon the premiſſes, they nor beleeved nor received the Prophets; they denyed all divine inſpiration, revelation, illumination, infuſion of grace, prediction of future events.

They received onely the five books of *Moſes*, whereupon the wiſdom of God by the mouth of our Saviour convinced them out of *Exod.* 4. in the Article of the Reſurrection by them denied. See PARAG. 144.

51 And upon theſe foregoing grounds they might very well have rejected all ſcripture. But yet, admit they did, receive, and reverently reſpect the five bookes of the Law of *Moſes*: mary, that was upon a ſuppoſed condition, that nothing was contained in thoſe books which did make to the conviction of their hereſies, concerning ſpirits, the reſurrection, or immortality of the ſoule: a courſe then begun, ſince them by moſt hereticks inſiſted upon, to admit no more of ſacred

ſacred ſcripture then it ſtands with their liking, concurring with their owne doctrine and opinions; and yet even ſo the Sadduces could not, nor hereticks cannot avoid conviction from what themſelves approve. The wiſdome of God by the mouth of our Saviour, entangled, convinced, confounded them, where and from whence they did not expect, evicting their hereſie againſt the Reſurrection, and ſubſiſting of the ſoule after death, by a Text of their owne approbation, *Exod.*4. where God ſpeakes to *Moſes* in theſe words, *I am the God of thy Fathers, the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Iſaac, *and the God of* Jacob. A man at firſt reading or hearing of theſe words would not imagine that this were a Text to prove the Reſurrection by; but unavoydably it is deduced thence, that becauſe God ſaid he was then their God, therefore *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Iacob*, dead many yeers or ages before God ſaid thus unto *Moſes*, were then ſubſiſting: For he ſpeaks, *I am*, in the preſent tenſe, of the preſent time, *then*; not of the time paſt, I am he who was the God ſometime of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, when they were, & lived. God, I am, is in relation, the God of what is, not of what was, or what is not. All relation muſt needs bee *inter terminos*, two at leaſt, and both muſt actually ſubſiſt; if one be not, the relation ceaſeth: a man is not a Father untill he have a Childe, when hee hath one then is he a Father; hee ceaſeth to be a Father if his Childe die, as he ceaſeth to be an Husband when hee hath no Wife: God ſemblably was God before the world was made, much more before that *Abraham* was born of *Tharah*; and God he ſhould have been, had he never been borne: But the God of all the world, the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, hee could not have beene, except they had been, and they utterly ceaſing to bee, God muſt alſo ceaſe to be their God. So that by neceſſary inference, *Abraham* was, and ſubſiſted ſomewhere when God ſaid, *I am the God of* Abraham; which being by them apprehended as a demonſtration, and convincing proofe, ſo ſtopped their mouthes, that they had not a word to ſay. This Text of the Law hee cited, becauſe they admitted it; had hee vouched the Prophets, they would have rejected them.

Their greateſt diſſention from the Phariſees, wherein.

52 In many things they diſſented from the Phariſees; but the principall difference and diſagreement was, as *Joſephus* remembreth, about their *Deuteroſeis* or Traditions: For the Sect of the Phariſees tendered and recommended in their Doctrine to the people many ſpecialties, for law and practice, to bee obſerved, which were not written nor contained in the Law of *Moſes*, but delivered and taught by the Elders, as they called them, that is, their predeceſſors in their Schoole; all which Traditions were rejected by the Sadduces and their adherents, becauſe nothing was to be tendered (as they taught, and truly) unto the people, or to be received of them as Law, but what was written in the Law of *Moſes*: which Traditions the Phariſees did not recommend as commentaries only, or explications on the Law, but as neceſſary annexions unto the Law; to ſtand in conteſtation for equall credit, power, value, and validity with the Law;

Law, as ſupplies unto the Law, otherwiſe imperfect and inſufficient: But the Sadduces held it poſitively an undenyable truth, that God had commanded, and cauſed to be written whatſoever was neceſſary for direction to men, in caſe of life and manners: That whatſoever was ordained by God, was alone to have and obtaine place, ſtate, force, authority and degree of a Law; and not that which was invented and ordained, God hee knowes by whom, being conveighed and paſſed hand over head, from man to man, by tradition, and recommendation of uncertainty.

53 Concerning their opinions, *Baronius* adds further out of *Epiphanius*, that in all points they conſented with the Samaritans, and beleeved abſolutely as they did, only differing in this, that the Sadduces were all Jewes by birth, and did communicate with them at Jeruſalem in their Service: but the Samaritans were ſtrangers from the ſeed of *Abraham*, and thigh of *Jacob*; did not communicate with the Jewes at Jeruſalem, but had a Temple of their owne, and Service therein at mount Garizim: which is in effect, The Sadduces were Hereticks as were the Samaritans, but not Schiſmaticks as were the Samaritans. What their hereſies were wee ſhall underſtand hereafter, as alſo wherein, and how farre the Sadduces conſorted with them.

They were as great hereticks, but not ſo great ſchiſmaticks as the Samaritans.

54 This Sect was alſo ἐκ πάνυ παλαιῶν, of ancient exiſtence in Iſrael,; but of how ancient ſtanding, *Joſephus* tels mee not, nor can I aſſure or ſay it out of any Record. Both Sects were in being, as hath been ſpecified in *Hyrcanus* time the firſt, as hath been ſaid: For hee, perſwaded by *Jonathas* his Councellor, a Sadducee, revolted from the Phariſees to the Sadduces. This is the utmoſt I can finde of their antiquitie in the Synagogue, before the time of our Saviours Incarnation.

How ancient ſtanding this ſect is of, cannot be aſſured for certain out of any Record.

55 *Baronius* adds, and brings *Epiphanius* for his authour, That they take name and denomination from one *Sadoc*, a Prieſt, their firſt Founder, and the grand Patriarch of their ſect, though they fell off, and revolted from his doctrine; for he nor taught, nor held, nor opined, any ſuch thing as they did, againſt the immortality of the ſoule, &c. Wherein *Baronius* is deceived himſelfe, and deceiveth us. The words of *Epiphanius* be nõt, as hee conceiveth and relateth them, but theſe, Ἐτυγομάζοντι δ' ἑαυτοὺς Σαδδουκαίους, δίκην ἀπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐπικλήσεως ἐμφανῶς. Σεδὲκ γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται, δικαιοσύνη, *Theſe men call themſelves Sadduces, as taking their denomination from juſtice*; for *Sedec* is expounded *juſtice*; in which words is no mention of *Sadoc* a Prieſt. And *Serarius*, a man very skilfull in Jewiſh Antiquities, howſoever, for his owne private opinion hee inclines to that deduction of Sadduces from *Sadoc*, yet imputes no ſuch conceit to *Epiphanius*. And yet true it is, that afterward in *Epiphanius* there is ſomewhat that way tending, which might miſlead *Baronius* into error; for thus it followeth, *There was alſo of old time one* Sadoc *a Prieſt. But the Sadduces continued not in the doctrine of their Maſter; for they utterly denyed the Reſurrection*

Whence they had their denomination.

ſurrection of the dead. In which paſſage is no coherence; thoſe words, *There was alſo of old time one* Sadoc *a Prieſt*, are irregular, inconſequent, and have been importunely intruded into the Text of *Epiphanius*, being perfect, full, and conſequent without them; they are none of his, but a meere gloſſema, as we call it, a note by ſome Reader put downe in the margine, as the manner was and is *inter Legendum*, for ſome memoriall and obſervation; and thence, by an unskilfull hand, and not underſtanding head, tranſplanted into the courſe of *Epiphanius* his Text, where they had no place of right nor intereſt to be; which being againe ejected, the whole period runs on without any rub, and conſequents hang well upon antecedents; but take them into the Text, and hold them there, the ſenſe is not perfect, they clog the current of the paſſage, and make very much diſ-correſpondency *inter* parts which doe hang handſomely enough together. For, obſerve the paſſage, and the incongruity; *Sadduces*, ſaith *Joſephus*, *bee the firſt of Jewiſh heretieks, being a branch or member of the Doſitheans; (They call themſelves Sadduces, deducing their name from Sedec, which by interpretation ſignifies Juſt,) but they continued not in the beliefe and doctrine of their Maſter*, that is, of *Doſitheus*, or *Doſthi*, from whom they were branched; here is ſenſe and coherence very good: but, take in the words, *There was alſo one* Sadoc *a Prieſt, of old time*, and the ſenſe is marred, intricate, unfoldable, they have reference to nothing that comes after, dependance on nothing that went before, they trouble the current every way, and deſervedly are to bee caſt out.

A proſecution of the former Parag. with a ſtumble of *Baronius.*

56 It ſeems, that *Baronius* ſtumbled at this block, and therefore ſaith not any thing, taketh no notice of *Sedec*, though it bee preciſely, and in termes inſiſted upon by *Epiphanius*, but fathereth upon him that other of *Sadoc* the Prieſt, of whom, I dare ſay, hee dreamed not here; as if he had found it in *Epiphanius*, thus, *Qui eoſdem à* Sadoc *nomen accepiſſe narrat; ſed à doctrina Præceptoris defeciſſe. Barradas* the Jeſuite commenting upon the Goſpels, though hee follow *Baronius*, (as all follow him for Story) yet had the care to father both *Sedec* and *Sadoc* upon *Epiphanius*, as *Baronius* alſo ſhould have done; eſpecially that of *Sedec*, being ſo punctually, poſitively, and directly remembred by him, and further advowed by *Hierome*, without any mention of *Sadoc* at all: *Sadducæi*, are his words, *interpretantur juſti; Ipſi enim ſibi vindicabant id quod non erant.* And therefore *Maldonate*, the beſt learned, and moſt acute of any commenting Jeſuite, makes no mention of any *Sadoc* for the Sadduces, but relies upon *Hierome* and *Epiphanius* for *Sedec* only: *Sadducæos à* Sedec *juſtitia, quaſi homines juſtos*, Epiphanius *&* Hieronymus *dictos putant.* Rigorous men, and with extremity juſt (ſaith *Joſephus* of them) towards malefactors they were, and not to bee diverted in proſecuting or inflicting puniſhment by intreaty, bribery, feare, hope, flattery, the ordinary diverters of juſtice in Courts of Judicature; enough to arrogate that Title of juſtice in opinion; and, which is not to bee paſſed over, this

Title

Title they might pretend unto, becauſe they ſtood ſo cloſe for, and ſtood ſo faſt unto the written Law of God, againſt unwritten Traditions of the Phariſees; wherewithall, as the Phariſees wronged God in his Word, ſo the Sadduces, in giving reſpect unto it above humane conſtitutions, dealt uprightly, and according unto juſtice. Nor is it ſo unuſuall or uncouth, from ſects and hereſies to take denomination for the ſubject of their opinions, but as frequent, as to draw it from the firſt author; eſpecially, when hee is either uncertaine, not knowne, a counterfeit, or ſo.

The Sadduces had not their name from any *Sadoc* whoſoever.

57 For, Who was this *Sadoc*? or when lived he? *Genebrard*, *Serarius*, and other Rabbiniſts talke of one *Sadoc*, Scholler and ſucceſſor unto *Antigonus Sochæus*, who was ſucceſſor unto *Simon* the Juſt, which *Simon*, Maſter of the great Synagogue, ſucceeded I know not whom: but *Antigonus*, they tell us, had two Schollers, *Bajethos* and *Sadoc*; from *Bajethos* the Bajethoſinian hereticks, (who they were, you muſt aske thoſe that can tell, for I cannot,) and from *Sadoc* Sadducees were extracted. *Genebrard* elſewhere, at the yeere of the world 3983. in his Chronicle ſpeakes thus, *Not many yeers after lived* Antigonus Sochæus, *whoſe diſciples were* Sadoc *and* Bajethos, *bad Schollers of a good Maſter, for they founded the Sect of the Sadduces* (jointly, both of them together, not *Sadoc* alone) *which continues unto this day amongſt the Jewes at Conſtantinople, and elſewhere. They deny any Law delivered by word of mouth* (meaning the *Cabala*) *in mount Sinah, beleeving nothing but what is written in the Law of* Moſes; *wherefore they were called Caraimi that is, Scripturemen:* thus *Genebrard*. *Serarius*, out of Rabbi *Abraham*, tels this tale; *Alexander* came into the land of Iſrael: at the firſt noyſe of his arrivall, came *Sanballat* the Horonite, with other Princes and chiefe men of the Cutheans and Samaritans, beſeeching him to give them leave to build another Temple or holy houſe in mount Garizim, for certaine Prieſts, their kinſmen and allies, and for all ſuch as having married ſtrange wives were unwilling to put them away. Hee gave them leave: they builded a Temple; and ſo ever after Iſrael was divided into two Sects: One followed *Simon* the juſt, and *Antigonus* his Scholler, according to that which they had learned from *Eſdras* by Tradition; the other followed *Sanballat*, and his ſonne-in lawes ſide, (meaning *Manaſſes*, brother to *Jaddus* the High Prieſt,) ſo it came to paſſe that they offered Sacrifice and Holocauſts without the Lords houſe. They made ſuch Decrees, Lawes, and Ordinances as pleaſed themſelves. In this Temple of Garizim, *Manaſſes*, ſonne of *Joſua*, ſonne of *Joſedec* executed the High Prieſts place. *Sadoc* with his fellow Scholler *Bajethos* were chiefe; here began the iſſue of Hereſie; *Sadoc* and *Bajethos* dividing themſelves from *Antigonus* their Maſter, revolted to the Temple in mount Garizim, where they became chiefe. Thus fableth Rabbi *Abraham*, belying himſelfe: For, if *Manaſſes* was High Prieſt there, as hee was by better warrant then the Rabbins, how came *Sadoc* and *Bajethos* chiefe? were both High

Prieſts? was it not ſucceſſive? how were they Prieſts in mount Garizim? beſide, they were chiefe in Jeruſalem, therefore not in Garizim: *Simon juſtus* the ſonne muſt become *Jaddus* the father, and of an High Prieſt a Maſter of a Schoole, as it were *Dionyſius* in Corinthus: In his Schoole, had hee beene a Rabbi, ſome of his Schollers might have ſucceeded him; but ſucceſſor in Prieſthood he could have none but his ſonne *Onias*, whom hee left a childe, for whom, untill hee came of age, his uncles, *Eleaſar*, and *Manaſſes* (after his death) did adminiſter the place. True it is, without all Rabbinicall relations, there had beene one *Zadoc* a Prieſt in Iſrael, who was indeed ἐκ πάνυ παλαιῦ, peradventure, moe of the ſame name; but certainly, one of very ancient ſtanding, a man of great, both name and place in his time, that is, in the dayes of *David* and *Salomon*; but hee was no Founder of any Sect: Nor, though the Sadduces were an ancient Sect, were they ſo ancient by many hundreds of yeeres as this *Zadoc*: of him for their Founder *Epiphanius* never did ſo much as dreame; but by their Founder meant *Doſitheus*: *Antignus, Boethus, Sadoc*, and ſuch mungrels were ſcarce whelped in *Epiphanius* his dayes; *Epiphanius* his booke is to be amended, and the Text to be corrected, as I have formerly ſet it downe, not as it is in the printed Copies, in the laſt Edition of the Jeſuite *Petavius*, who hath not anſwered his undertaking, nor our expectation for *Epiphanius*. This appeares clearly by this paſſage of *Tertullian*, *Taceo Judaïſmi hæreticos*, Doſitheum *Samaritanum, qui primus auſus eſt Prophetas, tanquam non in Spiritu ſancto loquentes, repudiare: Taceo Sadducæos, qui ex hujus erroris radice ſurgentes, auſi ſunt ad hanc hæreſin, etiam carnis reſurrectionem negare: I mention not the Jewiſh hereticks*, Doſitheus *the Samaritan, the firſt who preſumed to reject the Prophets, as not ſpeaking by the holy Ghoſt: I mention not the Sadduces, who ſpringing out from this erronious roote, were bold to add unto that hereſie, and deny the reſurrection of the fleſh.* So the Sadduces were a branch of the Samaritans for hereſie, though not for ſchiſme, *Doſithi* a Samaritan being their Patriarch: him they followed in rejecting the Prophets: but, as commonly Hereticks uſe to doe, they added to his hereſie, of their owne, That there was no holy Ghoſt, no Spirit at all; and therefore the Prophets did not, could not ſpeake in, or by the holy Ghoſt: ſecondly, they added, that therefore there could be no reſurrection; all which *Doſitheus* did beleeve. Whereupon *Epiphanius* truely ſaid it, ἐκ ἐνίστασαν τῇ τῶ ἀπ-ὰτε διδασκαλία. They held not themſelves to the doctrine of their Father, but ſuperadded of their owne. It is then a fooliſh Rabinicall fancie, and an error in *Baronius*, That the Sect of Sadduces had their name from any *Sadoc*.

Baronius his objection anſwered; & the caſe determined againſt him.

58 Nor is it to purpoſe which *Baronius* objecteth againſt the denomination of *Sedec*, that the Sadduces had leaſt cauſe of all men to thinke ſo of themſelves, or ſtile themſelves *juſt*. To which I anſwer; Firſt, his aſſertion is hiſtorically falſe: for *Joſephus* relates, that they were extreme, and rigorouſly juſt, unexorable againſt malefactors

factors for breach of the Law, themſelves rigorouſly ſtrict and preciſe in keeping the Law, exact in giving every man his due, which is civill juſtice; ſo that, at leaſt, ſeeming cauſe there was for that title. Secondly, It is a poor ſilly diſcourſe which proceeds thus; They were not juſt, therefore they did not eſteeme themſelves juſt, nor denominate themſelves from juſtice: Hereticks are hypocrites more or leſſe ever, ſeeming and pretending to be what they are not, and abuſing names thereby in their notions, which ſhould be, but are not ever *rerum notæ*. The moſt prodigious and moſt bruitiſh Sect of hereticks that ever were, the Gnoſtick, aſſumed that name (for a Gnoſtick is a knower) out of ſelfe conceit of ſtrange knowledge and illumination, wherewithall they tooke themſelves to bee endowed; which they challenged unto themſelves above others, who yet were grand ignorants, in palpable darkneſſe, if ever any were. The Novatians, old and new, the very Familiſts and Libertines of late growth have affected the name of *Cathari*, Puritans, Holy, Saints, Sanctified men; of whom *Salomon* fore-ſpake, *There is a generation righteous in their owne eyes, but never cleanſed from their impurity*. Jeſuits ſtile themſelves of *Jeſus*; as if they were his by appropriation, and had more intereſt in him then all the world beſide, as the report is, Pope *Sixtus* the fifth (who loved them not, and they had as little reſpect to him) told their Generall *Claudius Aquaviva*: but *Papyrius Maſſonus*, I am ſure, and he was no *Hugonote*, writes of them in the life of *Paul* the fourth; *Sibi ſoli videntur ſocietatem cum Jeſu contraxiſſe; in eo ſanè nimium ſapientes quod ſe putent, cælo, vel ipſi imperaturos*. The Turks have ever named themſelves, and doe at this day *Muſulmans*, in reſpect of that conceit which they have of their Religion, and *Mahomet* that Antichriſt to have been the true Prophet of God, and to have the beſt Religion under heaven, as a refining of both Judaiſme and Chriſtianity: Which having been ever the generall uſed practice of all hereticks and miſcreants, why might not the Sadduces think ſo well of themſelves, and their owne practiſed courſes of rigour and juſtice, as to ſtile themſelves therefore Juſticiaries, Sadduces of *Sedec*, Juſtice; that is, civilly, morally honeſt, good, well-dealing men, ready to give unto every man his deſert and due, which is juſtice? As for true Evangelicall juſtice before God, they had no intereſt therein, nor can any Chriſtian conceive them to be named thence. And ſo much for this Sect of Sadduces.

59 Another Sect of Jewiſh hereticks, ſaid by *Joſephus* to have been very ancient in the Jewiſh State & Synagogue, were the Eſſeni; Jewes by birth all of them, but ſchiſmaticks as well as hereticks, which the Scribes, Phariſees, Sadduces, and Herodians were not. There is no memoriall of them, ſaith *Baronius*, extant in holy Scripture, and hee ſaith true; and I add, nor ſo much as any inſinuation of them, or reference to them, which ſome have conceited by S. *Paul*: yet becauſe of that erronious opinion crept in amongſt ſome, and a more generally received opinion from *Euſebius*, that they were Chriſtian *Aſceta*, or Monks, Schollers

No mention of theſe in Scripture; nor were they Chriſtian Monks, Schollers to S. Mark at Alexandria, as 'tis cõmonly thought.

Schollers to Saint *Mark* at Alexandria, which is *communior opinio* in the Church of Rome, I will at large ſet downe the whole ſtate of that hereſie, that impious Pythagoreans, Jewiſh hereticks and ſchiſmaticks bee no longer taken, nor paſſe for the beſt of Chriſtian Profeſſors.

Ridiculous fancies, who the Eſſeni were.

60 The third Sect of Jewiſh hereticks remembred by *Joſephus* to have been of very great antiquity in the Synagogue, were the Eſſeni, or Eſſæi as *Philo* nameth them; whom others doe ridiculouſly and abſurdly entitle Jeſſæi, of *Jeſſe* the Father of *David*, as if *Jeſſe* had been the Founder of their Order, which would put upon them Antiquity to ſome purpoſe. *Genebrard* ſaith it, but proves it not, that they lived under, and before the Maccabees; long before them, at the Captivity; nay, long before the Captivity; becauſe, as ſome have fancied, they were thoſe Recabites of whom *Jeremy* ſpeaketh, inſtituted by *Jonadab* the ſonne of *Rechab*, of the Family of *Jethro*, who lived with *Jehu* King of Iſrael; Jewes they were originally of *Abraham*, by *Iſaac* and *Jacob* heires of the promiſes, Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν τὸ γένος ὄντες, in the teſtimony of *Joſephus*; and to him agreeth *Philo*, in his booke, Ὅτι πᾶς μὲν σπουδαῖος ἐλεύθερος, that *Every good and honeſt man is a freeman*; wherein, after inſtances given of and from the Perſian Magi, the Indian Gymnoſophiſtæ, hee inſiſteth upon the Jewiſh Aſcetæ, or rigid Sect of the Eſſæi or Eſſeni. Λέγονται τινες παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθνους Ἐσσαῖοι, πλήθει οὐ πεντακισχίλιοι: *Amongſt the Jewes there is a Sect the Eſſeni, in number above* 4000.

The evidence of *Philo* & *Joſephus* ſhould herein be preferred before all other roving opinions & conjectures.

61 The poſitive evidence of two ſo famous Writers, who enlarge about them, *Joſephus* and *Philo*, both Jewes originally, and Prieſts, both living much about one time, though *Philo*, ſomewhat elder, as a man of yeers when *Joſephus* was a youth, or a little childe; and writing both purpoſely concerning their life, their doctrine, their manners, their diſcipline, is to bee preferred before, to over-ſway and weigh downe all other roving opinions and conjectures, all forged fables concerning them, their being Rechabites, Nazarites, Samaritans, Chriſtian Monks, Aſcetæ, and Anachorites, ſo much famouſed in the Chriſtian Primitive times.

That neither the Eſſeni nor Jeſſæi could be Chriſtians.

62 Cardinall *Baronius* in his *Apparatus* concerning hereſies, ſects, and ſchiſmes amongſt the Jewes, propoſed to ſpeake of three ſeverall ſects then and there in being, which hee nameth Phariſees, Sadduces, and Eſſeni; of the former two hee writeth ſomewhat at large; but ſaith little or nothing of the third ſect, turning them, the Eſſeni, ſlightly out of his hands: This, in effect, is all hee ſaith of them, *Schiſmate, à cæteris omnibus diviſi ſunt*; They held no correſpondency with Phariſees, Sadduces, or other ſects, but were ſeparated from all: and more particularly, that they never ſacrificed at the Temple, never came thither to ſerve God there, as he had appointed, becauſe they had, as they thought and pretended, more holy, ſacred, divine, traditionary rites in their Aſſociations and Confraternities, then thoſe eſtabliſhed by God in his Law; better order, and wayes of piety

piety and devotion, then any tendered by *Moſes*, or practiſed by the Jewes: wherein they were worſe then Phariſees or Sadduces, who gave great reſpect to the Law, and legall Liturgies of the Law. But it is teſtified of them, that for life, manners, cuſtomes, diſcipline, converſation, they were all men of gravity, reverend carriage, and very much regarded for their deportment. Next that, for opinions and doctrine, they beleeved and taught as the Samaritans did; which is as much as to ſay, They did not worſhip God at Jeruſalem, nor yet in the Mount; they impiouſly denyed the Prophets, nor were their Hymnes therefore Pſalmes of *David*, but Songs and Ballads of their owne making; they beleeved no ſpirits, no life eternall, nor reſurrection from the dead, no judgement to come, nor reward of good or bad: This is all that *Baronius* briefely obſerveth concerning them in his *Apparatus*; but his purpoſe was to bring them into play againe for Chriſtian Anachorites afterwards, and more largely to dilate; which he hath done *ad annum* 64. but yet forgetting his promiſe, (for he talks not of the Eſſeni, who were promiſed) he falleth in with the Jeſſæi, ſtrangers from his purpoſe, from the Jewes; by him named Jeſſæi, made Chriſtians, not ordinary, but the beſt and moſt refined Chriſtians, Monks and Aſcetæ; whereas the Eſſeni were publickly knowne and talked of in the world before that Chriſt was borne in the world: beſide, they could not bee *in cenſu* of Chriſtians, who maintained ſuch high, hereticall opinions againſt Chriſtian Profeſſion, as by *Philo* and *Joſephus* are faſtned upon them, by whom wee are fully informed of thoſe Eſſenian hereticks, not remembred at all in Scripture. Out of thoſe two Authors I repreſent a view of them, becauſe they are ſo much miſtaken by *Euſebius*, *Epiphanius*, and others.

63 *Joſephus*, in the 18. Book of his *Antiquities*, Chap. 2. but more fully in the ſecond of the *Jewiſh warres*, Chap. 12. thus reporteth at large concerning them. *When* Coponius *was Preſident in Judea, a certaine Galilean named* Judas, (hee was the ſame man who is remembred by *Gamaliel* in the Hiſtory of the *Acts*,) *drew away his Countrimen, the Galileans, into actuall and open rebellion, pretending, that it was a baſe thing, and unbefitting their Nation, to pay tribute to the Romans, or to acknowledge any other Lord over them, but God alone. This fellow was the Founder of a ſect by himſelfe, not compounding with any other ſect amongſt the Jewes, which then were three, all ſeverall, and divided one from the other in their doctrinall concluſions. The firſt ſect of theſe three were Phariſees, the ſecond Sadduces, the third were named Eſſeni, a ſort of men, who eſpecially affected gravity, ſtayednesſe, ſobrietie, and ſowre carriage. Theſe Eſſeni were all Jewes by birth, men, kinde and loving, not alone to one another, but to all men in generall, much more then the Phariſees or Sadduces were. They abhorred and deteſted, as profane lewdneſſe, all and every kind of voluptuous pleaſure and delight. Abſtinence, continence, maſtering of affections, they eſteemed a point of ſingular vertue. Unto marriage themſelves had no diſpoſition,* but

The Eſſens character for their morals.

but yet diſgraced it not; other mens children being yet young, tender, and formeable, they tooke and brought up as their owne kinſmen, and as of their blood, inuring them betimes unto the rule, habit, and order of their Profeſsion; not becauſe they condemned marriage ſimply, or conſidered in it ſelfe, or the propagation of children in and by marriage: but becauſe they could not comply with the ordinary, laſcivious, and wanton diſpoſition of moſt women; but had their honeſty and their loyalty ever in ſuſpicion, who uſed not to keepe themſelves according to promiſe to one man their husband. For getting of wealth, and growing rich, they had nor diſpoſition nor care; all things amongſt them were in a ſtrange ſort common, no man injoyed any thing to himſelfe in private; and when any man did profeſſe himſelfe of their Order, hee gave all that hee had unto the Companie. Amongſt them, no man for poverty was the leſſe eſteemed, nor any man better accounted of for riches; but all living joyntly as brethren in a Family, every man accounted that to be his own peculiar, which in common was poſſeſſed by all.

Their habit, carriage, and manner of deportment.

64 They accounted it a blemiſh to annoyl or beſmear their bodies with oyle, and held him polluted who had been ſo begreaſed, though againſt his will. With them it was a grace or commendable faſhion to bee unkemb'd and undreſſed; and yet they continually went clad in white garments. Overſeers of the common ſtock, to be as Stewards amongſt them, were appointed by election: theſe were indifferently to ſupply the neceſſities and needs of the whole ſocietie. Their reſidence was not in any eſpecially choſen Citie; but diſperſed they were here and there in ſeverall Townes. If any of the Fraternity had occaſion to travell, hee tooke no care to purveigh for his journey, for they might as freely have acceſſe into any mans houſe of the Order, as into their owne, though the traveller never ſaw the man nor his houſe before: They travelled with weapons but for their owne defence, againſt theeves and outlawes. In every Citie of reſidence there was a Preſident of the Order, a man of quality; his Office was to provide and take care for ſtrangers, to provide apparell and other needments for them. Their cariage, habit, manner of deportment reſembled Schoole-boyes under the rod in their Maſters preſence. They never changed ſhooes, ſhirts, apparell, ſo long as the old laſted, or would hang upon them. They neither bought nor ſold with money, but altogether by exchange of commodities. For that which one hath, hee gives his fellow, and ſupplies himſelfe from him againe, of what hee wanteth: and though he can give nothing in exchange, yet he may take what his fellow hath, and himſelfe ſtands in need of for his preſent uſe.

Their ſingular piety, hoſpitality, and exact honeſty upon word or promiſe.

65 In point of piety to God-ward they are ſingular: before the Sun riſeth, no ordinary ſpeech comes out of their mouthes concerning any worldly buſineſſe; but they make certaine prayers, wherein, in a ſort, they beſeech the Sun to ariſe; the Sun being riſen, they are by their Governors and Overſeers ſet every one unto his particular trade and occupation, at which they continue conſtantly working the ſpace of

of five houres; then doe they meet all together in one common place or Hall; when, after they have waſhed themſelves all over in cold water, they put on their white garments, and ſo depart each man unto his private cell, whereinto no man can enter who is not of the ſect, but of a contrary profeſſion; from whence, being ſufficiently, as they ſuppoſe, purified and cleanſed, they meet in the Refectory, or in ſome hallowed place, where being ſet in Order, the Panterer ſets bread before them, and the Cook brings to every one his diſh of meat by himſelfe: but before they taſte either bread or drinke, the Prieſt bleſſeth the boord, before which time it is not lawfull for them to touch any thing, or to taſte bread or drinke; and after meales he ſaith grace againe: thus conſtantly they uſe before and after meales to pray to God, and praiſe him as giver and provider of food for mans ſuſtentation. Grace being ſaid, they put off, and lay aſide their white hallowed garments, and returne againe to worke untill the evening. At night they come to Supper in the ſelfe ſame faſhion, and bring home with them all the ſtrangers they meet with of their ſect: Amongſt them there is no noyſe or tumult made: talke and diſcourſe they doe in turnes, themſelves and thoſe ſtrangers whom they bring home and entertaine; there is otherwiſe a kinde of awfull ſilence held amongſt them, ſuch as is uſed at the myſteries, to which they are the better diſpoſed through their great abſtinence, and moderate uſe of meats and drinks. In all things they ſubmit, and ſubject themſelves to the command of their Overſeers: but two things there are, in which they need nor Commander nor yet Overſeer, mercifulneſſe unto, and mutuall helpe of one the other. Of themſelves they may give reliefe to ſuch as aske it, if they deſerve to be relieved with bread and drinke: but without the conſent and privity of their Overſeers, they may not give any thing to their kindred. Anger and choler they bridle and keep in. Faith and promiſe made they held inviolable. By all means they ſought, and procured what they could, peace amongſt men. Whatſoever they avow upon their bare word, is of greater credit then other mens oathes. They are forbidden to take an oath at all, and hold it worſe to ſweare then to be forſworne: for, ſay they, it is a ſigne he is a forlorne man, who cannot be beleeved, unleſſe hee call God to record and witneſſe of his word.

66 They are exceedingly addicted to ancient books and writings, eſpecially thoſe that concerne or teach the good of ſoule or body, ſuch as inſtruct them in the knowledge of roots, herbs, and ſtones; ſuch as ſerve for curing of maladies or diſeaſes. If a man be deſirous to enter their Order, they will not ſtraight admit him, but make him ſtay, and ſtand without in expectance a whole yeere, which is the yeere of his probation: in the interim, they give him (as the cognizance of his Order) the *ſpade*, the *girdle*, the *white garment*. In that his yeere of tryall, if hee bee approved for continency, hee is admitted of the Order into commons, and is communicated with purer water for his cleanſing then ordinary, but is not taken abſolutely into the

The cognizance of their Order; and the ſolemnitie wherewith all novices are admitted into it.

the ſociety, for which hee muſt expect two yeers moe before hee can be admitted abſolutely; after which time expired, having ſufficiently approved himſelfe, he is admitted. Before which his ſolemne admittance into the ſocietie, hee takes a ſolemne oath which is bound with fearfull execrations, Firſt, To love and ſerve God truely, above all: Secondly, to live juſtly and uprightly with men, to hurt no man voluntarily, or upon command, to hate injuſtice, to aſſiſt righteouſneſſe, to be faithfull to all, but eſpecially to men in authority, becauſe no man, as they hold, is put in authority, but by God; and if himſelfe be put in any place of authority, not to uſe it to the hurt or dammage of any; and then alſo, not to magnifie or carry himſelfe for apparell or uſage above ſuch as be under him; to love, and to bee a favourer of truth, to reprove all that give themſelves to lying, to keepe their hands from ſtealing, to preſerve their ſoules cleane from unrighteous gaine and getting; not to conceale any thing from the Sect, nor to reveale to others the ſecrets of the Sect, though it coſt him the hazzard and danger of his life. And further, the Probationer at his admittance took his oath not to teach or deliver the doctrine of the Order otherwiſe then himſelfe had learned it of his Predeceſſors; to preſerve the writings, books, monuments, and records of the Order, and to keepe in memory the names of Angels. Theſe are the ſeverall parts of that Oath which Novices, to be admitted into the ſociety, doe take. From which ſociety they eject whoſoever by miſdemeanour afterwards deſerves it; and the party ſo excommunicated dieth, for the moſt part, a miſerable death: for being, as hee is, ſo bound with the oath of his admittance, hee muſt not be entertained or relieved by any, and ſo becomes ſtarved and affamiſhed in pitifull ſort, having nothing to feed on but raw herbs, roots, and graſſe: from conſideration of this wretched ſtate and caſe of the ejected, they doe often receive againe into communion, at length, ſuch as have beene caſt out.

Their exact rigour in point of judicature; and extreme obſervance of the Sabbath.

67 In point of Judicature they were exact, and rigorouſly juſt; not fewer then 100. did aſſiſt in judgement: Sentence judicially by them given, was not to bee traverſed or reverſed by appeale. Next unto the name of God, they had the name of the Law-giver, *Moſes*, in ſpeciall account; it was death for any man to blaſpheme this name. They held it an honour to doe that which the eldeſt, or major part did bid or command to be done. If ten of them met, or ſate together, not one of them will ſpeak without licence from the other nine. They will not ſpit forward, or upon the right ſide, by any meanes. More exact and preciſe obſervers of the Sabbath they were then any other Jewiſh ſect: Upon the Sabbath they will kindle no fire, dreſſe no meat, but provide their victuals for the Sabbath day upon the day before; upon the Sabbath they will not ſo much as move a ſtoole, or eaſe nature; upon other dayes, when they are to doe this neceſſary buſineſſe, their faſhion is to dig a hole with a ſpade (the inſtrument given them when they firſt became Probationers to the Order) a foot deep

deep at leaſt, and at ſitting downe, they cover their feet with their garments, that the Sun may not ſhine upon their ordure; having eaſed themſelves, they cover it with earth; and ſo much they doe in the moſt remote and ſolitary places which they can finde out: and howſoever theſe naturall courſes are indiſpenſable, yet their cuſtome is to waſh themſelves after, as if thereby they were defiled.

68 In time of their exerciſe, or more reſerved ſcleragogie, they divide themſelves into foure companies; but the younger ſort herein are ſo much undervalued to and by the elder, that if any novice doe but touch any one of the elder ones, hee ſo touched preſently waſhes, as though hee had beene polluted by a ſtranger. They live long, the moſt of them above 100. yeeres; which, in my opinion, comes from their good order and ſingle fare. Miſery they feare not, nor account of any: Paine and torment they overcome with courage; death with renowne they equall with immortality. In the Roman Warres their patience was put to the utmoſt tryall, being tortured, racked, burned, broken upon the wheele, to cauſe them to blaſpheme *Moſes*, or eate forbidden meats: they were never obſerved to ſhrink at torments, to fawne upon their tormentors, to weep; but with ſmiling countenances, as it were in ſcorne and diſdaine of torments, they gave up the ghoſt in hope and aſſurance to rejoice them again; for, it is a conſtantly received opinion amongſt them, that the body indeed is corruptible, the ſubſtance thereof decaying; but they hold the ſoule immortall, abiding for ever; Which iſſuing, as they conceive, from the higheſt and pureſt aire, and thence tranſmitted into man, in the world beneath, doth adhere and unite it ſelfe to the body, from whence, by death being unfettered and let looſe, as from a long ſervitude and impriſonment, it is very joyfull thereof, and flyeth upward againe, to the place from whence at firſt it came: Good mens ſoules, as they have been taught, and did beleeve, (in which point they agree with the Grecian Poets) goe into a place appointed for them, ſituated for them beyond the Ocean, where is no raine, nor ſnow, nor winde, nor heate, but a moſt ſweet, gentle, pleaſing diſpoſition of the aire, continued all the yeere, continually breathed on and through with the ſweet Weſterne winde. Wicked mens ſoules they thruſt and impriſon in a darkſome roome below, where torments unceſſant doe attend them.. And hee adds, that there bee of this ſort *ſome*, who make ſhew and pretence of having Propheticall inſpirations; they ſpend all their time in reading the Prophets, continually converſing with their books; they uſe many and diverſe kinds of cleanſings, very ſeldome doe they miſtake or miſcarry in their predictions. And yet hee adds further; There is a ſecond ſort of Eſſens, differing in nothing from the former, but that they are married. They are of opinion, that ſole ſingle life is greatly prejudiciall to mankinde, and the continued ſubſiſting of it: which kinde of life, if all did enſue, mankinde would faile; therefore marry theſe doe for propagation ſake; and when they know certainely their wives bee

Their admirable patience in paine or torment, ariſing from their beliefe of the ſouls immortality. Of another ſort of them, differing from the former, in that they marry.

bee with childe, they abſtaine from further carnall copulation with them.

The ſum of all *Joſephus* his diſcourſe of them.

69 Thus much at large diſcourſeth *Joſephus* concerning the Eſſeni, in which he conſidereth them *three wayes*; Firſt, as *Probationers*, not admitted into the Order. Secondly, as *taken in*, and admitted upon probation into Commons. Thirdly, as thence *ejected* by *excommunication* Generally, as hee relateth of their life and religion, what they practiſed, and what they beleeved, they are farre enough from being Chriſtians; being Atheiſts, Pagans, Pythagoreans, ſuperſtitious Scleragogiſts, who tooke great paines to goe to hell; and by wilfull miſery in this world, did make themſelves miſerable everlaſtingly in the world to come.

Philo his narration of the ſame Sect.

70 *Philo* the Heleniſt, a learned Jew of Alexandria, elder then *Joſephus*, and before him of great fame and renowne in the dayes of *Caligula*, and of *Claudius Cæſar*, remembreth theſe Eſſæi, as hee ſtiles them, by him divided into *two houſes*; the one more rigid and auſtere in their profeſſion, the other more affable and civilized: which diſtinction, in effect, *Joſephus* alſo propoſeth. The one ſect hee names Theoriques, or Contemplators, reſembling ſomewhat the Chriſtian Anachorites or Recluſes. The ſecond ſort Practicks, like to the Cænobitæ, who lived not ſingle, or ſolitary and alone; but as in Collegiate Societies; and of both hee hath written in two ſeverall books; the more civilized and practick Eſſees hee deſcribeth in that booke which is intituled Πάντα σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐλεύθερον, *Every good & honeſt man is only a Free man.* Of the more rigid ones he intreats, περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ *of Contemplative life*: wherein, as our Roman Catholick Doctors conceive, he deſcribes the manners and converſation of ancient Chriſtian Aſcetæ, Monks, and Anachorites. So the Maſter of Controverſies, *Lib. 2. de Monachis, cap. 5.* So the Maſter of Hiſtory, *Gretſer*, *Serarius*, *Salianus*, all or moſt of them of that confeſſion; who, becauſe they eſpecially follow *Euſebius*, and he buildeth upon *Philo*, as I have done for *Joſephus*, ſo muſt I doe for *Philo*, relate his narration in his owne words; which are theſe:

Their habitation, employment, care of peace, ſtate of life.

71 Nor bee Paleſtina and Syria abandoned altogether by ſuch honeſt profeſſors and their goodneſſe; that part thereof eſpecially which is inhabited by Jewes, a populous Nation. It is ſaid, there be amongſt them certaine men named Eſſæi, about 4000. as I gheſſe, for certainely I know not, the name accruing unto them from holineſſe, for ſo Eſſæi ſignifieth, being rendered in the Greek tongue. Theſe are eſpecially to be ranked amongſt them that feare God: Sacrifice of beaſts they offer none, but endeavour to ſanctifie themſelves, their ſoules and mindes unto divine ſervice. Firſt, their dwelling is abroad in Fraternities and Companies, in ſmall Villages and Hamlets, ſhunning populous Cities for the lewdneſſe of ſuch as inhabit them: for well they wot, that as the ſpirits of men by polluted aire, ſo the ſoule is alſo infected by ill company. They imploy themſelves eſpecially in tillage; they learne and uſe ſuch trades as ſerve for

for maintenance of life in a peacefull ſtate, to the benefit of themſelves, and ſuch as hold commerce with them. Gold and ſilver they hoord not up, nor endeavour to enrich themſelves by large poſſeſſions; it ſufficeth them to have wherewithall to live. There is not to bee found amongſt them any Cutler or Armorer to make darts, javelins, ſwords, bucklers, helmets, or any other weapon or engine for warres, or any inſtrument that may prove hurtfull or miſchievous in peace. They doe not ſo much as dreame of merchandize, ſelling of wines, victuals, ſayling, or the like. There is no ſervant amongſt them, all are alike free-men, helping one the other, miniſtring unto and ſerving one the other: ſuperiority they deteſt, and endure not maſters, counting them unjuſt, profane, unholy, impious, and enemies unto Nature, who is a Mother alike to all, bringeth forth all in eſtate of brothers and ſiſters, without diſparagement of ſubjection; which naturall affinity and kindred, covetouſneſſe (they ſay) growing great, aboliſheth, making them ſtrangers who are of our blood, and thoſe to hate us who were borne of our friends.

72 Concerning kinds of Philoſophy, thus they ſtand affected; Logick they utterly relinquiſh to ſuch as cavill upon words; Naturall Philoſophie, and the points thereof, except ſo much as concerneth God, and the originall of things in nature, they leave to be debated by men that have idle time enough to ſpare for diſcourſe thereupon: but about Ethicks, or morall Philoſophy, they are much converſant, uſing therein the direction and guidance of their Country Lawes, which never could have come from the braine of man without divine inſpiration. Herein they inſtruct men at any time indifferently, but eſpecially upon the ſeventh day, that is a holy day of ſpeciall account, upon which day they deſiſt from all other labours, and reſt, repairing unto thoſe ſacred houſes which they call Synagogues. In order they come thither, the younger going before, and ſitting under the elder; here one of them takes the booke and reads, and when he hath done reading, another, being one of the moſt skilfull amongſt them, doth interpret that which hee hath ſo read: Their manner of expounding is by parables, as was accuſtomed anciently. They are inſtructed in holy life, in juſtice, how to order a Family, how to carry themſelves towards others in ordinary converſation; to diſcerne truth from falſhood, wrong from right, to make choice of the one, and to refuſe the other. In which courſe they are directed by three rules; The Law of God, The love of vertue, And Charity towards men. Many remonſtrances they make of their love to God; as for inſtance, their unaltered courſe of chaſtity, conſtancy, ſanctity, continency; that they will not ſweare nor lye; that they aſcribe the cauſe of all good unto God, teaching, that hee is not cauſe of evill. Their love to vertue appeares, becauſe they are not covetous nor ambitious; not given to pleaſure, but patient and conſtant in adverſity, wanting little, content with any thing; plaine, ſimple, gentle, affable in their carriage, through reverent regard which they have unto the Law,

Their Ethicks. Their religious repair unto the Synagogues. Their vertuous cours of life; and adminiſtring their families.

Law. Of love unto their neighbours theſe are eſpeciall ſignes, their good will, affection, equality towards all; that they hold nothing in private but in common, whereof it is not amiſſe to ſay ſomewhat more.

Of the ſtrange cõmunity that was obſerved amongſt them.

73 Firſt then, no mans houſe is reſervedly his owne, but that all of the ſect have intereſt therein; and when forreiners come into any place, they uſe the houſes of the Society as their owne: a common treaſury ſerveth all, hence they have their ſupply of apparell and victuals; whatſoever they earne by their daily labour, is not by them purſed up to their private uſe, but is brought into that common ſtock; ſuch as fall ſick bee not neglected for want of meanes to defray the charge, but are provided for at the common purſe. The elder in age are reſpected and reverenced by the younger in yeeres, who carry themſelves towards the elder, as children to their parents, obeying them, providing for them, maintaining of them in their age; ſuch champions are they for vertue and goodneſſe, not ambitiouſly affecting or hunting after ſuch goodly titles as be uſed by the Grecians. Thus much *Philo* concerning the Practicall Eſſens, men of action in the world; which directly inferrs, they could not be Chriſtians. About the Theoreticall ones, who are eſpecially inſiſted on by the Opinioniſts, thus he writes.

Their diſpoſition, and their devotions.

74 Their diſpoſition is noted by their name; they are called Therapeutæ and Therapeutides, as profeſſing to doe cures, and heale diſeaſes, not ſuch as commonly afflict mens bodies, but thoſe that trouble the ſoule: Or elſe, becauſe they honour and ſerve, as both nature and divine Law teacheth them, that tranſcendent Eſſence, the beſt of all good, not mixt with any thing, but as ſimple as unity can bee. They regard not images, ſtocks, ſtones, or Pagan Deities, or any thing in heaven or earth. In affection unto, and deſire of an eternall life, they are content to put over their wealth and poſſeſſion unto their friends, kinsfolks, ſons and daughters, and to aſſociate to themſelves other children, friends and kindred. They goe not from one Citie to dwell in another, but their aboad is far off from populous places, in gardens, groves, ſolitary places; not becauſe they hate the ſociety of men, but becauſe they would not be defiled with the wickedneſſe of men: and this ſort of Eſſees is not contained within the precincts of one Countrey, but diffuſed farr and wide over all the earth, eſpecially Egypt is full of them; in every Diviſion they abound, but moſt of all about Alexandria. From all places the principall of them, of greateſt worth and perfection, retire themſelves into a place above the Lake Meroe, excellently well ſeated both for wholeſomeneſſe of aire, and ſafe conveniency of abiding: their cottages here bee very homely built, ſerving onely to keep them from the ſcorching heat of the ſun, and winters cold; not cloſe compacted, as houſes in a Citie, nor yet at ſuch diſtance as might prove prejudiciall to their meetings, or joint aſſiſtance againſt theeves or robbers. Every one hath his holy houſe called *Semneum* or *Monaſterium*, in which ſeverally by themſelves

ſelves alone, they performe and execute the myſticall rites and ceremonies of their profeſſion. Into theſe they bring nor meat nor drink, nor any corporall proviſion or neceſſaries; but the books of the Law, Propheticall Hymnes, Oracles, and ſuch like, tending to piety and divine knowledge.

How in holy exercises they spend the day.

75 God they have evermore in their mindes, ſo farr, that they ſeeme to dreame of nothing but God. Twice every day they uſually meet at Prayer, in the morning, and at evening; at Sun riſing they pray for the true bleſſing of that day, that is, to bee replenished with the light of heaven: at Sun-ſetting their prayer is, that their ſoules, being disburdened of all worldly and carnall thoughts, may in the inmoſt cloſets thereof ſeek, and finde out very truth. The reſt of the day they ſpend in holy exercises, ſtudying the Scriptures, which they expound allegorically, after the tradition of their Elders; for under the plaine and litterall ſenſe, lie hidden, as they ſuppoſe, deep myſticall meanings; and herein they are directed by the writings of ancient Authors, who living and dying in that profeſſion, have left their works behinde them for direction; nor onely doe they ſpend their time in this contemplation, but in ſinging Pſalmes and Hymnes of all ſorts of verſe and meeter to the praiſe of God, in grave and ſeemely faſhion.

Their poſture in hearing of Lectures. Their Commons &c.

76 Six dayes they continue in their private ſolitary cells, and oratories by themſelves alone, not going out of doores, nor ſo much as looking abroad: upon the ſeventh day they meet in a publick ſolemne Aſſemblie, and there compoſe themſelves decently, according as they are in ſtanding, hearing what is read by the eldeſt and moſt skilful amongſt them: Their poſture is thus; the right hand they thruſt into their boſome, the left is pendant unto their thighs; the reader expounds it with a grave ſetled countenance, a diſtinct and audible voice; the hearers hearken with attention yeelding approbation in ſilence, by moving the head, eyes, or the like ſigne. This Church or *Semnæum* where they meet upon the ſeventh day hath a partition for men and women, for women are auditors as well as men, and with like affection and attention. Betwixt theſe roomes the partition riſeth up from the floore about foure cubits, the reſt is open to the top, both may well heare the reader and expounder, but not come at each other. They nor eat nor drinke till Sun-ſet, as holding fit to ſpend the day in religious exerciſes, and the night for bodily proviſion. So addicted are they to ſtudy and contemplation, that ſome of them ſcarce eate and drink in three dayes, others ſcarce in ſixe; but ever upon the ſeventh day they refreſh themſelves with both. Dainties they have none, browne bread and ſalt is their ordinary food, and herbs if they will exceed; ſpring water is their onely drink; ſo doe they ſerve two imperious dames, Hunger and Thirſt. Their apparell is poore and ſimple, onely to keepe off cold and heate: a mantle of cotton in the Winter, a ſurpliſe or vaile of linnen in Summer is all they uſe.

The order and faſhion of their meals & diet.

77 In their publick ſolemne meetings and feſtivities they differ much from the common courſe; ſet times for them they have, every ſeventh Sabbath, or at 50. dayes end, at warning given by one whom they call *Ephemerenter* or *Quotidiarian* they all meet together who be of a Colledge or combination; and before they ſit downe to meales, ſtanding in decent order according to their degrees or ſeniorities, with eyes and hands caſt up to heaven, they pray God to bleſſe that their feaſt and meeting: after grace ſaid, the eldeſt in ſtanding, not in yeers, ſits downe firſt, then the reſt in their turnes and courſes; women ſit downe with them, virgins all, or aged widowes; virgins they are not by compulſion, as ſome Prieſts of the Pagans are perpetuall virgins againſt their wils, but voluntary virgins, out of love and deſire to attaine heavenly wiſdome: The men ſit upon the right ſide of the Hall by themſelves, and women on the left ſide by themſelves; ſervants they have none to attend, for they hold ſervitude againſt nature; All men came at firſt into the world alike, till covetouſneſſe and injuſtice brought in a difference and diſparity. The waiters are all free men, who willingly proffer attendance at ſuch feaſts; but yet every one that is willing may not waite; choice is made of the principall out of the younger ones: their waiters are clad in long looſe garments to diſtinguiſh them from ſervants. They drinke no wine here, but the pureſt water can be gotten; moſt drink it cold, Ancients for delicacie have it warmed; Fleſh they eat not, only bread, ſalt and herbs: Wine they hold poyſon, making men mad; fleſh an incitement unto luſt.

Their Table-talk; and their ſacred vigil after ſupper, till the next morning.

78 Sit downe they doe with ſilence, not a word ſpoken, nor ſigh fetched. A queſtion is propoſed out of Scripture; the Anſwerer is not ſollicitous what to ſay, for he affects not commendation of wit or learning, onely his care is to underſtand the queſtion, and is ready to impart what he knowes to others, who are deſirous to learne, and ſo attentive; The auditors by ſignes ſignifie their approbation, or diſſent. Their whole diſcourſe is allegoricall; for as they opine, the Law is like a man; the litterall ſenſe reſembles the body, the myſticall is like the ſoule: the Preſident determines when enough is ſaid, and whether the queſtion be fully anſwered; then the auditory applauding with a joynt noyſe, he begins a Pſalme in praiſe of God, either of his owne compoſing, or made by ſome of the ancient Prophets: at the laſt cloze, all, men and women, ſtraine up their voices as loud as they can: The Pſalme being ended, the youngeſt of the waiters bring in the Table, as hath been ſaid, furniſhed with browne bread leavened, ſalt and herbs chopped and mingled. After this Supper ended followes a ſacred wake or vigill, kept in this manner; Riſing from the Table in that roome where they ſupped, they ſort themſelves into two companies, one of men, the other of women; the graveſt and beſt voyced of the company is choſen Chaunter; he begins Pſalmes to Gods honour, in ſundry kinds of verſe and meeter, ſometime they ſing in Chorus, ſometimes alone, one anſwering another, with comely geſture, decent

decent accents, and cadences; one time ſtanding ſtill, another time pacing forward, againe retyring, as the ditty requireth. At laſt, both companies joyne in the cloze, as Iſrael did at the red ſea, when *Moſes* led the men, and *Mariam* the Propheteſſe the women. Thus they revell it all night, till morning; then turning their faces towards the Eaſt, as ſoone as they perceive the Sun riſing, they lift their hands to heaven, and pray to God to ſend them a happy day, clearly to diſcern what is truth: this prayer ended, they break up the aſſembly, every man returning home to his cell, to his exerciſe of meditation and huſbandry.

79 Thus farr *Philo* concerning the ſecond ſort of Eſſens, called *Therapeutæ*, which, in the opinion of our great Maſters of the Roman Confeſſion were no other then Chriſtian Monks, Aſcetæ and Anachorets, which conceit they endeavour to prove by two ſorts of Arguments; Reaſons and Authoritie, or Teſtimonie of ſuch Ancients as ſo eſteemed of them: of their Reaſons afterwards; firſt of the Teſtimonies which they inſiſt upon.

The Romaniſts would have theſe Eſſens to have been Chriſtian Monks, or Anachorets; & they prove it by Authorities and Reaſons.

80 Their principall witneſſe, whoſe authoritie they do chiefly relie upon, is *Euſebius*, who lived both before and under *Conſtantine* the *Firſt*, and died Biſhop of Cæſarea in Paleſtine, about 369 after Chriſt. To which we anſwer; Wee grant, *Euſebius* underſtood *Philo* in that ſenſe, that hee therein intended the ancient Chriſtian Egyptian Monks, for ſo are his words, *Hiſt.* 2. 16. Philo *being very well thereof aſcertained, wrote concerning the Aſcetæ, who were of our religion, moſt exactly, that which he ſaw and knew; commending, and highly magnifying thoſe Apoſtolicall men who lived in his time, Jewes originally, and by birth, and therefore addicted ſomewhat to Legall and Jewiſh rites and cuſtomes:* and againe in the end of the Chapter; Οτι δὴ τὸς πρώτους πάτρας, τῆς κ᾽ τὸ ἐυαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας, τά τε ἀρχῆθεν ὡς ἐκ τῶν Αποστόλων ἔθη παραδεδομένα, καλαβὼν ὁ Φίλων, ταῦτα γέγραφε παντί τε δῆλον· *It is apparantly evident to any man, that* Philo *wrote thus of the firſt Patriarchs of the doctrine of the Goſpel, and repreſents in them the diſcipline and doctrine of the Apoſtles.* Euſebius his teſtimony firſt alledged.

81 To which I anſwer directly, It is one of the moſt extravagant, ridiculous and abſurd paradoxes that *Euſebius* ever delivered in Story; and, as *Baronius*, at leaſt, chargeth him, he hath many. It is a very meere idle fancie of his owne braine, taken up by himſelfe, from himſelfe without warrant, conſent, or exemplary precedent of any ancient Writer before him. Hee citeth not *Tatianus*, *Egeſippus*, *Clemens*, *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, nor any other whom he commonly voucheth in point of Story for matter of elder times then thoſe wherein hee lived. And certainely, thoſe Ancients being of ſo eminent learning, being ſo diligent, curious, and exact as they were, having alſo good occaſion offered, as they had in their writings unto, and againſt Pagans, both Pareneticall and alſo Apologeticall, would never have ſo regardleſſely omitted the practice of men ſo famous, ſo ſtrange and unuſuall, ſo admirably exemplary in courſe of Piety and Religion, Which is anſwered double.

being ſo materiall, and ſo much conducing to the cõmendation of that profeſſion which they defended, the yongeſt of them being 100 yeers elder then *Euſebius*, and the eldeſt of them yonger then *Philo* the Reporter. *Clemens* eſpecially, and *Origen*, being both natives or inquilines of Alexandria, where eſpecially, as *Philo* ſaith, theſe Eſſeni, or imagined Chriſtian Aſcetæ did converſe: they were neerer neighbours both for country and time to the place where theſe Eſſeni abode; ſome of them being that country-men born; and to the times in which they lived, as being of the eldeſt Writers amongſt Primitive Chriſtians, which might affoord them better meanes to know their converſation. And doubtleſſe they, as well as *Euſebius*, had read *Philo*, underſtood him as well as *Euſebius* did or could. Secondly, I anſwer, that *Baronius* hath ſo often, ſo eagerly, with ſuch bitterneſſe of ſtile, and virulency of ſpirit enveighed againſt it, traduced, and undervalued the credit and authority of *Euſebius*, and his Hiſtory, that he cannot juſtly, or with any good face ſet up his reſt for an aſſertion ſo improbable and inconſequent, upon the bare word and credit of *Euſebius*, having not any of thoſe learned Ancients who lived before him concurring in opinion with him, eſpecially there being ſo many incompoſſibilities, as we ſhall ſee anon, *in proceſſu*, unto Pietie and Religion, in the very narration of *Euſebius*; whom *Baronius* ſtileth *Temporum everſorem, calumniatorem malitioſum, profuſum adulatorem*, and the like good Epithites, not without good cauſe, I grant; for the moſt part are true.

S. *Jerom* his authority next: And that anſwered alſo.

82 *Hierome* is called upon to ſecond *Euſebius*; who in briefe, as is ſuppoſed, ſaith that which *Euſebius* did at large. *Baronius* ſaith, he followed *Euſebius* punctually, ſtep by ſtep: which if it bee ſo, then are *Euſebius* and *Hierome* to bee accounted and ſtand for but one witneſſe, and ſo ſhould not bee cited for two ſeverall Teſtimonies; the rather, becauſe, if in that ſort he followed *Euſebius*, hee took it up on the credit of *Euſebius*, without examination whether it would hold or not: being well enough contented ſo to doe, out of that affection, great love, and reſpect which hee carried to Monks and Monaſticall profeſſion. But whatſoever hee did once in following *Euſebius*, certaine it is, hee was not conſtant in following him, and his opinion concerning thoſe Eſſeni: for *in Regula Monachorum*, as the Title is, Joſephus (ſaith hee) *in the ſecond booke of Jewiſh Warres, and in the 18. of his Antiq. relateth thoſe dogmaticall Sects which were ſometime amongſt the Jewes; namely, Phariſees, Sadduces, and Eſſeni: The laſt of theſe three hee exceedingly commendeth, as men who perpetually abſtained from company of women, from wine, from fleſh, who by their daily faſting made abſtinence unto them a ſecond nature: Concerning whoſe life and converſation* Philo *wrote a booke* So that in his opinion *Philo* and *Joſephus* both meant and did write of the ſame men. Now thoſe of whom *Joſephus* writeth were in his owne profeſſion Jewiſh Sectaries, not Chriſtian Proſelites. How then can it be conceived, according to this opinion of Hierome, that *Philo* in *Heromes* opinion meant of

of Christian Monks and Ascetæ, unlesse the Pharisees and Sadduces were also Christians. And if that book entituled *Regula Monachorum* bee excepted against, as a counterfeit, and none of *Hieroms*, as indeed it is not; yet is the Epistle *ad Eustochium* unquestionably *Hieromes* owne: and in that Epistle we have the Essens of *Philo* and *Josephus* compared with Christian Ascetæ, but not said to bee the same with them, *Tales* Philo Platonici *sermonis imitator, tales* Josephus, *Græcus* Livius *in secundam Judaicæ captivitatis Historiam Essenos refert:* In which words, in expresse termes, hee nameth the remembred, both by *Philo* and *Josephus*, *tales*, therefore assuredly they are not *iidem*; for *talis* will not goe beyond a similitude and conformity, and we know that *Nullum simile est idem:* if it be but *simile* to another, it cannot be *idem* with that other. The relation which *Hierome* there maketh hereabout is this ensuing.

83 *There bee in Egypt three sorts of Monks; the first are Cœnobitæ, living together in common, whom in the Egyptian tongue they call* Sauses. *The second Sect Anachoretæ, retired Recluses, as the name imports. The third and worst sort were named Remoboth; yet are these the onely or principall Monks in our Country: These live together two or three, not many more, in their owne desmens, and at their owne pleasure; yet live they by their labour, and bring into commons not all, but part of what they so get. Most an end their abode is in Cities or Castles: that which they sell is of greater price then ordinary; as if not their life, but their trade were holy. Many brawls and brabbles fall out amongst them; for living as they doe, upon their owne, they will not live subjected to the rule and government of another: yet they contend to out-fast one another. They are full of affectation every way; wide sleeves, bombasted hose, thick warme clothes bee their usuall wearing. Deeply sigh they doe often, frequently they visit virgins, backbite the Clergy; upon gaudy dayes they gormandize so much that they spue againe.* So *Hierome* of them.

The manners, and orders of the Cœnobits, or Livers in common.

84 But we leave them as some infectious exhalation, and come wee to the Cœnobites, or livers in common. The first and principall part of their sociall Combination is, to obey their Rulers and Superiours, and cheerfully to execute what they command: Their Division is into Tenns and Hundreds; every nine men have a severall Governor over them, and the hundreth man hath under him ten Surrogates or Deputies. Every man hath his owne severall Cell, but yet joyning to anothers; herein they make their abode without any visits, till past three in the afternoone: onely the Deanes, or Tenth men goe from Cell to Cell to minister consolation to such as need it. After that houre past, they meet all together, singing Psalmes, and reading Scriptures; which being ended, the Father or Abbat sitting in the midst, begins a Collation; all the Collation time there is deep silence in the Covent, no man looks about him, or gazeth upwards, or dare cough or spit; the Collator his praise is in the teares of his Auditory, and those tears are secret, hidden, not sobbed forth: Only when he discourseth of the joyes of heaven, then you may heare a

ſtill noiſe amongſt them, *Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I flee away and be at reſt amongſt them*, out of the Pſalmes.

Their diet and diſcourſe out of S. *Jerome.*

85 The Aſſembly breaking up, when the Collation is ended, every Decuria with their Superior ſit downe to meate, and every one waites by weekly courſe: at meat they are ſtill and huſht: their viands are bread, pulſe, herbs, all chopt with ſalt: Old men onely and Novices doe drinke wine, and eate their dinner; the one for age, the other, that at firſt they be not diſcouraged from the Profeſſion. After their repaſt they ſing a Pſalme, and returne every man to his Cell, then they have leave freely to viſit one the other. Their diſcourſe is moſt commonly of exemplary vertues, of ſuch and ſuch men. The night they ſpend in prayer or meditation: In the day they have their work for the day tasked out unto them, which is delivered to the Deane, and hee returnes it to the Steward, and hee every moneth is accomptable to the Abbot, who therewithall doth provide for them what is neceſſary. If any bee ſick, hee is carried into the Infirmatory, where hee wants nothing, being attended by the Ancients. Upon Sundayes they intend onely prayer and reading Scripture, which be alſo their exerciſes on other dayes, when their work is done; ſuch are thoſe in *Philo*——*&c.* Thus Saint *Hierome* purpoſely upon that place, whatſoever hee ſaith in his Catalogue *in Marco*; ſuch they were: and it is true; in many things alike, not in all; as will appeare by the narrations compared: and ſuch in many things bee, or were our Monaſteries and Colledges, endowed with lands for ſerving God, which ſacrilege hath devoured, all, or moſt, and turned to impious uſes, not only profane.

Epiphanius his Authoritie next. Of the *hebdomada pœnoſa*, or *ſancta.*

86 Next, Authority is taken from *Epiphanius*, whoſe words are, *Thou mayeſt meet with this ſubject, good diligent Reader, if thou canſt get the Commentaries of* Philo, *that booke by name, which hee wrote concerning the Jeſſai, in which hee diſcourſeth of their diſcipline and laudable converſation, and mentioning of their Monaſteries about Meroe, hee muſt bee conceived to meane none but Chriſtians.* Thus *Epiphanius* opineth: and againe, concerning the ſelfe ſame work of *Philo*, Ην ὁ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ταῦτα πεπραγματευμένα εἰς τὸν περὶ πίστεως τε καὶ πολιτείας τῶν χριστιανῶν λόγον· *The man wrote this in a ſubject and argument concerning Chriſtian beliefe and converſation.* And hee proceedeth further to avouch, by what warrant I know not, (unleſſe this, that *aliquid novus adjicit Author*:) for it is not in *Euſebius*, that *Philo* ſpeaketh this of his experimentall knowledge, becauſe hee had been preſent at the Church and Aſſemblies of the Chriſtians in Egypt, upon the *hebdomada pœnoſa*, or weeke before Eaſter: for, the Chriſtians faſted, and obſerved that weeke eſpecially, and above all, with moſt rigid ſcleragogie, in extremeſt rigour and ſevereſt diſcipline, throughout all Countries; for which cauſe alſo they generally named it *hebdomadam pœnoſam*, and not only *ſanctam.*

A ſaying to *Epiphanius.*

87 So, and more then ſo diſcourſeth *Epiphanius*, ſaith the Anabliſt, intimating thus much, that *Philo* wrote this *de Eſſæis*, that is, the

the Jeſſæi, not Eſſeni: for hee ſaith, that in the beginning of the Church, Chriſtians were called Jeſſæi, either of *Jeſus*, or of *Jeſſe* (the Father of *David*) from whom according to the fleſh *Chriſt* deſcended. In which paſſages wee muſt firſt have a ſaying to *Epiphanius* for his miſtakings, then to *Baronius* for his abſurdities and inferences thereupon. Firſt, *Epiphanius* affirmeth that *Philo* purpoſely wrote that book concerning Chriſtians, with intent to ſet out Chriſtian Religion in the two main parts thereof, *holy faith*, and *holy life* and converſation. The book he meaneth is that which is intituled, περὶ βίου θεωρητικῆς, ἢ ἱκετῶν ἀρετῶν. *Touching contemplative life, or the vertues of devout men.* In which book is either *nothing at all*, or *very little* concerning their faith and beliefe, all is ſpent upon their life and converſation. And that which is ſaid concerning beliefe, toucheth not Chriſtians, at leaſt as Chriſtians, believing in Chriſt; for, it goeth no further then to ſome few Jewiſh points, and doctrines of *Moſes* Law: Not one word expreſſe, ſounding or drawing towards any one Article of our Chriſtian Creed, whereby Chriſtians believing in God in Chriſt, are diſtinguiſhed from Jewes believing one God without Chriſt: *The onely true God*, but not, *whom hee hath ſent, Jeſus Chriſt.* And how then could *Epiphanius* ſay, that *Philo* meant no other people but Chriſtians? If *Philo* his Eſſæi were Chriſtians, they were but *ſome* Chriſtians; not, in latitude, *all* that profeſſe Chriſt. *Epiphanius* confineth that worke of *Philo* to Chriſtians in generall, not to *ſome Chriſtians*, that is, Monks and Aſcetæ: but *Philo* himſelfe directs otherwiſe. Hee wrote but of ſome Chriſtians, if hee wrote of any; that is, Contemplators, not Practiques; Monks and Anachorites, none other. Now, all Chriſtians were not Aſcetæ, no not in the fervent beginnings of the Church. *Philo* himſelfe confutes *Epiphanius* his conceit with the very beginning of that book. *Having written* (in his former book hee meaneth, *Quod omnis probus liber,*) *as touching thoſe Eſſæi, who inſued a practicall courſe of life altogether; I will proceed in due order to treat of thoſe who have confined themſelves to contemplation.* So that *Epiphanius* hath either miſtaken, or elſe miſreported *Philo* about his Chriſtians; who wrote at leaſt, but only of ſome *certaine*, not of *all* Chriſtians in generall. And *Bellarmine*, who voucheth *Epiphanius* his teſtimony for Chriſtian Monks, miſ-applied *Epiphanius*, as he miſtook *Philo*. *Philo*, if he meant any Chriſtians at all, meant Chriſtian Monks, I grant; and ſo *Bellarmine* in his book *de Monachis*, might vouch *Philo* upon that ſuppoſall: but alledge *Epiphanius* he could not rightly, who ſpeaks not of Monks, but Chriſtians in generality out of *Philo*.

Hæc & alia plura *Epiphan.* inſinuans *Philonem* de Eſſæis, hoc eſt, Jeſſæis eſſe locutum, non de Eſſenis. Ieſſæos enim à *Jeſu*, ſive à *Jeſſe*, ex quo *Chriſtus* ſecundùm carnem, affirmat nominatos eſſe Chriſtianos ipſo exordio naſcentis eccleſiæ. Sect. 4.

Ἐστέον οὖν διαλέξθην, ὃς τὸν περιλοιπὸν ἐζήλωσαν καὶ διανύσαντα βίον ἐν ἅπασιν, ἀκτέον καὶ τῶν θεωρίας, ἀσπασμένων ἀκολουθίαν τῶν πραγματείας ἑπόμενος, τὰ κατὰ σύνεσιν λέξω.

88 Who is in the ſame ſort miſ-underſtood by *Hierome* in Catalogo. Philo Judæus, *natione Alexandrinus, de genere Sacerdotum, idcirco à nobis inter ſcriptores Eccleſiaſticos ponitur, quia librum de pri-*

A ſaying to S. *Jerome.*

ma

ma Marci *Evangeliſtæ apud Alexandriam ſcribens Eccleſiâ, in noſtrorum laude verſatus eſt; non ſolum eos ibi, ſed & in multis quoque Provinciis, eſſe commemorans, & habitacula eorum dicens Monaſteria.* The reaſon why he recounteth *Philo* the Jew amongſt Eccleſiaſticall Writers, is, as he ſaith, to be reckned, becauſe hee purpoſely wrote a book of the Church of Chriſt, firſt founded at Alexandria by S. *Mark* the Evangeliſt, and in that book enlargeth himſelfe in praiſe and commendation of our brethren: As if *Philo* had not diſtinguiſhed thoſe of whom he wrote into two Tribes, and that in two books, purpoſely written of them two. Now if in that book hee wrote of Chriſtian Profeſſors, Schollers to Saint *Mark*, I would gladly know whoſe Schollers they were, or who they were, of whom hee wrote the other booke; thoſe muſt alſo be Chriſtians if theſe were; but ordinary ſecular Chriſtians *they*, and *theſe* regular or recluſed Chriſtians: for onely ſuch inhabited Monaſteries. *Hierome* could never finde in all his travell, experience, reading, that the houſes of all Chriſtians were called Monaſteries, or that all profeſſing Chriſtianity became Monks. Many of them might and did live in thoſe firſt times, as Aſcetæ did afterward in the Church, ἀποταξάμενοι, renouncing what they had, leaving all to follow Chriſt, ſelling their poſſeſſions (as *Philo* his Eſſæi did) and bringing their patrimonies into common: but all did not ſo, no not at Jeruſalem, not amongſt the Apoſtles; it was no rule of their Order, as it was amongſt theſe profeſſed Eſſei, who all of them did ſo, were to do ſo: and therefore could not be Chriſtians at large, but ſome Chriſtians only; though indeed not ſome.

Another ſaying to *Epiphanius.*

89 Further, *Epiphanius* hath a ſingular conceit beyond either *Hierome* or *Euſebius*; namely, that *Philo* had beene preſent amongſt Chriſtians in the Church at the celebration of the Feaſt of Eaſter, or Paſſion week rather before Eaſter. His words are, *Being with them about, or at the time of Eaſter, he obſerved the uſe and manner of their carriage, in what ſort ſome kept and paſſed the holy week of Eaſter, how ſome did not eat but at two daies end, and others not until the evening.* If yet this be the meaning of the Text, which either is corrupted, or I underſtand not: but well I underſtand whereat *Epiph.* aymeth, and to what part of *Philo* his narration he hath reference, in talking ſo wildely of Eaſter, or the Paſſion week before Eaſter. *Philo* his words are theſe, *They firſt aſſemble and meet together by ſeven ſeven-nights in awfull reſpect, not onely of the ſeventh day, but alſo of the power and ſacred vertue thereof; for they acknowledge the number chaſte and undefiled, in perpetuall virginity: this ſeventh day is the Eve unto the greateſt Feaſt of the yeer, named of the number of fifty.* If *Philo* underſtood here any Chriſtian Feaſt, it muſt be Whitſuntide, as the name Pentecoſt importeth; and not Eaſter, *nedum* Paſſion weeke before Eaſter, *ſancta hebdomas*, or *hebdomas pœnoſa*, as they called it. But *Philo* had no ſuch

Ἐν ἡμέραις δὲ τῶν πασχῶν ἐκεῖ γενόμενος, τὰς τ' αὐλῶν πολιτείας ἐθεάσατο, καὶ ὡς τίνες ἑβδομάδα τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν πασχῶν ἐπετέλουν διείλεκται, ἄλλοι μὲν διὰ δύο ἐδιόντες, ἄλλοι δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐσπέραν. Pag. 57. edit. Baſil.

Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀθροίζονται δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπλῶς ἑβδομάδα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τελεπούτες· ἁγνὴν γὰρ καὶ ἀσπαθένον αὐτὴν ἴσασιν· ἔστι δὲ προεόρτιος μεγίστης ἑορτῆς, ἣν πεντηκοστὴν ἔλαχεν, ἀγιωτάτῳ καὶ συνεικωτάτῳ ἀριθμῶν.

ſuch meaning; that which hee delivered concerning his contemplative Eſſens is, That, whereas they obſerved, after the Jewiſh faſhion, according to the preſcript of *Moſes* Law, the ſeventh day, or Sabbath; they did more ſolemnly ſolemnize ſome ſpeciall Sabbaths above the reſt in the yeere; namely, thoſe ſeven Sabbaths which the Chriſtians called Pentecoſt, that interceded betwixt Eaſter and Whitſuntide inclufively. Δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων ἀθροίζονται, *Every ſeventh day they have a meeting:* wherein they followed no legall precept, but did it out of a conceit (Paganiſh and Pythagoricall) of I know not what ſanctity and efficacie, in the number of ſeven redoubled in *ſeven times ſeven*, farre enough from the religious piety of thoſe ancient Chriſtians. Againe, I wonder that *Epiphanius* could dreame of any Chriſtian Aſſemblies at Eaſter, to be faſtened upon theſe Eſſæi, whereat *Philo* being preſent, recorded their uſage and deportment in them: for firſt, *Philo* was not of that Order; and none were thither admitted, but of the Order. Secondly, at theſe Therapeuticall banquets there was not any thing that reſembled the Chriſtian Synaxeis or Agapaes: for, in their Agapæ were *fleſh*, and *fiſh*, and *wine*, and any thing for mans uſe; theſe Therapeutæ had nothing but *water*, *ſalt*, and chopped *herbs*. At their Synaxeis neither could *Philo* have been admitted, being not ſo much as a *Catechumenus*, nor did they uſe at all chopped herbs with ſalt, nor onely water; but *water* and *wine*, which wine no good Chriſtian ever deteſted as poyſon, which *Philo* ſaith theſe Therapeutæ did: *vinum habent pro veneno, afferente dementiam*, ſaith *Philo*, and *Euſebius* after him. Such doctrine they never learned of Saint *Marke*.

90 So much for the miſtakings of *Epiphanius*, for I love not to diſcover the nakednеſſe of the Ancients, more then needs I muſt to cleere truth. *Baronius* his abſurdities muſt not ſcape ſo well: which are, That *Philo* did not ſpeake or meane the Eſſeni, but Eſſæi: that theſe Eſſæi were otherwiſe named Jeſſæi: that Jeſſæi were Chriſtians ſo called of *Jeſſe* the Father of *David*, or of *Jeſus* our Saviour, anſwering to the name Therapeutæ, which *Philo* giveth them. For the firſt, he puts a plain down-right difference betwixt the Eſſeni & Eſſæi; whereupon it muſt needs follow, that *Joſephus* and *Philo* doe not ſpeak of, nor intend the ſame perſons: which is contrary to that which himſelfe ſaith and approveth in the *Apparatus*, where hee calleth them Eſſeni, and not Jeſſæi; and which himſelfe hath *ad ann. Chriſt. 64. Sect. 3.* where he talks *de Chriſtianis ſub Eſſenorum nomine à* Philone *deſcriptis*, and is contrary to three or foure paſſages more of the ſame man *in Sect. 4. & 5.* It is alſo directly againſt the received opinion of thoſe of his ſide, *Servius* eſpecially in *Triharesio*; who diſcourſing about the originall of their name, uſeth Eſſeni and Eſſæi indifferently. *Baronius* noted.

91 But that which enſueth about Jeſſæi, and the originall of that name, is more abſurd: for who ever heard that Chriſtians were called Jeſſæans, of *Jeſſe* the Father of *David*, becauſe Chriſt came of his

his ſtock; much rather might they, nay ought they be named *Davidei* or *Davidici*, becauſe *David* was neerer unto Chriſt one deſcent then *Jeſſe* was; and Chriſt is often called *the ſonne of* David; once onely, if yet once, *the roote of* Jeſſe. Or what Scholler can endure to heare with patience the name of *Jeſus*, that glorious name, to which *every knee is to bow*, to bee made a Greek name by derivation brought from ἰάσασθαι *to cure or heale*, to fit a turne for θεραπεῦται, as *Philo* cals them, *to give phyſick and reſtore health*. The name of *Jeſus* is pure pute Hebrew, from *Jaſah*, *to ſave*; the reaſon of that denomination is given by the Angel, *He ſhall ſave his people from their ſins*; not from ἰᾶσασθαι or ἰάσασθαι, though there be an alluſion in that name, unto him who is indeed the true Phiſician to heale our ſoules. So that as yet little helpe is had from the vouchers of *Euſebius*, *Hierome*, *Epiphanius* diſcenting from *truth*, *reaſon*, *Joſephus*, *Philo*, from *themſelves* and all.

Caſsian's authority faintly alledged by Baronius, here examined.

92 Next unto *Epiphanius*, *Caſsian* is called in by *Baronius*, but *ſubmiſſâ voce*, and very faintly, with a *videtur* onely, and no more: *It ſeemeth that* Caſſian *alſo was of the ſame opinion*. And why did it ſeem ſo concerning *Caſsian?* becauſe S. *Mark*, firſt Founder of the Church of Egypt, gave rules of Monaſtick life unto thoſe Converts to Chriſtianity, who more fervently then the common ſort, ſeemed to affect that rigid and ſtrict Profeſſion. Here firſt I anſwer; then in *Caſsian's* opinion Eſſæi were not Chriſtians in a generall acceptance, but Chriſtian Monks and Aſcetæ, no more. *Caſsian's* words are theſe; *Cùm in primordiis fidei pauci quidem, ſed probatiſſimi, Monachorum nomine cenſerentur, qui ſicut à beatæ memoriæ Evangeliſtâ* Marco, *qui primus Alexandrinæ Urbi Pontifex præfuit, normam ſuſcepere vivendi, non ſolùm ea magnifica retinebant, quæ primitus Eccleſiam, vel credentium turbas in Actibus Apoſtolorum legimus celebraſſe; verum etiam hi multò ſublimiora cumulaverant: etenim ſecedentes* (for ſo it muſt bee read, and not *ſedentes*) *in ſecretiora ſuburbiorum loca agebant vitam tanto abſtinentiæ rigore diſtrictam, ut etiam his qui erant religionis externæ, ſtupori eſſet tam ardua converſationis eorum Profeſsio.* Which report of *Caſsian*, together with that which hee enlargeth upon afterward, no man verſed in the Story of the ancient Church will deny: for ſtrange, and almoſt incredible was the ſcleragogie and exact rigorous profeſſion of thoſe Aſcetæ, eſpecially in Egypt: but this is no inducement for us to believe, that the Eſſæi of *Philo* were thoſe Schollers of Saint *Marke*, or Chriſtian Aſcetæ by *Caſsian* remembred: *Caſsian* ſaith it not, makes no mention of *Philo*, of his Eſſees or Eſſeni. It may be, that by Saint *Mark's* preaching Chriſt in Egypt, and about Alexandria, ſome of thoſe Eſſeni or Eſſæi were converted unto the faith, who abandoning their Pagan and hereticall opinions, might hold on their old ſtrict diſcipline and courſe of life, eſpecially conforting with that rigorous Chriſtian diſcipline and ancient pædagogie of the Church. So *Nazianzen* reports of *Hero* and *Maximus*, two Cynick Philoſophers, who being Chriſtians, did not abandon their former externall habit

habit and deportment. And ſo we find in *Philaſtrius* Biſhop of Brixia not much againſt this purpoſe: "Eſſeni are thoſe that live the life "of Monks, eating no pleaſant or taſteable meat at all; they ſet "not their minde upon gay or gariſh apparell; they profeſſe to enjoy "nothing of their own; they intend reading, and occupy themſelves "wholly in good works; their manſion and abode is in retired places; "but they expected not Meſſias, Chriſt our Lord, the Son of God to "be ſent into the world; they nor confeſſed, nor believed that hee "was preached and promiſed in the Prophets; but all that they be-"leeved of the Meſſias was, that hee was meere man, but indeed a "righteous man ——. Enough to exclude them from title of Chriſtianitie, and to confine them at utmoſt unto Religion Jewiſh: for, it is, and was the common doctrine of the Jewes, That Meſſias was to be meer man: but not ſo much is remembred of them at all either by *Joſephus*, or by *Philo*; rather the contrary is inſinuated: for, their religion was wholly Paganiſh and Pythagoricall, abhorring the Sacrifices and Temple at Jeruſalem, the conſtituted Service of God, for thoſe *times*, that *people*, that *State*, which Chriſtians did not.

That the Eſſens ſhould be Chriſtians is inconſequent in Chronologie.

93 Some of them at moſt, might be converted by Saint *Marke* unto Chriſtianity; but that they all were Chriſtian converts, Saint *Marks* diſciples, inſtituted by him, taking the rules of their Order from him, is both abſurd from doctrinall and diſciplinarian carriage, (as wee ſhall ſee anon) and inconſequent in Chronologie, not any wayes agreeing with the times. *Joſephus* ſayes directly they were ἐκ πάνυ παλαιῶν, not onely ancient, but of very ancient ſtanding amongſt the Jewes, which cannot accrue unto thoſe that had their Inſtitution from Saint *Marke*, who, though hee were elder then *Joſephus*, yet was σύγχρονος, and of the ſame age with him; *Joſephus* being borne, as himſelfe tels us, in the third yeer of *C. Caligula*, leſſe then ten yeers after our Saviours Aſcenſion. *Philo* was ſomewhat elder then *Joſephus*, a man of note and action when *Joſephus* was born; for, he came in Embaſſage unto *C. Caligula* about the ſtate and affaires of his Nation in the ſecond or third yeere of *Caligula*, at what time hee had written the moſt of his books, and in all probability, that of the Eſſeni: but Saint *Mark* came not to Alexandria, ſayes *Baronius*, *ad ann. Chriſt.* 45. till the third yeere of *Claudius*, where hee continued Biſhop about nine yeers, ſo that it was not poſſible *Philo* ſhould write a book of Chriſtian Converts in generall, *nedum* of Chriſtian Aſcetæ in particular under the vailed name of Jeſſæi or Therapeutæ, which names were never aſcribed to Chriſtians, who could not bee ſo eminent for their retired courſe of life, nor yet conſort themſelves in that ſort together, with ſuch order and diſcipline as *Philo* hath reported of his Eſſæi, in ſo ſhort a time, that *Philo* did or could write books of them, as hee hath done, reporting them to have been, as it may appeare by the former relation from him, of elder ſtanding then was S. *Mark*'s preaching at Alexandria.

Sozomen's authority rather againſt, then for the Annaliſt.

94 Next unto *Caſsian*, the Cardinall Annaliſt citeth *Sozimenus*,

nus lib. 1. *cap.* 12. of his Hiſtory, in which place, it is true, he intreateth of Monks, and Anachoreticall profeſſion, giving it the commendation of being a glory and ornament to the Church through their vertuous life and converſation. And enlarging himſelfe ſomewhat upon that courſe and inſtitution, hee aſcribes the originall thereof, according to ſome mens opinion, unto the imitation of *Elias* and *John Baptiſt*, who lived an auſtere life in the wilderneſſe; and hee adds withall, concerning *Philo* his Eſſæi, that *Philo* the Pythagorean Philoſopher writeth, how the chiefe and moſt eminent amongſt the Jewes withdrew themſelves from all quarters of the world, unto a place of purpoſe choſen by them about the lake *Meræa*, and there profeſſed an auſtere Philoſophicall courſe of life. Concluding that diſcourſe, he ſaith, that in his opinion *Philo* meant ſuch Jewes, as being Chriſtianized, lived yet after the Jewiſh manner, becauſe no where elſe was the like practice to be found. He therein followed *Euſebius* and *Epiphanius*, yet not altogether, or alike; for *Epiphanius* will have them to be the Nazaræi, which *Serarius* denyes, and that rightly, if hee meant the legall Nazarites; but if thoſe mungrell Chriſtians, of whom *Hierome* ſpeakes ſo often, who made an *hotchpotch* of *Chriſt* and *Moſes*, the Law and the Goſpel, Faith and Circumcision; hee wrongs much Saint *Mark*, in making him the Founder of that hereticall Order: but *Euſebius* intendeth them to be good Chriſtians, and the beſt of Christians. Such agreement there is amongſt them that have fallen upon the fooliſh conceit, that *Philo* his Eſſæi were none other but Chriſtians, and Saint *Mark*'s diſciples.

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐπιστημοτάτην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδείξε καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἀνέλκον τῶν ἀρχαίων τὸν βίον ὅτι ποτε μετιόντες μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν.

Φίλων δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρειος ἐν τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν χρόνοις, ἱστορεῖ τὸν πανταχόθεν Ἑβραίων ἀρίστους, εἰς τι χωρίον περὶ τὴν Μαρείαν λίμνην ὅπερ μάλιστα πανήγυρι, φιλοσοφεῖν.

Nilus & *Suidas* their authorities concerning theſe Eſſens.

95 For others will have them the Rechabites remembred by *Jeremy* in his Propheſie; ſo *Nilus* in his *Aſceticis* or Monkiſh Inſtitutions: *Judæi verò qui & talem vivendi rationem inſtituerunt, à* Jonadabo *ſunt oriundi omnes, qui adhuc eodem modo vivunt* (as the Rechabites did then live) *accedunt ad eadem ſimul inſtituta. In Tabernaculis perpetuò habitant, à vino atque omnibus cibis delicatis abſtinent, victu tenui contenti, corpus affligunt, contemplationi vacant aſsiduè, ex quo Eſſæi* (not Leſſæi) *appellantur. Thoſe Jewes who tooke up this courſe of life were deſcended of* Jonadab *the ſonne of* Rechab, *who live, as yet, after the ſame order and faſhion. Continually they dwell in Tents, wines and all dainty meates they refuſe, being contented with ſimple and ſpare diet, they tame the body, intend meditation and contemplation only; hence have they the name Eſſæi.* And to him accords *Suidas* the Collector: Ἐσσαῖοι, Ἰουδαίων Αἱρεσιῶται· φαρισαίων καὶ γραμματέων τὴν ἄκρισιν ἐξ ἐπιμόνου διασπάσεις, ἀπήγοντο Ἰωναδὰβ τοῦ Ῥηχαὰβ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς: *Eſſæi are a Jewiſh ſect, differing from the ſect of Scribes and Phariſees, the iſſue or poſterity of* Jonadab *the ſon of* Rechab, *that righteous man.* Which text of *Suidas* is depraved: for in ſtead of γραμματέων, it ſhould be Σαδδυκαίων, as I take it, out of *Joſephus*; who ſaith they were of the Samaritan Religion, and ſo were the

the Sadduces: whereas Scribes and Phariſees had both one faith and doctrinall opinions. Secondly, in *Suidas* it is ἀρχαῖοι, the Anceſtors of *Jonadab*, which is abſurd and falſe; for he lived with *Jehu*, as wee know, when as there was no ſect amongſt Iſraelites or Jewes; it ſhould be ἀπόγονοι, and ſo *Wolphius* tranſlates it, *Poſteri*, not *Parentes* or *Majores*, as *Serarius* the Jeſuite hath it moſt fooliſhly.

96 So that all Ancients are not of the minde that they were Chriſtians; nor doe onely Novellers deny it; that they were Chriſtians or Monks, as the Cardinall Annaliſt fableth, *Toſtatus*, *Rhodigine*, *Sigonius*, and others thinke ſo as well as *Novellers*: therefore *Baronius* forgot himſelfe much, in ſaying, that onely *Novellers* denyed the Eſſeni or Eſſæi in *Philo* and *Joſephus* to have been Chriſtians, and over-ſhot himſelfe much, when, after ſo great adoe, at laſt hee concludeth, that hee never intended to maintaine, that *all* the Eſſeni were Chriſtians. "*Non ita tamen hoc dicimus, ut velimus omnes Eſſenos* "*Chriſti fidem eſſe ſectatos.* What meant he then to trouble himſelfe and his reader? For no man ever ſaid, none of the Eſſæi profeſſed Chriſt. It is probable enough, that many might, many did ſo profeſſe him, as many conjurers and ſuch as uſed curious arts, many Philoſophers, and other Pagan Wiſe men did. But the Queſtion is, whether the Eſſeni or Eſſæi were a Chriſtian *ſect*, *religion*, or *ſociety*: whether *Joſephus* and *Philo* did deſcribe unto us, not Jewiſh Sectaries, but Chriſtian Aſcetæ. *Baronius*, and the Maſters of the Roman Schoole hold with *Euſebius*, that they were Monks, Anachorites, Recluſes, Aſcetæ, ſuch as afterwards were *Paul*, *Antony*, *Hilarion*, and others; wee hold the contrary, they were Jewes by birth, in profeſſion, though hereticall and ſchiſmaticall Jewes: not Chriſtians in inſtitution, doctrine, converſation, though afterwards at the preaching of Saint *Mark*, or others, many of them haply might imbrace chriſtian Piety. To hold this, is no diſaffection to Monaſticall Profeſſion, as it pleaſeth *Baronius* to traduce, but out of a reſpect to truth of Storie, Chronologie, verity, and rather an honourable regard of that life, not to derive the originall of it from Pagans or Atheiſts, which was highly admired by ancient Fathers, as it well deſerved for the uſe thereof in thoſe heroick times; and might be employed to the great advancement of chriſtian Piety, were it uſed as it might and ought, even in theſe dayes.

So that all Ancients were not of the mind that they were Chriſtians.

97 Next unto Authorities, though miſtaken ſome of them, we are aſſayed by Reaſons of *Baronius*: which courſe *Bellarmine* waved, as not of ſtrength to hold out, though it rather fitted his Controverſies, then *Baronius* in his Story every way: whoſe firſt reaſon, as I doe conceive it, ſtands thus, *Sect. 4. ad ann. Chriſt. 64. The name Eſſæi ſignifies Saints, or holy ones; but this was the common name and title given to the Chriſtians in the Primitive age of the Church, as appeareth by the Epiſtles of Saint* Paul: So that the ground of his Reaſon is this; whoſoever have the ſame name, muſt be underſtood to have the ſame ſubject of name, or be the ſame thing; which is a falſe, fooliſh, and

Baronius his argument from the name, no proofe.

through consequence, oftentimes an impious conceit downe-right; for then *Simon Magus* and *Simon Peter* should be the same, *John* the Priest and *John* the Apostle not two, but one; then no difference should lie betwixt *Judas* the brother of *James*, and *Judas Iscariot* who betrayed *Christ*. Names indeed *originally*, and then *intentionally*, were and should be notes and notions of things, εἰς δήλωσιν, to shew what the thing is, and εἰς διάγνωσιν, to distinguish it from all things else. This is the true use, proper office, and first assignement of names imposed, which must be conceived as with reference unto the prime Institution of them by God, and *Adam*, in the day when that according to their nature hee gave names unto all the creatures. Had all things continued *statu quo* they were *made* and *named* in, names had not swerved from their originall use. Secondly, the Christians and Essees had not the same name, which *Baronius* endevoureth to prove that they had, out of *Chrysostome*, *Hom.* 44. *in Act. Apost. Esseni, qui etiam & Hosii, i.e. Sancti dicuntur, hoc enim vult nomen Essenorum à vitæ sanctitate*, (and so said *Philo*, from whence hee tooke it) διαλέκτῳ ἑλληνικῇ ὁσιότητος παράνυμοι: but *Suidas* saies it signifies a Theorique and Contemplator. *Epiphanius* deriveth it from ἰάσασθαι, to *heale*, or from *Jesse*, to which *Baronius* himselfe accords. Others derive them from Ἔσσα, a Citie remembred by *Suidas*, and by *Josephus Lib.* 13. *Antiq. Cap.* 23. Others from ἔσσην, the Priests *breast-plate*, as if they had been Priests, and had worne a Rationale: why not from ἔσσην a King or Free-man, such as by *Philo* they are said to bee, ἢ οἱ θεῶν ἔσσηνα πάλαι θέσαν, in *Callymachus*? or because ἔσσηνες were holy and consecrated persons, Priests of *Diana* amongst the Ephesians, as wee read in *Pausanias*. Others derive the name from *Chesin*, a Caldee word signifying *strong* and *valiant*. Some from the Syriack *Asan*, signifying *shooes*: or the Hebrew, *Asa* to *heal* or *cure*. Others from other roots and originals, which *Serarius* hath collected and laid together: but let them be *Hosii* holy ones or Saints; are they like to those, that amongst the Anabaptisticall Puritans, terme themselves *Saints*, the more *Saint-like* for that *name*? or may wee call them Essæi, supposing (why not?) that *Philo* meant them? In the books of *Maccabees* wee read of *Asideans, holy-ones*; of *Tabiens, blessed ones*; Were the *former* Christians? or the *latter* of the Church triumphant for their names? The Pharisees were Separatists, not a whit the better men for that *title* they gave themselves; the Sadduces no more just for all their name of *Sedec*: so the Esseni were farre from *Saints*, howsoever the name imports so much. And had they beene holy ones indeed, yet might they have been so, and yet not Christians: for they might have been holy and righteous too, before that *Christ Jesus* came in the flesh; but Christians they could not be, denominated of him, till he *came*, was *annoynted*, had *annoynted* his Disciples with the holy Ghost, *ut sit oleum effusum Nomen ejus*, every way, in himselfe, for his retainers.

* *Pliny* and *Solinus* of the antiquity of this sect.

98 * The next passage in *Baronius* I doe not understand, for the reference

reference or coherence, though the ſeverall parts thereof be apparent and underſtandable. Firſt, about the Antiquitie of theſe Eſſeni; *the Novators*, ſaith he, *avouch they were in being before* Herod: True, and ſo doe *Philo* and *Joſephus*: ſo thoſe that ſay they were Rechabites; the learnedſt of his owne confeſſion, and himſelfe with them: but what of that ſaying of Novators? why, then they could not bee Chriſtians; for, *Chriſt* himſelfe (of whom Chriſtians are called) was borne under *Herod*, towards the latter end of his reigne, which is true, and the inference holds. And as for their antiquity, if *Plinius* and *Solinus* vouched by himſelfe, ſay true, they were ancient indeed, long before *Cecrops*, or *Evanders* mother. *Plinius Lib* 5. *Cap.* 17. ſaith of them thus; That a people they were, the onely Nation of the world, who lived without ſociety or company of women, that nor had, nor cared for money, who without propagation ſubſiſted ever, and ſo had continued many thouſand yeeres. *Gens ſola in toto orbe, præter cæteras mira, ſine ulla fœmina, omni Venere abdicatâ, ſine pecunia, ſocia palmarum, in diem vivunt, ex æquo convenarum turba renaſcitur, large frequentantibus quos vitâ feſſos ad mores eorum fortunæ fluctus agitat. Ita per ſæculorum millia, incredibile dictu, gens æterna eſt; in qua nemo naſcitur, tam fœcunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia eſt.* Thus *Plinius*, and after him, and out of him *Solinus*. *Interiora Judææ Eſſeni tenent*, (therefore not *Philo* his Egyptian Eſſæi, or thoſe about the lake Marea,) *qui morali diſciplinâ præditi, receſſerunt à ritu gentium univerſarum. Majeſtatus, ut reor, providentiâ ad hunc morem deſtinati. Nullæ ibi fœminæ, Venere ſe penitùs abdicant, pecunias neſciunt, palmis victitant, nemo ibi naſcitur, nec tamen deficit hominum multitudo. Locus ipſe addictus pudicitiæ eſt; ad quem plurimi licet undique gentium properant, nullus admittitur, niſi quem caſtitatis fides, & innocentiæ meritum proſequatur: Nam qui reus eſt vel levis culpæ, quamvis ſummâ ope ingreſſum adipiſci velit, divinitùs ſubmovetur. Itaque per immenſum ſpatium ſæculorum æterna gens eſt, ceſſantibus puerperiis.* "The inmoſt "parts of Judea are inhabited by the Eſſæi, a morall people, diffe- "ring from cuſtome of all other Nations; I ſuppoſe, appointed to be "ſuch by Divine power; women there live none, copulation they "uſe not, of money they have no knowledge, dates are their food; "not a man borne amongſt them, yet their company impaires not: "their very habitation fits continency well; many repaire thither, "but they admit of none, except ſuch as they conceit will live "chaſte, and is honeſt; a delinquent, though but of peccadilloes, "doe what hee can to procure admittance, yet by Divine providence "is hee kept out. So it is, this Nation hath indefectibly ſubſiſted "through many and long continued ages; howbeit, no children are "born amongſt them.

99 But *Pliny* his over-laſhing for *many thouſand yeers*, and *Solinus* reaching unto *immenſum ſpatium ſæculorum*, *Baronius* cannot digeſt, ſeeing the world had not beene ſo *many thouſand* yeeres before *Pliny* wrote. Nor yet, though it bee granted, as it is moſt true, that the

Their authorities over-laſhing, tempered by a moderate interpretation.

the Jewes were one of the ancienteſt Nations then, under heaven, and that the Eſſeni had been of equall ſtanding with them, (which ſeemes to have been the miſtake both of *Plinius* and *Solinus*, who conceited the Eſſeni to bee a Shire, as it were, or part of Paleſtina) yet many thouſand yeers could not have paſſed over them. But herein *Baronius* ſeems to bee ſomewhat rigorous with *Pliny*, who meant not preciſely 6000 or 7000 yeers, but put in an uncertaine *terme* for a long time, becauſe their juſt continuance and originall was not known: which will not extend beyond that in *Joſephus*, ἐν πάνυ παλαιῷ. And if it bee not incongruous to hold, that howſoever the Eſſeni were not Rechabites, yet might they very well have iſſued from the Rechabites, as *Baronius* ſaith it *ſect.* 7. why is hee ſo offended about their antiquity? let him bee offended at himſelfe; for *Rechab*, ſome ſay, was *Jethro*, *Moſes* Father-in-law; and *Jonadab* the ſonne, (that is, of the poſterity of *Rechab*, the firſt Founder of their Conſtitutions) lived with *Jehu* King of Iſrael; and the profeſſion of the Rechabites ſpoken of by *Jeremy*, had continued from *Jonadab* untill then. *Suidas* meant no otherwiſe, when hee ſaith they were the poſteritie (ἀπόγονοι, not τεκνόγονοι) of *Jonadab*, but onely conformitants unto the courſe and profeſſion of the Rechabites, not *ortu generis*, for he calls them Jewes, Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνδρες: in his phraſe wee read it but *profeſsione religionis*, taking the rules of their Order from the Rechabites, many of them, not all; for the Rechabites and Eſſens differed in ſome things: So that, ancient they were, ancient enough to be no Chriſtians, though not ſo ancient indeed as *Pliny* makes them. But ſo ancient or not ſo ancient, Rechabites or not Rechabites, it ſerves not to prove that which *Baronius* muſt, and would prove, That the Jewiſh Eſſeni were not Jewes in profeſſion, in birth, in both; but meere Chriſtians in *Philo* his intent, as he deſcribes them according to the miſtaking of *Euſebius*, *Epiphanius*, and ſome others.

*The Annaliſts ſecond Argument to prove them Chriſtians from concealement of their names in the old Teſtament is meerly *ſcopæ diſſolutæ*.

100 It is the next argument to prove them * Chriſtians, becauſe there is no mention of them in elder Scripture, either in the Prophets, or Maccabeicall Stories, nor yet in *Joſephus* againſt *Apion*, whereas all other Jewiſh hereſies are remembred, Phariſees, Sadduces, Galilæans, Herodians; it muſt needs follow therefore, that they were Chriſtians. Which Argument of the Cardinals, from concealment of their name and profeſſion, is meerely *ſcopæ diſſolutæ*: but to take the parts thereof ſeverally along; If they were Rechabites, they are then remembred in holy Writ, long before that Chriſt or Chriſtianity were heard of in the world. If they were derived from the Rechabites, then are they remembred impliedly in their Patriarchs, Founders, and Predeceſſors; then are they remembred to bee in uſe in the Apoſtles time; for, as the Cardinall himſelfe obſerves out of *Euſebius*, and [illegible] from *Hegeſippus*, *James* the Juſt, in his ſufferings for Chriſt, was [illegible]ted by a Rechabite as his Proctor: and

Admiratione planè digna res eſt, quidnam ſit, quod cùm in Evangelio de cæteris omnibus habeatur mentio, nempe de Phariſæis, Sadducæis, Galilæis, & Herodianis; de Eſſenis quorum vitæ inſtitutio videri poterat præ cæteris admiratione digna, omnis memoria ſilentio prorſus obvoluta remanſerit, &c. *Sect.* 8.

35

as ſome conceive, they are implyed and pointed at in the new Teſtament, though not named in the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*; who taxeth and reproveth many things, not directly, but upon the by, taught and practiſed in the Schoole of the Eſſeni; as in that Indulgence or Admonition to Saint *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* 5.23. *Drinke no longer water, but uſe a little wine.* But I ſubſcribe not to it; for, it muſt imply, that *hydropotæ*, or drinke-waters were onely amongſt the Rechabites or Eſſeni; whereas, in thoſe hot Southerly Countries it was an ordinary cuſtome. As if Saint *Paul* had utterly forbidden uſe of water unto *Timothy*, importing his ſequeſtring of himſelfe for ever from that ſect; who yet adviſeth him to uſe but *a little wine*; ſometimes wine, not alwaies water: As if S. *Timothy*, becauſe he was a Jew by his mother, had therefore been of the Eſſenian ſect.

101 It is certaine the ancient Chriſtians were moſt of them, as rigorous and ſevere *Diſciplinarians*, as abſtinent as the Eſſeni in their courſe, ſo farr, that they often impaired their health, and endangered the ſtate of their bodies thereby, as Saint *Timothy* had done, who is therefore adviſed to uſe *a little wine*. Secondly, it is ſuppoſed the Apoſtle meant them 1 *Tim.* 4. 3. where he ſpeakes of Hereticks, *forbidding to marry*, and *commanding to abſtaine from meats*; but hee that affirmeth the Eſſeni to be touched in this, muſt needs prove himſelfe never to have read *Philo* or *Joſephus*. They faſted from meats, not only fleſh, but fiſh, and all other eſculents, but onely ſalt, bread, and herbs; but held not thoſe other meats unlawfull to bee eaten, from which they faſted. They married not themſelves, to avoid trouble, and for ſuſpicion had of womens honeſty; but they did not hold marriage unlawfull, or, as ſome hereticks did afterwards, *the worke of the Divell*: but, as *Joſephus* delivereth it in expreſſe termes, they held marriage to be lawfull; and ſome of that ſect, not ſo rigorous as other, took them *wives*, and did beget children. But had hee that ſo miſreported the Eſſeni, either read *Joſephus*, or been acquainted with the Stories of the Church, he might have found other hereticks condemning marriage, holding meats uncleane in the very firſt times of the Church.

The Eſſeni not touched in that of the Apoſtle, *Forbidding to marry, and commaning to abſtain from meats.* See more in Parag. 122.

102 Nor is it ſo ſtrange, or much to be wondred at, as *Baronius* makes it admirable, that there is no mention of them in the Goſpel: and that becauſe there is none, it ſhould ſeeme, they were Chriſtians: for, it is moſt falſe, that all other Jewiſh ſects are ſpoken of there, beſides the Eſſeni; there be many remembred in *Epiphanius* and others, who are not named in the Goſpel, the *Meriſtæ*, *Maſiothei*, *Oſſeni*, *Hemerobaptiſts*, and others. Secondly, It is falſe, that all the Jewiſh Sectaries withſtood our Saviour: none of thoſe laſt remembred did it; nor yet the Gortheni, Sebuæi, Doſitheani, no nor the Galilæans, who yet are named in the Goſpel; onely the Phariſees, Scribes, Sadducees, Herodians, Captain-leaders of hereticks, hypocrites, ambitious animals, rough-hewen, and cruelly diſpoſed men. It is no marvell if the Eſſeni reſiſted him not, who came not in places where hee frequented

Reaſons why they are not remembred in the Goſpel.

quented or preached, but lived retired ſolitary lives unto themſelves; who medled not with any mans buſineſſe, but obſerved punctually the rules and diſcipline of their owne Order; who were peaceable, tractable, mercifull men, offending no man, hurting no man with their good will, which may very well allay *Baronius* his admiration, why the Scripture makes no mention of them; and ſerves to refell his inference thereout, that therefore doubtleſſe they were Chriſtians; as if Chriſtians had been of later ſtanding, then that *Philo* or *Joſephus* might have named them; or as if ſuch as lived in *Philo*'s and *Joſephus* his time, had they been Chriſtians, could not have beene remembred in holy Scripture of the new Teſtament, which was all written, except the Goſpel of Saint *Iohn*, before that *Ioſephus* wrote any of his works: So that hindred not, but that hee might have made mention of them being Chriſtians. But wherefore he ſhould ſay, that *had they been Iews, hee would have remembred them in his book againſt* Apion, I can ſee no reaſon: for *Ioſephus* hath remembred them as occaſion ſerved, and as they came in his way, both in the *Jewiſh Warres*, and *Antiquities*. But in that againſt *Apion*, being of another ſubject, hee ſaith nothing of them, becauſe their ſect concerned not his purpoſe, except that hee had lived after, and read *Plinius*, for then he might have vouched him for mentioning the Jewes, as he hath dealt with *Beroſus*, *Manetho*, and others.

'Tis more like they were Anabaptiſts, or at leaſt the Patriarchs of that faction, then Chriſtians in Religion and Piety.

103 Chriſtians certes they were not, nor can be pretended to have been Chriſtians, being ſuch as *Philo* & *Ioſeph.* deſcribes them: eſpecially as *Ioſeph.* hath laid them forth, they were nothing leſſe then Chriſtians in Religion and Piety. Anabaptiſts they might be counted, at leaſt the Patriarchs of them; for they ſeeme to have abſolutely miſliked and condemned the practice of *warre*, and uſe of *armes*; and that might be the reaſon, that, imploying themſelves in working at many trades and occupations, none of them gave themſelves to the Cutlers or Armorers trade, to make ſwords, targets, helmets, or the like; but onely ſuch trades they learned and practiſed as ſtood with, or were employed in, and for the maintenance of peace, Τέχνας μετίοντες, ὅσαι μὴ συνεργάτιδες τῆς εἰρήνης, ἑαυτὸς τε καὶ τὸς πλησιάζοντας ὠφελοῦσι, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ οὐκ ἀδημίεργηταν. Nor was this on opinion firſt invented by the Anabaptiſts; *Tertullian* of old, amongſt other his errors, was blemiſhed with this, that abſolutly hee condemned warr and armes; ſo did the Manichees after him; but the Catholick Orthodoxe Church never did ſo, nor approved ſuch errors, but allowed ever of juſt and lawfull warre, with theſe three ſuppoſitions; 1. Rightfull power and juriſdiction of the party that aſſailes: 2. Wrong manifeſtly done by them that are aſſailed: 3. An honeſt end and purpoſe in undertaking Armes, *nam bellum geritur, ut in pace vivamus.* Out of Scripture Divines obſerve theſe cauſes warrantable, becauſe allowed by God: 1. Revengement of Idolatry, and Apoſtacie from God, *Deut.* 13. 12, 15. & 20. 17. Secondly, For violating the law of Nations, as in offering violence or indignity unto Ambaſſadors, who by common conſent of all

all Nations, have been held ever ſacro-ſanct and inviolable; an example whereof ſeverely vindicated by *David* upon the King of Ammon we have 2 *Sam.* 10.4. Thirdly, for Covenants, Conditions broken or not performed. Fourthly, for homage, obedience, ſubjection refuſed, and open rebellion wrought, 2 *Kings* 3.7,10. Fifthly, for withholding injuſtly by tort and violence another mans goods, and denying reſtitution upon demand, 2 *Sam.* 11. Sixthly, when a people or kingdome is invaded by force of Armes, 2 *Sam.* 8.1. Seventhly, for confederacy with enemies of our State; and aſſiſtance afforded them againſt the State, 2 *Sam.* 8.5. Eighthly, when impiety is growne into ſo enormous an head, that brutiſh and crying ſins popularly committed, cannot otherwiſe bee remedied but by armes, as *Ind* 20. 8. Some add, it is lawfull to make warr for propagating of the Chriſtian Faith againſt Infidels or Idolaters, that refuſe converſion; which opinion is refuted at large by *Ioſephus à Coſta*, a learned and conſcientious Jeſuite in his book *de procuranda Indorum ſalute*, and was never a practice of the Catholike Church.

104 But for the cauſes foreprized, and if there be any moe of the ſame nature, the Church hath ever held it conſonant to Gods *Word*, and therefore to his *Will*, and therefore lawfull to make warre. For, if Chriſtian Religion would have all manner warre to be held unlawfull, and unpractiſed, the ſouldiers who, in the Goſpel, asked counſell of *Iohn Baptiſt* what they ſhould do to obtaine everlaſting life, ſhould doubtleſſe have received from him this advice, Caſt away your Armes, abandon warre; and not, as wee finde it given in direction, *Offer injury to no man, accuſe no man falſely, be contented with your wages*, as Saint *Auguſtine* diſcourſeth upon that Argument. It cannot ſinke therefore into my head to beleeve, that Saint *Marks*'s Schollers learned any ſuch leſſon of their Maſter, as abſolutely to condemne the uſe of warre and armes, which thoſe Jewiſh Eſſeni did abhor and condemne.

The former Parag. made good, and amplified.

Si enim Chriſtiana Religio omnia bella culparet, hoc potiùs militibus in Evangelio, conſilium ſalutis petentibus, daretur, ut abjicerent arma, ſéque militiæ omninò ſubtraherent. Dictum eſt autem, *Neminem concuſſeritis, nulli calumniam feceritis, ſufficiat vobis ſtipendium veſtrum.* *Auguſt. Ep.* 50. *ad Marcellinum.*

105 Secondly, It was a Rule of their Schoole, and generally received Maxime amongſt them, as *Philo* and *Ioſephus* relates, That none of their fellowſhip become a ſervant. And why ſo? Forſooth, the reaſon is very Chriſtian-like and religious. They condemn, ſaith *Ioſephus*, all ſuperiority and lordſhip as unjuſt; nor yet not onely ſo, but as impious; becauſe Lords doe, in ſo being, violate the law of Nature, which, as a mother, having brought all men alike into the world, doth not onely in tale and title hold them brethren; but in deed and truth actually make them ſuch: An opinion not conſonant unto the Schoole of Chriſt, where, from Saint *Paul*'s pen, 1 *Tim.* 6. 1. wee learne other doctrine: *Let ſervants that are under the yoke account of their Maſters as worthy of all honour, that the Name of God and his Doctrine bee*

A ſecond reaſon at Large, againſt their being Chriſtians.

Καταγινώσκουσι τῶν δεσπότων ὡς μόνον οὐκ ἀδίκων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀσεβῶν, θεσμὸν φύσεως ἀναιρούντων τὴν πάντας ὁμοίως γεννήσασαν, καὶ θρέψασαν μητρὸς δίκην, ὡς ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀληθείᾳ ποιοῦντας.

not

not ill ſpoken of. And they which have beleeving Maſters, let them not deſpiſe them becauſe they are brethren, but rather doe ſervice becauſe they are faithfull, beloved, partakers of the benefits. Theſe things teach and exhort; if any man teach otherwiſe, and relyeth not upon wholeſome doctrine, hee is proud and knoweth nothing. As if the Apoſtle had ſpoken it out in termes, that the Gnoſtick hereticks (that Satanicall brood who called themſelves Gnoſticks, *knowers*, from their ſuppoſed illumination from above, which they ſaid themſelves were indowed withall) were oppoſers of ſervitude under pretence of Chriſtian liberty, or rather of intolerable licenciouſneſſe, which they would practiſe as they pleaſed.

106 Such Chriſtians now adayes be the German and Polonian Anabaptiſts and Anti-trinitarians, who deteſt and condemne all Authority, Superiority, Magiſtracie and Rule: nor yet onely ſo, but all degrees and different diſtinctions amongſt men, all right of propriety or juriſdiction; a doctrine never taught by Saint *Mark*, nor any Apoſtolicall man: For, ſo Chriſt ſhould bee contrary in his immediate Miniſters to himſelfe; for the Doctor of the Gentiles addeth yet further, 1 *Cor.* 8. *Let every man continue in that vocation wherein hee hath been called*; hee meaneth, unto Chriſt, and the profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion: *Art thou called being a ſervant, care not for it; but if thou maiſt bee free, uſe it rather:* Not condemning the ſtate and condition of ſervitude, which in thoſe daies was not only baſe, but ſlaviſh in extremity; yet preferring liberty and freedome before it. This indefeiſibly continued the doctrine of Chriſtian Schools taught and delivered by their ſucceſſors. To which purpoſe *Ignatius*, Scholler of S. *John*, in his Epiſtle to the Antiochians writeth ſo: "You Maſters, "carry not your ſelves in a proud tyrannizing ſort over your ſervants, "but remember and follow the ſaying of patient *Job*, *If I have con-* "*temned and vilified the judgement of my ſervant, or hand-maid conte-* "*ſting againſt mee:* the Apoſtle put thoſe words in his mouth which follow, "*Servants provoke not your Maſters unto wrath, leſt you bring* "*upon your ſelves irremediable miſeries.* And to the very ſame purpoſe in his Epiſtle to *Polycarpus*. So, after him, the Councell of Gangra, elder then that of Nice, Can. 3. which is the 62. Canon of the ancient Code. "If any man, under pretext of pietie, teach "his ſervant to deſpiſe or neglect his Maſter, or to depart out of "his ſervice, or not to doe him faithfull and honeſt ſervice, let him "be Anathema.

A third Argument that they were not Chriſtians, from the Egyptian and Hieroglyphicall courſe of interpreting Scripture.

107 Thirdly, Againſt that opinion which makes them Chriſtians, doth oppoſe that Allegoricall and Symbolicall courſe of interpreting Scriptures, which they brought in, firſt, principally and for a while onely uſed: for, it doth not favour of the doctrine of Saint *Marke* the Evangeliſt, the Diſciple of Saint *Peter*, and of our Saviour: but ſeemes rather to have beene derived from the Idolatrous Egyptian Prieſts and Hierophantæ, whoſe doctrine was meerly Hieroglyphicall, by ſymboles and alluſions many wayes. *That which*

which they teach, is delivered by them, ſaith *Philo, after the ancient* (Egyptian) *uſe, by ſymboles and repreſentations, which was the cuſtome of their country*; (for the Eſſeni of whom *Philo* writeth, were Heleniſts, or Alexandrian Jewes) *for inſtruction, moſt ancient, even elder then* Moſes, *as is ſuppoſed, who was brought up in this courſe of Egyptian learning.* From the Prieſts of Egypt *Pythagoras* tooke his manner of ſymbolicall doctrine, and from them *Philo, Clemens,* and *Origen*, eſpecially, being Egyptians by birth or converſation, brought this courſe of allegorizing into Chriſtianity, in that ſort, and after that faſhion interpreting the Scriptures. *Porphiry*, as we finde it reported in *Euſebius*, doth charge *Origen* with that invention; which is falſe: hee uſed it principally more then others, but was not the firſt who applyed himſelfe to it; *Clemens Alexandrinus* was elder then hee, his Maſter, who uſed it very much; *Philo* was elder then they both, who uſeth no other courſe of interpreting; and elder then *Philo* were theſe Eſſeni.

Τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ συμβόλων, ἀρχαιοτρόπως ζηλώσει παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται· ἐντυγχάνοντες τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς συγγράμμασι φιλοσοφοῦσι τῇ πατρίῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀλληγοροῦντες. ἐπειδὴ σύμβολα τὰ τῶν ὄντων ἑρμηνείας νομίζουσι φύσεως ἀποκεκρυμμένης οὐ σαφηνείας δηλωτικά. Sic enim legendum, & non δηλωτικά, quemadmodum in Euſebio.

108 *Petrus Galatinus Lib. 5. Cap. 6.* (who had it by plagiariſme, ſaith *Joſeph Scaliger*, as he had whatſoever he hath written againſt the Jewes, ſtolen from *Raimundus de Sabunde*) ſaith that this allegorizing courſe of Scripture was a meere Judaicall innovation, who uſed to terme the literall ſenſe *Dabir calon*, a ſmall word, or little booke; and the ſpirituall or allegoricall meaning *Dabir gadol*, a large, enlarged, or voluminous booke: that the literall ſenſe was purchaſeable for little or nothing; but the allegoricall ſenſe, being the certainty of the Law, was a very rare and precious jewell indeed, hid or laid up in a corner of the houſe, not eaſily findable but by ſeeking & ſearching after with light and candle, that is, with all the help the literall ſenſe can afford; which doctrine they learned not of S. *Mark*, nor was it taught in the Schools of Chriſt. But, as *Sixtus Senenſis* hath noted out of S. *Gregory*; "In expoſition of Scriptures, the ſenſe allegoricall applyed "unto faith, muſt be built upon the ground-work of the hiſtory; other-"wiſe, (as S. *Baſil* hath obſerved) they that uſe this kind of interpretati-"on, do make themſelves wiſer then the Oracles of the holy Ghoſt, "and under a colour & pretext of ſuch interpreting Scripture under-"hand, doe bring in their owne conceits and devices: A courſe never approved in the Church, but miſliked and condemned in *Origen* and others, who made every thing of any thing, in their allegorizing courſe of interpreting Scripture; with whom water was not water, nor a fiſh a fiſh. *I underſtand,* ſaith S. *Baſil, the law and manner of allegorizing, which is no invention of mine owne, but as I doe find it uſed and practiſed by others in their works; ſuch as will not take things according to common notions, as they bee written: who underſtand not by water ordinary water, but ſome other kinde of*

Οἶδα νόμος ἀλληγορείας, οὐκ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐξεύρεμα. ἀλλὰ τοῖς παρ' ἑτέρων πεπαιδευμένοις ἐντυχών, ὡς οἱ μὲ παιδεύσαντες τὰς καινὰς τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐννοίας, τὸ ὕδωρ οὐχ ὕδωρ λέγουσιν, ἀλλά τινα ἄλλην χύσιν. οἱ τὸν ἰχθὺν, τρόπον τὸ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦν, ἐρμηνεύουσι· οἱ ἑρμέτιον γένεσιν καὶ θείαν, εἰς τὰς εἰκαίας ὑπονοίας παρενεγκόντες, ἐξηγοῦνται. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ

effuſion;

ἐκεῖται τῶν φαινόντων ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὕπνον φαντασίαις, πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον σκοπὸν τὰς ἐξηγήσεις ποιούμενοι· ἐγὼ δ' ὅταν ἀναγνῶ χόρτον, χόρτον τοῦτον, καὶ φυτὸν, καὶ ἰχθὺν, καὶ θηρίον, τοῦτο, ὡς ἔστιν, ὅταν καὶ ὀνομάσω.

effusion, who expound the word fishes, not for that kinde of creature, but as themselves doe fancy; and in semblable sort pervert according to their owne devises, the generation of creeping things, and foure-footed beasts, therein, mee seemeth, they resemble Interpreters of dreames, who make what they please out of dreams related to them, and expound them according to their owne purposes and conceits. But I, for my part, when I read of grasse, I conceive it to bee such as I read it; and in like sort I understand and apprehend a plant to be a plant, a fish a fish, a beast a beast, every thing to bee so as it is named, and as I doe read it.

109 With *Basil* and the Ancients, we deny not Allegories altogether, nor confine wee the holy Ghost in Scripture to one onely literall sense and no more. There is in Scripture the History and the Mystery, as the Greek Fathers phrase it, there bee προάυλια, the outward or base Court; and περιαύλια, the Hall or Court-yard; and lastly, ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, the inward Revestries, Sanctuaries, or secret Chambers. *Zeno Veronensis*, an ancient Writer, resembles it to a writing *pen*, to a *sword* with two edges, to a paire of *pincers* or *tongs*, *scribens canna divisa est, sed unus calamus, & forfex in duos producitur cultros, sed eorum unus morsus; & gladius duas acies gerit, sed sunt unius corporis latera; & denarii duo, sed unâ monetâ signati; & scala duos habet scapos, sed ascensus unus.* The literall sense is first, because it is naturall, it is first to bee setled for a ground unto the mysticall or spirituall sense, which cannot be but upon the literall setled. The spirituall is threefold, Allegoricall, Tropilogicall, Anagogicall: ὑπογέγραπται γὰρ πλατέως ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας τὸ πλάτος. *Three severall wayes*, sayes *Nazianzen*, *it is written upon the breadth of the heart.* *Sed allegoria quæ ad fidem pertinet, super historiæ fundamentum imponi debet*, saith *Gregory* Bishop of Rome, for grounding that allegoricall sense: Otherwise, men make themselves wiser then the sacred Oracles of God; and under pretext of commenting or interpreting Scripture, bring in under-hand, besides Scripture, conclusions and fancies of their owne.

Ἑαυτὲς σοφωτέρους ποιοῦσι τῶν λογίων τὸ πνεῦμα τος, καὶ ἐν φερομένοις ἐξηγήσεως, τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεισφέρουσι. *Basilius.*

Their Sabbatizing (wherein they were most rigid) was a mark of Judaisme, not of Christianitie.

110 These Essenі were yet further, more, and most rigid Sabbatarians, beyond all other sects and schismes amongst the Iewes. They kept not the Lords day, or Sunday, as *Justin Martin* stileth it, after the Christian manner, but the Jewish Sabbath or Saturday; wherein they did not worke, but came to their Synagogues or meeting places to do their devotions, & other exercises formerly remembred; not Christian service, but Jewish ceremonies; infallible marks of Judaising unbeleevers, so accounted of by *Justin*, *Tertullian*, and other ancient Fathers, who made Sabbatizing, or observing the Sabbaths, an infallible note of distinction betwixt Iewes and Christians.

Τῇ τῆς ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγρὸς μενόντων, ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις

Christians met (as *Justin Martin* observes in his Apologie) *not upon Saturday, but upon Sunday,*

Sunday, called the Lords day; unto which day the glory, ſolemnity, reſpect and reverence formerly had of, and done unto the Jewiſh Sabbath, was transferred, as being the first day of the week in which God began to make the world, and the day wherein our Saviour roſe againe from the dead: Ut quod illi in figura, nos celebremus in veritate, ſaid Saint *Auguſtine.*

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ, &c. Τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν νέαν ἡμέραν ἐλθόντες τὴν κυριακὴν ἐπιτελοῦμεν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρεψάμενος, κόσμον ἐποίησε· καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη. *Iuſtin. pag. 162.*

111 What the judgement of the ancient Church was concerning this Eſſenicall piety in obſerving the Sabbath, appeareth firſt by *Ignatius* in his Epiſtles, who lived at the ſame time with *Joſephus*; *It is,* ſaith hee, *an incongruity for us to have Chriſt in our mouthes, and Judaiſme by Chriſt aboliſhed, in our hearts; certainely, theſe two cannot ſtand or comply together; but where Chriſtianity is admitted, there Judaiſme is excluded:* "ἕκαστος ὑμῶν σαββατιζέτω πνευματικῶς· *Let every* "*one amongſt you ſabbatize it ſpiritually, or keep a ſpirituall Sabbath; not* "*a corporall Sabbath, which conſiſts in ceſſation from all manner works,* "*in eating cold meats onely, as dreſſed the day before, in drinking onely* "*cold water* (as holding it unlawfull, a profanation of the day, to make any hot for uſe). To the ſame purpoſe ſpeake *Clemens* in his Conſtitutions, and *Juſtin* in his Dialogue with *Tripho* the Jew, thereby putting a difference betwixt Chriſtian piety, and Jewiſh religion. *Tertullian* maketh Sabbatizing no leſſe a mark of Judaiſme then Circumciſion. "Hee that conteſts about obſervation of the Sabbath, as if "it were yet to bee kept as conducing to ſalvation; and would have "Circumciſion uſed upon paine of death, let him make it apparent, "that the ancient, righteous, and holy men of God were either cir-"cumciſed, or did obſerve the Sabbath, or ſeventh day; and in that re-"ſpect, and not otherwiſe, were accepted of by God, and therefore "accounted the friends of God. If Circumciſion makes any polluted "man cleane, God, when hee made *Adam* uncircumciſed, why did "he not circumciſe him? at leaſt, when he reſtored him after his fall, "wherefore did he not then circumciſe him? He was uncircumciſed "when God placed him in Paradiſe, and ſet him there to dreſſe the "garden. Certes, foraſmuch as God made *Adam* uncircumciſed, and "not bound to keep the Sabbath day, hee afterwards accepted of the "Sacrifice of *Abel*, and hath commended his faith, who neither was "circumciſed, nor yet kept the Sabbath; rejecting then withall the "offering of *Cain*, who though hee offered rightly, yet divided not "aright. *Noah*, whom God preſerved alive in the generall Deluge, "was not circumciſed, kept not the Sabbath. This *Enoch* hath not as "yet taſted of death, being a competitioner of eternitie, that in, and "by him it ſhould appeare, that without the burthen of the Law of "*Moſes* it is poſſible to pleaſe God. *Melchiſedech* alſo, that great "high Prieſt of the moſt high God, was not circumciſed in his fleſh; "and although he did not obſerve the Sabbath, yet choice was made "of him to be Gods *Prieſt*. Thus at large, and more enlarged diſcourſeth that Father againſt the ſtrict obſervation of thoſe Jewiſh

Rites

Rites and Ceremonies, urged by hereticks upon the Church, but disavowed and rejected by the Church, with this caution, That hee neither was, nor could bee a good Christian, who stood upon those termes of Legall necessity, practised, an punctually stood upon, to superstitious observation, by those Essees in *Philo* and *Eusebius*.

Their Synagogues which they then had and used were neither built nor named after the Christian course or order in those primitive times.

112 Nor were those Synagogues or meeting places for their Conventicles, by what name soever they were called, had, used, fashioned, built, or named after the Christian course or order in those primitive times. They stiled them in generall ἁγιάσματα ἱερᾶ, *holy houses*: and such were Christian Churches indeed, sacred and set apart for divine service; but this name they gave aswell unto their Cels, and Commoratories where they ligged, as to their Synagogues appointed for service; which in particular they called by a proper name, σεμνεῖα, *places of gravity*; a title at no time, in any place, by any Author or Record, applyed unto Churches or conventuall places for Christians, which yet were called and knowne by many and different names. It is true, that *Monasterium* was anciently a word of Christian Schools, and practice; but not of so high antiquity as *Philo*'s dayes; nor of such use with Christians as it was amongst his Essens: for in *Philo*, each Essen, having his private Oratory for his private *devotions* by and for himselfe, calls it his *Monasterium*, which in Christian Schooles was for abode and habitation, not for service and devotion. And howsoever *Eusebius* in particular much mistakes the matter, for their meetings, meeting places, service used; reporting all for Christian, their very Oratories for parish Churches in the Countrey; which no man of any understanding in the state of those times will so apprehend: yet it appeares plainley by *Philo*, that as the names, so the nature, use, and employment was farr different from Christianity. Let *Eusebius*, *Baronius*, or any of that opinion produce but one Testimony, where Christian Churches, Oratories, or places of divine service are called *Monasterium*, *Semneium*, or *Synagoga*.

Ἱερὰ ἡ ἑβδόμην νενόμισαι, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπέχονται ἔργων, εἰς ἱερὰς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οὓς καλοῦνται συναγωγάς· Τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τοῦτο σεμνεῖον εἰς ὃ τοὺς ἑβδόμας συνέρχονται δίτλως δεῖ ἀβέβηλον· which *Eusebius* glosseth thus, falsly; ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησιῶν ταῦτα φησί.

A *Synopsis* of the practice of the ancient Church, for service of God in their meetings; which expedites and resolves the true state of this assertion of *Eusebius* and *Baronius*.

113 To expedite and resolve the true state of this assertion of theirs, it shall not bee amisse to represent to view in briefe the *Synopsis* of the practice of the ancient Church for service of God in their meetings, thus: *God is a Spirit*; therefore those that truly worship him, must serve and worship him in *spirit and truth*, which is inward and seated in the heart; but because they that must serve and worship him, are men, not Angels, nor living with Angels, howsoever the internall spirituall service of the heart is first and fundamentally to be laid, as men may and can; so must they serve him with the outward employment of their bodily parts, powers, and endowments. Secondly, because man in this consideration stands in a twofold respect and reference to God, publick and private; as he is alone, or as hee is *part* and *member* of a society, made a sociable creature by the God of his life, his service of God is fitted and proportioned to that state, *publick*

or

or *private*, as himſelfe is: as private men, we are left unto our owne choice, yet ever with due reſpect of duty for time when, place where, manner how wee will ſerve God in; but for publick ſervice of him, a publick place muſt ſerve, where, at leaſt *ex condicto*, many may meet in one, to one religious duty and ſervice of God.

114 Since man upon earth firſt ſerved God, this hath ever beene practiſed, before and under the Law, though with ſome difference, as alſo under the Goſpel; Inſtantly after Chriſts aſſention into heaven, the Apoſtles, and the Church which was at Jeruſalem did perform thoſe exerciſes *from houſe to houſe*, ſometime in one houſe, ſometime in another, as *Act.* 1.13. *Act.* 11.1,45. when S. *Peter* was impriſoned, and the Church made intereeſſion unto God for him, they meet in the houſe of *John Marks* mother; which houſe, it ſeemes, was their ordinary meeting place: Into ſuch houſes it was that *Saul*, yet a perſecuter, entred, when he drew out from thence to priſon the profeſſors of the name of *Jeſus*. In proceſſe of time, divers devout Chriſtians gave their manſion houſes, utterly ſequeſtred from profane uſe or habitation, unto this employment, to be meeting places for their Synaxeis or holy aſſemblies; which *Theophilus* of Antioch (he to whom Saint *Luke* doth dedicate his bookes) is ſaid to have done at Antioch, being, if not the firſt, yet one of the firſt that did ſo; whom *Claudius Pudens*, a Senator of Rome followed, and conſecrated his dwelling houſe to Divine ſervice, with title, as they called it, *Paſtoris*, or the Shepheards Church.

115 By little and little they began to build houſes for that purpoſe, eſpecially in peaceable times, as under *Titus*, *Adrian*, *Antonius Pius*, *Commodus*, who of all Emperors untill *Conſtantine* was moſt favourable unto Chriſtians, whatſoever he was otherwiſe. Theſe houſes they named *Ædes ſacras*, *Oratoria*, εὐκτήρια, *Martyria*, μαρτύρια, *domos orationis*, *Eccleſias* eſpecially, and by ſome other titles; but never *Templa* in thoſe ancient times, or Νάους, but left thoſe Titles unto Pagans. *Templum & Eccleſia* ſtanding ἐν διαστάσει in oppoſition: Though even before *Conſtantine*, they had in divers places Churches, Κυριακὰς, as they called them, or the Lords houſes, built and adorned more then ordinary; which were all demoliſhed by edicts of *Dioclesian* and *Maximinus*. But after peace ſettled, and Chriſtianity profeſſed and advanced by *Conſtantine*, as they began to build Gods houſes moſt *ſumptuouſly*, and to adorne them every way moſt *richly*; ſo then and after they began to ſtile them by the name of *Templa*, but never *Monaſteria*, *Semnæa*, or the like. Yet in *Ignatius* his Epiſtle to the Trallians, the Chriſtian Aſſemblie is named *Synagoga*, contrary to the atteſtation of ſome Romaniſts; namely, *Gregory Martin* a Literator, who brawles againſt us for uſing ſometime the word Congregation for the Church, as if they two were incompoſſible.

116 The moſt ancient Churches amongſt Chriſtians were in forme *Oval*, or like ſome kinde of ſhips, σκαφοειδεῖς, long and narrow; before, and at the ſterne, bulked out upon both ſides in the midſt;

where the *Paſtophoria* were placed for men and women; and in the midſt the Biſhops ſeat, ſtiled βῆμα for the aſcent unto it, and θρόνος for the eminency of it: at the Eaſt end was the Altar, or Communion Table, though at Antioch ſometime in the Weſt end: in the midſt was the Ambo or reading deske, whereat the Scriptures old and new were read by the Anagnoſtes unto the people: round about the Biſhops ſeat ſate the Presbyters or Prieſts, the Deacons not ſitting, but ſtanding behinde them; except the *Primicerius Diaconorum*, or *Archidiaconus*, who was ever to attend the Biſhop, and therefore ſtood cloſe by him, being evermore the eldeſt in time, not firſt preferred in affection: alſo, except thoſe Deacons, who by courſe attended upon the womens ſeats, to ſee all things decent and in due order; the Laicks or people, as is ſaid, were diſpoſed in both ſides of the Church, the men upon one ſide, the women upon the other: the Oſtiarii attended upon the mens, as the Deacons did upon the womens ſeats; younger men, if there were any roome, ſate; if not, then they ſtood upon their feet; boyes were with their fathers, and girles were with their mothers. Amongſt the women this order was obſerved; the younger ſtood one by one, if there were roome, amongſt the ancient grave matrons; if there were no roome, behinde them: Married wives and mothers were by themſelves, widowes and elder women ſate formoſt. The Deacons tooke care and looked unto it, that none talked or whiſpered together at ſervice, that none coughed or neeſed out aloud in the Church, that none ſlept, or any wayes miſdemeaned themſelves in that holy place, at that holy and ſacred action, in Gods ſervice: but every one was to demeane and carry himſelf with diſcretion and underſtanding of the buſineſſe whereabout hee was, in ſobriety, watchfulneſſe, and with diligent attention to what was done or ſaid.

Ἐπιστημόνως, νηφαλέως, ἐγρηγορότως, ἐντεταμένως τὰς ἀκοάς.

117 All this was in publick ſervice in publick place, the Church or houſe appointed for that purpoſe. Private Oratories, as the Eſſeni, they had none, private Chappels for private houſes, for ſeverall families were none; and afterward when they had crept into the Church, the uſe was prohibited, and the uſer cenſured by a Councell in the Greek Church, and is prohibited *de Conſecrat. D. 1. Cap. Clericos*; in the 59. of the ſame Councell in *Trullo*, Clergy men were declared excommunicate, that ſo adminiſter Baptiſme, or uſe prayers in Oratories in private houſes, which in the opinion of the Greek Canoniſts is forbidden in the 5 Canon of the Councell of Antioch, and in the 31. Canon Apoſtolicall, and held to be no better then a ſchiſmaticall Conventicle, erecting Altar againſt Altar. At publick Service in theſe Oratories of Churches, they ſung Pſalmes unto God, which, for the moſt part, were thoſe of *David*. *Plinius ſecundus* in his Epiſtle to *Trajan* the Emperor, concerning Chriſtians, calls them *hymnos antelucanos*, becauſe they met at their *vigils*, eſpecially after midnight, at prayers, and ſang *Pſalmes* with

Τοὺς ἐν ταῖς εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις ἔνδον οἰκείας τυγχάνοντας λειτουργεῖν κλῆσις, κατὰ γνώμην τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῦ Χριστοῦ τύπον ἐπὶ δείγματος· ὥστε εἴ τις κληρικὸς μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῖ, καθαιρείσθω. *Trull. Can.* 31.

with other holy exercises unto God: besides which *Davids Psalmes*, they had other holy hymnes and anthems composed by sundry religious and learned men, *Nazianzen*, *Apollinarius*, *Synesius* in the Greek Church; Saint *Ambrose*, *Prudentius*, *Paulinus* in the West. *Eusebius* in his 7. Book and 23. Chapter, relateth, that one *Nepos*, a Christian of Egypt, a man every way in all points well learned, compounded many *Hymnes* and *Psalms*, τῳ πολλῳ ψαλμῳδίαν, for that purpose; which was needlesse for him to have done, if that, as *Eusebius* did opine, long before *Nepos*, from the dayes of Saint *Mark*, the Essenі or Christian Ascetæ in Egypt had used to sing *Psalmes* and *Anthems* many, manifold, of different kinds and compositions in honour of God. Ἀσματα καὶ ὕμνοι εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐκ παντοίων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν ἐποίουν, as he phraseth it.

118 There is no doubt, but *singing of Psalmes* hath from all antiquity been practised in the Church. The Apostle makes mention of *Psalmes, Hymnes, and spirituall songs*: and as all things at first bee not brought to that perfection as afterward in processe they come unto; so was Christian Musick, whose Hymnes were not such as *Philo* mentioneth to have been in use amongst the Essenі; for if these *Hymnes* were Christian Hymnes, (as the Essenі, who used and sung them, were in *Eusebius* his opinion Christians,) *Philo* could not stile them *old, or ancient Hymnes*, much lesse most ancient, *Philo* himselfe being one that lived in the Apostles times, some say, acquainted with Saint *Peter* at Rome; to which opinion *Baronius* easily yeeldeth.

119 They had daily *prayers*, as Christians also had; but the set times of *prayer* with them was onely twice a day, and no oftner, before Sun-rising, after Sun set. The rest of the day was spent in their owne ordinary set exercise, that is, in working or in reading, expounding of Scripture by way of Allegory, which was one of their ordinary Asceſis or exercise. And those morning orisons were not *prayers* addressed unto God, the author of *life* and *light*, the donor of all good by day; but as *Josephus* hath it in expresse words, *prayers made and conceived unto the Sunne*, an idolatricall worship which every good Christian detesteth, and abhorreth with his soule. A Pagan Idolatricall course it was, like unto that mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, where superstitious prayers are said from the top of the high mountaine Cassius, to watch the first discovery and appearance of the Sun, and upon discovery, to adore it, before it be seen unto us, or other below. Which impious custome some had begun to bring into the Church of Rome in his time, as *Leo* relateth in these words; *De talibus institutis etiam illa generatur impietas, ut Sol inchoatione diurnæ lucis exurgens, a quibusdam insipientibus de locis eminentioribus adoretur*, ——&c. "*From such custome proceedeth this impietie,* "*that the Sun arising to begin day light, is by some frantick ones adored* "*from an high place; a course so religiously used by some Christians, that* "*before they come to Saint* Peters *Church, which is dedicated to the one,* "*onely, living God, mounting up the staires which leads to the higher*

Their Idolatricall worship of the Sunne a plaine argument that they were no disciples of Saint *Mark*, or absolute Christians.

Serm. de nat. Dom.

"*aſcent, they turne them to the riſing Sun, and bending their bodies, a-*
"*dore that glorious light. It grieveth me much, that partly out of ig-*
"*norance, in imitation partly of Pagan impiety ſuch a courſe is held.*
And yet theſe are thoſe eminent Diſciples of S. *Mark*, thoſe abſolute Chriſtians commended by *Baronius*, or worſe then theſe.

The coldneſſe of their devotion, in compariſon of that Primitive Chriſtian fervor, a ſigne that they were not Chriſtians.

120 Let it be added hereunto, that the time ſpent in *prayer* by theſe Eſſen Monks, as *Baronius* and *Euſebius* conceit them to be, doth not anſwer the *zeale* of ordinary Chriſtians therein; much leſſe the fervor of Chriſtian Aſcetæ; they prayed daily, continually, inſtantly, in ſeaſon, out of ſeaſon, in all places, at all times, upon all occaſions, *ad omnem motum, inceſſum, habitum*; eſpecially at undertaking and beginning of every work of conſequence. At their riſing in the morning, having made themſelves ready, and waſhed their hands, they fell to *prayers*, according to canonicall Inſtitution; becauſe God had brought them unto the enjoying the light of the day, having paſſed the darkneſſe of the night. Three times of the day at ſet canonicall houres they uſed to pray, at the *third*, the *ſixth*, the *ninth* houre, as *Tertullian* hath it, *ſtandingly*, beſides other times and houres *occaſionally*. *Salvâ indifferentiâ*, ſaith hee, *ſemper & ubique, & in omni tempore orandi, tamen tres iſtas horas ut inſigniores in rebus humanis, quæ diem diſtribuant, quæ negotia diſtinguant, quæ publicè reſonant, ita & ſolenniores in orationibus ad Deum fuſis, &c.* And this number was uſed, ſaith Saint *Cyprian*, in remembrance of the *bleſſed Trinity*. *Nam prima in tertiam hora veniens, conſummatum numerum Trinitatis oſtendit, itemque ad ſextam quarta procedens, declarat alteram Trinitatem: & quando à ſeptima nona completur, per ternas horas Trinitas perfecta memoratur.* Beſides which reaſon *Clemens* in his Conſtitutions giveth other: becauſe at the *third* houre *Pilate* gave ſentence upon our Saviour, who was crucified at the *ſixth* houre, and about the ninth gave up the Ghoſt. To which *Baſil* adds other reaſons in his Aſcetias. At midnight likewiſe by *Davids* example they roſe up to pray, having *Paul*, *Silas*, and other Worthies for imitation, as the author of the Homily *de Virginitate*, going under the name of *Athanaſius*, doth declare. The reaſon rendred by him is, becauſe about that very time our Lord aroſe from dead, having looſed the ſorrowes of hell, and the grave. *Hierome* writing to *Euſtochium* goeth yet further, and gives direction to ariſe twice or thrice in the night; and to read or repeat by heart ſome part of Scripture: So as *Cyprian* againe obſerveth; *Prater horas antiquitùs obſervatas, orandi & ſpatia & ſacramenta creverunt* amongſt thoſe ancient primitive Chriſtians; very cold, aſſuredly, was the devotion of thoſe Eſſenian, ſuppoſed Monks, compared with the *zeal*, *pains*, *practiſe* and *fervor* of ordinary Chriſtians in thoſe times: ſorry Aſcetæ they were, of not ſo much as ordinary aſſiſe, who could not find in their hearts to ſet over to Gods ſervice any more then two times or hours in the day. It had been much for the Cardinals credit to have taken theſe things into better conſideration.

Ἀναπαύσεως δὲ ἐξ ὕπνου περὶ τὸ ἕωθεν ποιήσασθαι προσευχάς. Clem. in Διατ. 8. 32. Εὐχὰς τρὶς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιτετάχεν ὁ θεὸς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἐννάτην τῆς ἡμέρας. Idem.

121 Faſting

121 Faſting was ever an undivided aſſociate unto prayer, in thoſe dayes, amongſt the firſt originall devout Chriſtians and Apoſtolicall men. Faſting and prayer were eſteemed as *two wings of the ſoule*, to fly up withall unto the Throne of God in heaven: ἔχομεν τὴν νηστείαν τούτων σύμμαχον, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*; καὶ τῆς καλῆς συναπλεύσονα ἡμῖν πρεσβείας. *Faſting we have an aſsiſtant in prayer, and a joynt interceſſor unto God.* The uſe whereof hath ever been moſt frequent, and the effect held moſt powerfull in the Church, faſting being much uſed, and that very ſtrict and rigorous by the Eſſeni, ſo that no men could goe beyond them in abſtinence, as *Philo* relates of them. *Euſebius* ſuppoſeth hereupon, that he hath gotten an unanſwerable argument, or demonſtration to prove that they were Monks; upon confidence whereof, hee willeth all oppoſites to change their mindes. *Si autem quæ hactenus à me commemorata ſunt videantur cuipiam non eſſe propria Evangelicæ hominum converſationi; ſed quòd & aliis etiam præter eos poſsint præallegata adaptari; & ſi quis aliter perſuaſum habeat, mutet ille ſententiam, propter illa ipſa* Philonis *verba, quæ deinceps proferentur, in quibus ſi æquus rerum æſtimator velit eſſe, pleniſsimum de hiſce rebus habebit teſtimonium.* Thus confidently hee without any great cauſe: for his full compleat teſtimony is but this; *Not any one of them will touch any meate or drink till Sun ſet.* The reaſon given is no good wholſome or Chriſtian reaſon, for, *they hold it to be a worke onely fit for darkneſſe and the night, to attend the neceſsities of nature; but the day ſhould be onely ſpent in learning, and ſuch like exerciſes.* Which no wiſe Pagan, much leſſe accurate Chriſtian would ever hold; unleſſe ſome ſuperſtitious and impious foole as *Plotin* bee to bee followed, who was aſhamed to bee ſeene eating or drinking, becauſe, forſooth, the body was but a priſon to the ſoule, and it could not well ſtand with reaſon to relieve it.

Their faſting alſo nothing anſwerable to the abſtinence of thoſe originall Chriſtians who then lived. *Tom. 6. p. 475.*

Σιτίων δὲ πάντων ἀθίξεις ἂν αὐτῇ προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως, ὑπειλῆφε τὸ μὲν μεταξὺ ἄξιον ἔργοις κείνοις εἶναι, σκότος τε καὶ σωμάτων ἀνάγκας.

122 Anciently in the Church there did ariſe hereticks, who forbad certaine meates, who held meat and drink abominable, the invention of a wicked power, and therefore accurſed all manner victuals, themſelves being denounced, accurſed, and noted for impious blaſphemers by the Apoſtle. Such were the Encratites, Marcioniſts, Manichees, and before them all thoſe mungrels, part Chriſtian, part Jewes, the Ebionites. They lived in the Apoſtles time, and were thoſe hereticks deſigned by the Apoſtle for condemning of meats: not the Eſſeni, as by ſome it is conceited, who were not hereticks of the Church, but in, and of the Synagogue, more like Pagans then hereticks. It is no argument then, much leſſe demonſtration, as *Euſebius* thought, that the Eſſeni were Chriſtians, becauſe they faſted much and rigidly, unleſſe hee could prove that *Scleragogie* was the practice of Chriſtians onely, which is moſt falſe. There is the *Gluttons faſt*, bee hee of what profeſſion ſoever; the *Medicinall faſt*, and abſtinence for healths ſake; the *Jewiſh faſt*, the *Phariſaicall faſt*, and the *Philoſophicall*, or *Pythagoricall faſt*. Pagans of old (as for inſtance,

Their faſting a jejune argument of their Chriſtianity.

the Ninevites, in extremitie, ſorrow, to appeaſe wrath, uſed ſackcloth, faſting, aſhes, &c. as well as did the Jewes, and other ſuch externall ſignes of humiliation.

Their expecting of the evening Star ere they broke their faſt, a token that they were of the Jewes.

123 I add hereunto, that in this courſe of faſting, the time for them fixed for repaſt, or break-faſt, namely, the evening or *riſing of the Starre*, was a common cuſtome of the Jewes; and ſhewes of what houſe they came; which was an ancient ceremony amongſt that people, and by the Eſſens practiſed, as being Jewes, according to the cuſtome of their Countrimen the Jewes.

How farre the ancient Chriſtians went beyond this.

124 The Cynick Philoſopher, or *Cynulcus in Athenæus*, derideth this Jewiſh uſe, which *Athenæus* might very well know and bee acquainted withall, being himſelfe an Egyptian of Naucratium, living after *Philo* and *Joſephus* both, under the Emperors *Antoninus Plus*, and *Philoſophus*. *I for my part*, ſaith that Cynick there, *had rather periſh by, and with that Thracian ſport you ſpeak of, then here in this Countrey to bee ſtarved up with your religious faſts, expecting the twinckling of the ſtarres; untill which time, the bleſſed inventers of this Philoſophicall courſe hold and teach, that wee are not to eat any thing at all.* Which paſſage, it is moſt probable, *Athenæus* addreſſed againſt theſe faſtings of the Alexandrian and Egyptian Eſſens, who therein obſerved the Jewiſh cuſtome, and went no farther; though for ordinary diet they were more preciſe. Whereas, the ancient Chriſtians in their faſts went beyond them, eating nothing untill the crowing of the Cock after midnight; which, ſaith *Clemens*, was an Apoſtolicall Conſtitution, and obſerved weekly by them, upon the ſeventh day, or Saturday, the Jewiſh Sabbath; which is elſewhere contradicted by himſelfe, and cannot ſtand with *Ignatius*, who bitterly inveigheth againſt faſting on Sundayes, or Saturdayes except Eaſter eve.

Μᾶλλον ἂν ἑλοίμην τὸν Θρᾴκιον ταύτῃ παίξας παιδιὰν διαφθαρῆναι, ἢ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἀγελαίᾳ, καὶ σεμνύνοντας τὸ ἀτελὲς ἄριστον· ἃ φασὶ μὴ φανέντος, οὐ χρηναὶ ταύτην φιλοσοφίαν εὑρόντες νόμιμον εἶναι μηδενὸς γεύεσθαι· ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τάλας χρῆν τὸν Κυνικὸν τρόπον δεῖπνον· Κερδὼς ἂν εἴην ἐντεῦθεν ἀκράτους.

Ἀπαγορεύει ἡ ἀποστολικὴ τάξις τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀλλήλους φορτίζειν. Διατ. 5. c. 12. Ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας πέμπτης μέχρις ἀλεκτρυονοφωνίας ἐπιτηρεῖν ὀφείλοντες ἐπιφωσκούσης μιᾶς σαββάτων. Can. 19.

Wedneſdayes and Fridayes through the whole yeere were faſted til 3. of the clock in the afternoone.

125 But the cuſtome, courſe, and order of faſting was differently uſed in the Church, and eſpecially the Eaſterne and Weſterne Churches varyed as well in *faſtings* as in *feaſts*: onely *Wedneſdayes* and *Fridayes* were generally obſerved through the whole Church, all the yeere; upon which day the cuſtome was to faſt till three of the clock in the afternoone, or thereabouts, as *Scaliger* citeth out of *Epiphanius*, *in Sermone Catholico*: what work that is, I know not, unleſſe it be his *Anacephaleoſis*, where hee hath the very ſame thing. *Dionyſius* Biſhop of Alexandria was ſo rigid in that point of faſting, that he holds them not worthy the name of Faſters, who eat at the firſt crowing of the Cock; but he would have them hold on to the dawning of the day. So that on all hands, *Euſebius* his argument to prove the Eſſens Chriſtian Monks for their faſting, will not be ſufficient.

Καὶ δι' ὅλης μὲν τῆς ἕτης ἡ τηρεῖν συνήθειαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Φημὶ δὲ τετράδι καὶ παρασκευῇ ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης.

126 Some

126 Some will anſwer haply, as it hath been anſwered, for *Euſebius*; that there being ſuch variety, this cuſtome of ſuch rigid obſervation, was not univerſall either for time or place, and ſo it might be true which *Euſebius* ſaith. Whereto I rejourne, that whatſoever the cuſtome was of Chriſtians in generall, the uſe of Chriſtian Monks and Aſcetæ, even in, and after *Euſebius* his time was much more rigid then that of the Eſſens; eſpecially in the moſt ancient times of the Church, ſuch as thoſe muſt needs bee wherein *Philo* wrote, who was of the ſame time with the Apoſtles. *Tertullian*, before *Euſebius*, writing againſt the Pſychicos, as hee calls the Orthodox Chriſtians, ſaith, that they of his ſect, the Montaniſts, faſted till the evening, whereas the *Pſichici* deſiſted from faſting at the ninth houre. *Clemens in Diat. 5. Cap.* 18. ſaith, that it was in his time (hee was elder then *Tertullian*, Scholler to the Apoſtles) a cuſtome for ſome to breake-faſt at the *ninth* houre; for others, at evening: onely excepting in the weeke before Eaſter, wherein ordinarily they faſted till the morning; for after the Reſurrection paſt, they faſted no longer; but in that weeke many faſted two dayes together: but upon good-Friday and Eaſter eve moſt men abſtained utterly from all repaſt; which they in thoſe hotter countries might better doe, then others in colder climes; though, even in theſe Weſterne parts, upon Eaſter eve they faſted untill the Cock crowed; which continued a cuſtome in Saint *Bernard* his time, as his words import: ***Univerſi Chriſtiani ſacrâ hâc ſeptimanâ, aut præ ſolito, aut præter ſolitum, pietatem colunt, modeſtiam exhibent, humilitatem ſectantur, induunt gravitatem, ut Chriſto patienti quodammodo compati videantur.*** Such diverſity being for this uſe, no concluding argument can paſſe, as I conceive, for the Eſſens being Chriſtian Monks for their faſting, which was not ſo rigorous as the Monks was.

Such diverſity there was in the uſe of faſting, that no concluding argument can paſſe for the Eſſens being Chriſtian Monks, when their faſts were nothing ſo rigorous as the Monks were.

127 Men of later ſtanding, greater learning, and more ingenuity amongſt Roman Confeſſioniſts, in that Church, then *Baronius*, or ſome others of that rigid ſtampe, who undertake for any thing taught or practiſed in that Church, no otherwiſe then for the eternall Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, be aſhamed of the abſurdity of that opinion, which makes thoſe Eſſeni either Aſcetæ or Chriſtians at large, and doe mollifie as they can, the harſhneſſe thereof in this ſort: Firſt, the Eſſeni, ſay they, were of two ſorts diſtinct; Practicall, who followed worke; or Theoreticall, who wrought not at all, but gave themſelves meerely to contemplation. Which is true in part, ſuch they were; but not as it were of two Families or Houſes; not diſtinguiſhed by any oppoſition of Countrey, Profeſſion, or Religion: but onely differenced by degrees of more or leſſe perfection, in purſuit and obſervation of the Rule of their Order: as wee ſee in the Religions at this day in the Church of Rome; The fathers of the Society, as they call themſelves, differ in degrees, not in Order. All are Jeſuites, and but Jeſuites, as well Novices newly profeſſed in the Order, Lay brethren of the Order, as Prieſts, or ſuch as have taken all foure vowes.

Later Romaniſts out of their ingenuity, are aſhamed of the abſurdity of *Baronius* his opinion in this point.

The

The Theoreticall Eſſens were but Practicall graduats, or *Emeriti*. All Theoricks had firſt been Practicks, though all Practicks did not attain to be Theoricks. *Philo* doth not diſtinguiſh them otherwiſe then *ſecundum magis & minùs* in perfection.

Another ſhift, that the Theorick (though not the Practick) Eſſens might be Chriſtians, examined and anſwered.

128 Secondly, ſome alledge, that indeed the Practicall Eſſens were elder then the preaching of the Goſpel, and in being before Chriſts Incarnation: which anſwereth that aſſertion concerning them in *Joſephus*, that they were ἐκ πάνυ παλαιοῦ, *of very ancient ſtanding*: and ſo they could not indeed bee Chriſtians; but the Theoricks, being of younger ſtanding, might. To which I anſwer as before; this ſuppoſeth a falſity, That they were of two houſes, who differed onely in degree of perfection, and were both of one ſtanding and affiſe. *Philo* writes of both; ſo doth *Joſephus*. But *Philo* as a Philoſopher, a Pythagoriſt, as hee is ſtiled, enlargeth upon thoſe who were more apparently of his ſect; and by their ſympathizing in all things with *Pythagoras*, might bring ſome credit unto that Pagan impiety amongſt the Jewes. *Joſephus*, as a man of action himſelfe, inſiſteth more upon thoſe, who converſed more apparently in the eye of the world, and had therefore greater notice taken of them. But neither is *Joſephus* ſilent in, or of their Contemplation; nor hath *Philo* omitted to ſpeake of the Practicks. It is falſe which *Serarius* ſaith, that *Philo* onely ſpeaks of the one, that is, Contemplative Eſſens, and not *Joſephus*; and contrary to his owne direct aſſertion, whoſe words are, *Uterque ſtatuit, duo eſſe genera Eſſenorum*. And if in all opinions, the more retired Philoſophers, and greateſt Contemplators doe conſtitute eſpecially that ſect, whereof they be, how could *Joſephus*, who purpoſely wrote of three ancient Jewiſh ſects, not include or intend the Theoreticall Eſſens, who both in number, in excellency, and account exceeded thoſe other? And if any of theſe were Chriſtians, as *Euſebius* dreamed, thoſe whom out of *Philo Baronius* maketh Chriſtians, were not the men, in all probability, but the other: for when *Philo* wrote of them, Saint *Mark* had planted no Church at Alexandria; Chriſtian piety was not propagated into Egypt; the Law was not as yet gone forth of Sion, nor the Word of the Lord from Jeruſalem, as after in the dayes of *Joſephus*. *Philo* doth not any where inſinuate, in deſcribing of their manners, any thing that may tend to prove them to have beene Chriſtians, either for their practice or beliefe.

In ſumme, the diſcongruities in their beliefe and practice from that of the firſt Chriſtians, plainly evinceth they were nothing leſſe.

129 Not for their Beliefe: for, as hath beene ſaid, not any reflection upon any Article of Chriſtian faith is ſo much as glanced at, directly or upon the by: And for their Practice, I have inſtanced many diſcongruities; but nothing doth leſſe reſemble Chriſtianity, then that which may ſeem at firſt ſight to tend that way, their great holy meeting about Eaſter, where *Menſa pura eſt à cruentis dapibus*; which may ſeeme to point at the Lords Table: but indeed, a Pythagoricall Feaſt, who held it unlawfull to kill or eat fleſh: for at this board they ate ſalt, they chopped hyſop, and ſuch herbs with the ſalt; they

they dranke water, and no wine. Now can *Serarius* or *Baronius* say, That this was the use and practice of the Christians at the Lords Supper?

130 But I will not follow *Eusebius* and *Baronius* in their opinion any farther, who neither agree amongst themselves, or others, or the truth. It is justly taxed, condemned, and cast out by *Scaliger*, *Drusius*, and other learned Protestants, That the Esseni mentioned and described at large by *Philo* first, and then by *Josephus*, (whether *Practici* and *Cœnobitæ*, or *Theoretici* and *Anachoretæ*,) were Christians in Profession, and not Jewes; were Monks and Ascetæ amongst Christians, and not hereticall Scleragogists amongst the Jewes. Jewes they were by birth, Jewes all by profession, though as hereticks and schismaticks in the Synagogue. So we leave them, and proceed unto some other, which at that time were notorious in the Jewish Synagogue and State, and mentioned, some of them at least, in holy Scripture.

Jewes they were by birth; and Jewes by profession, though as hereticks & schismaticks in the Synagogue.

131 The hereticks and sectaries hitherto remembred, that is, the Pharisees, Sadduces, and Esseni were Jewes by originall descent and birth, and therefore *Josephus* speaking of them, is punctuall, that of ancient time there were three sects amongst the Jewes. Other sects and sectaries there were amongst the Jewes, either not Jewes at all, or partly Jewes, Pagans partly, or Proselites at best. The first in this kinde were the Samaritans, of whom mention is often in the Scripture: Not so much a sect as a Nation; (but a sectary and schismaticall Nation,) and therefore not denominated of any Author, Founder, or beginner of their heresie; but called so of Samaria, the Citie and Country where they dwelt, and whereof they were natives or inhabitants then. Samaria was a part of the Land of promise in generall, and not a portion of a part thereof in particular. It was no part of Judea onely, as some have fained, but in the whole divided against Judea; for, Canaan was divided into three parts, Galile, Samaria, and Judea. Galile and Samaria were not parts of Judea, as even *Strabo* himselfe seemeth to take it, unlesse in a kinde of ambiguous signification wee take Judea for the whole; as *Judæi* or Jewes (who directly and properly were onely those of the Tribe of *Juda*) that is, all Israel of any Tribe; as *Anna* namely, who was of the Tribe of *Asser*: but confusion in such sort breedeth obscurity. For scituation in respect of the other parts of Palestina, Samaria lay in the midst betwixt Galile and Judea, as appeareth *John* 4. 3,4. so that whosoever travelled from Galile to Judea, or *vice versa*, from Judea into Galile, must necessarily passe through Samaria, that lay in the midst. This Countrey, in processe of time called Samaria, was first and anciently the lot of inheritance of the sonnes of *Joseph*, of *Ephraim*, and halfe the Tribe of *Manasses*: The which Tribes being the inhabitants of those parts, were the first movers and principall ringleaders unto Idolatry, of those who fell away from the House of *David*, & from the God of their Fathers. For *Jeroboam*, who taught Israel

Of the Samaritans as a People.

Iſrael to ſin, erecting calves at Bethel and at Dan to bee worſhipped, was himſelfe of that Country and that Tribe, 1 *Reg.* 13. 31. and in that Countrey at Sichem built his Palace, where the Kings of Iſrael were lodged untill the dayes of *Omri* Father unto *Ahab*, a man that in prophane wickedneſſe exceeded all that were before him: ſo that the abominations of the houſe of *Ahab* were eſtabliſhed and principally practiſed in that Countrey: not in that Citie, I grant; for, *Zimbri* the traitor being beſieged by *Omri*, burnt the Kings houſe, the citie Thirſa, and himſelfe. In place and ſtead whereof ſucceeded Samaria from the dayes of *Omri*; a citie ſo called from the owner thereof, and the country denominated from the citie.

132 For *Omri* being ſeated in the Kingdome, and intending to build a place of ſtrength for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors, bought a piece of ground in the utmoſt confines of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, ſtrong by naturall ſcituation upon a rock, and ſtrengthened afterwards by him with many artificiall fortifications. The name of the citie ſo by him built, he called Samor, of *Somer* the owner of the ground formerly, who ſold it unto him for two talents of ſilver; in which citie *Omri* himſelfe reigned ſixe yeers. *Abulenſis* opineth, that *Omri* was not ſo much the firſt Founder, as Repairer of this city; which the Scripture ſaith preciſely, was by him purchaſed, and built upon. Had it formerly beene a city in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, I would know how it came to bee the ſpeciall inheritance of a private man, ſuch as *Semer* was, of whom *Omri* bought it. *Joſephus* in the 8. of his *Antiquities*, and 7. Chapt. calleth it Mareon, and ſaith, the Greeks name it Samaria: but it ſhould be Someron, and not Mareon. The ſucceeding Kings of Iſrael downe from *Omri* had their principall reſidence, and for the moſt part, their continuall abode at Samaria; here they kept their Courts untill the finall captivity and deſolation of the Land under *Salmanaſſar* King of Aſſyria. The Prophets who lived and propheſied, as moſt of them did after *Ahab*'s reigne, doe ſtile the Kingdome of Iſrael, that of the ten Tribes, by ſedition and ſchiſme divided from the houſe of *David*, the Kingdome of Samaria, or the Kingdome of Iſrael in Samaria. The ſtate of defection from God, and of Idolatry committed againſt God is by this name and ſtate inſinuated figuratively. The Kingdome of Iſrael in Samaria was ruinated utterly and finally by *Salmanaſſar* King of Aſſyria, in the dayes of *Hezechiah* King of Judah, *Hoſea* being King of Iſrael in Samaria, the fourth yeere of the 14. Olympiad, in the dayes of *Romulus*, firſt King and builder of Rome, about 721. yeeres before the birth of Chriſt. Hee carryed the ten Tribes out of their owne Land of Iſrael, which God had given them, and diſperſed them into the North-Eaſt parts of Aſia: from whence, as of their originall, the Tartars, Turks, and other barbarous Nations who have ſcourged and plagued the world many ages together, are thought to have iſſued and deſcended. And in thoſe North-Eaſterly Countries the poſterity of theſe tenne Tribes are ſuppoſed to remaine, confuſed and mingled

mingled with the former inhabitants of thoſe Countries unto this day, retaining the names of *Dan*, *Naphtali*, and *Zabulon*, with the like.

133 Into the places of the Iſraelites thus removed, *Salmanaſſar* brought Colonies, and tranſplantations of mixed people from the countries beyond Euphrates, whom *Joſephus* moſt commonly ſtileth Cutheans; becauſe the chiefeſt of them came from Cuth, or Cuthus a countrey in Perſia, ſo denominated of a River which watereth that countrey, whereof I doe not remember to have read elſewhere. But in Scripture all theſe mixed nations being of foure or five ſeverall countries, are named Samaritans, of the citie and country whereto they were tranſplanted, and where they dwelled, formerly knowne by the name of Samaria in the dayes of the Kings of Iſrael. *Permanent nunc quoque*, ſaith *Joſephus*, *in ea regione Cuthæi vocati Hebræis, Græcis verò Samaritæ: qui pro præſenti tempore mutabiles; quoties viderint Judæos faliciter degere, cognatos ſe eorum appellant, utpote oriundos à* Joſepho, *& hâc ratione ſanguine illis conjunctos: Quando verò in rebus adverſis eos aſpiciunt, nihil ad ſe pertinere aiunt.* In this ſort ſtood the Samaritans wavering off and on with the Jewes a long time, never loving them, but often diſſembling with them, untill about 112 yeers before the birth of Chriſt, when *John Hyrcanus*, Prince and high Prieſt of the Jewes, after a yeeres ſiege, wherein the citie ſuffered extreme affamiſhment, and ſore miſeries, tooke it, razed it, and utterly laid it equall with the earth, ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves, as *Joſephus* relates in his firſt Book *de bello*, *Cap.* 2. and in the 13. of his *Antiq.* *Herod* afterwards comming to be King of the Jewes, repaired, re-edified, beautified it againe, and named it Cæſarea, whereof is often mention in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Thus much of the Samaritans, as a people.

134 Now for their Religion and practice of Piety, it muſt be conſidered of in a threefold time: Firſt, when they were Pagans, at their firſt tranſplantation thither by *Salmanaſſar*; Then were they Idolatrous worſhippers, ſerving the gods of thoſe nations whence they came: Thoſe that came from Babylon worſhipped *Succoth Benoth*, which is in Engliſh, *Tabernacles of daughters*, that is, *Venus*; at whoſe Temple the maids before marriage were, by law of the countrey, to be deflowred by ſtrangers, as in a Stewes. The inhabitants of Cuth had *Mergal* for their Idol, which ſignifies *fire or burning*, knowne to bee held the chiefe Deitie by the Perſians. The inhabitants of Hamath (about Damaſcus it was) made *Aſima* their Idol, that is, a *goat*. Thoſe of Ana had *Nibhas* and *Tartac*, the repreſentation of a *dog* and an *aſſe*. And the Sepharvaims burnt their children in fire to *Adramelech* and *Anamelech*, gods of Sepharvaim. For this their impious Idolatrie, God ſent Lions amongſt them who deſtroyed them, whereof when they underſtood the true cauſe, they gave intimation of it to the King of Aſſyria their Founder; That becauſe they knew not the religion, nor manner of ſerving the God of the

Their ſchiſme in point of religion, and practice of piety.

the country where they lived, therefore hee had ſo plagued them. Which being made knowne unto the King of Aſſyria who brought them thither, hee ſent back unto them ſome of the Prieſts of the Land, that were Prieſts of the Calves at Dan and Bethel, to inſtruct them in the religion of the country, to ſerve the God of heaven and earth, according to the Law, with ſacrifices legall, and oblations repreſented, as *Jeroboam* had taught, under the viſible forme of a Calfe. Thus they learned the Idolatrous ſervice of Iſrael, but abandoned not the ſervice of their owne Idols, profeſſing a mingle-mangle hotch-potch religion; they ſerved God together with their Idols: God, according to the faſhion of Iſrael invented by *Jeroboam*; and their Idols after the manner of thoſe nations from whence they came: firſt Idols onely, and not God; afterward Idols together with God. Thirdly, upon the returne of the Jewes from the captivity of Babylon, they left off to ſerve Idols, and onely worſhipped the God of heaven, though in ſchiſme, and with hereſie evermore; they received and reverenced the Law of *Moſes*, and eſteemed of him, as of a great Prophet with the Jewes: but contrary to the cuſtome and received doctrine amongſt the Jewes, they rejected all other Prophets beſides him, and gave no reverence unto their writings; they expected the promiſes made unto the Fathers, that is, of Meſſias to come, to deliver them and their countrey from temporall indurances; to teach them all things, as that woman of Samaria profeſſeth, *Joh.* 4. they were circumciſed as well as the Jewes; they offered ſacrifices, and had Prieſts for that purpoſe, as had and did the Jewes; they performed the ceremonies, rites, and ſervice of the Law, not in the Temple at Jeruſalem, *the place which God choſe to put his Name there*, but in another Temple; and this was their ſchiſme in erecting Altar againſt Altar upon mount Garizim, in their owne country, built, as hath been touched, by *Sanballat* the Horonite, in the dayes of *Alexander* the Macedonian, upon that occaſion which hath formerly been noted of *Manaſſes* his revolting and apoſtacie from the Jewes; becauſe hee, contrary to the Law of God, had married a ſtrange wife, *Nicaſo* the daughter of *Sanballat*, and refuſed to be divorced from her. Unto *Manaſſes* Prieſting it there in the Temple of Mount Garizim, amongſt the Samaritans, reſorted all light, lewd, idle perſons, all notorious offendors, malefactors, ruffians, and perſons excommunicate amongſt the Jewes; with them *Manaſſes* made a rent or ſchiſme from the Politie, Religion, Temple, Service of the Jewes: and in ſuch ſort continued they divided in our Saviours time, about three hundred and forty yeers after the building of that Temple: for, howſoever *Hyrcanus* tooke, ſacked, burnt and deſtroyed both Temple and Citie, yet as *Herod* reſtored againe the City, ſo was their ſchiſmaticall Religion continued in that mountaine, commonly ſtiled by, and amongſt the Jewes the *Mountaine of Tranſgreſſion*, both in regard of the ſchiſme from the Jewiſh Temple, it being the receptacle made of all refuſe people amongſt the Jewes; as alſo in reſpect of thoſe heretical opi-

nions

nions taught and fomented there: for as ſchiſme proves hereſie in concluſion, ſo did it with them; having made a ſeparation from the Law and Temple, they fell upon foule profanations of both.

135 Theſe Samaritan ſchiſmaticks being of ſo late ſtanding for beginning, as that they were not untill the captivity of the Land, nor did they, durſt they contend for precedency, priority, antiquity of their mountaine Service, Temple, Religion, Gods worſhip by themſelves uſed and invented, againſt thoſe anciently inſtituted and practiſed at Jeruſalem. *Joſephus* relateth in his *Antiquities*, that in conteſting with the Jewes about the place where God was to be ſerved, *Ptolomæus Philometor* King of Egypt was made Judge of the controverſie, who gave ſentence for the Jewes againſt the Samaritans. The principall ground the Samaritans went upon, was that mentioned by the woman, *Joh.* 4. *The Fathers ſerved God in this place*, that is, in mount Garizim, about Sichem; and that therefore the place was a fitter place to ſerve God in, then at Jeruſalem, where *Solomon* ſo many hundreds of yeers afterwards built the Temple. Shee meant not by the Fathers, thoſe Cutheans, or others tranſlated into the cities of Samaria by *Salmanaſſar* King of Aſſyria: nor yet, elder then thoſe, the revolters with *Jeroboam* from the houſe of *David*, and ſervice of God, as *Maldonate* the Jeſuite erroniouſly conceiveth it: but by Fathers, ſhe underſtood the ancient Patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Joſeph*, who worſhipped at ſome time or other in that hill; the three firſt when they ſojourned in the land of Canaan, *Joſeph* at his going up out of Egypt with his Fathers body, to bury it in the cave of Mackpelah; and *Moſes* alſo, as the Samaritans pretended, when being fled out of Egypt, hee ſojourned in the land of Madian forty yeers together; for the Samaritans derived themſelves from thoſe ancient Patriarchs, pretending kindred with the Jewes, as hath beene ſaid, and would not confeſſe themſelves ἐπήλυδες, *Incommers*, from thoſe tranſ-Euphratean nations, brought thither by King *Salmanaſſar*, though they could not deny their Temple to have been built by *Sanballat* and his complices, in the dayes, and with the licence of *Alexander*, when he had ſubdued the Perſian Monarchy, and made an end of it.

That of S. *John* expounded, *The Fathers ſerved God in this place*. See more Parag. 141.

136 Nor would they bee beaten off from this opinion of deſcent from *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, eſpecially when neceſſity urged them, or they had any need of the Jewes aſſiſtance: but if the Jewes at any time were under hatches, in any extremity or diſtreſſe, if themſelves were laid at as neighbours, allies, brethren, or confederates in State or Religion with the Jewes, then would they renounce their alliance, and utterly diſclaime kindred with them; ſo *Joſephus* punctually, *Antiq.* 11. *ult.* *The Samaritans underſtanding in what honourable ſort King* Alexander *had uſed* Jaddus *the high Prieſt, and with what reſpect he had regarded the Jewiſh nation in generall, profeſſed themſelves alſo to bee Jewes: For, ſo was their uſe and cuſtome, as hath been ſhewed of old, when the Jewes are in any diſtreſſe, then they deny them, diſclaime kindred of them; but in proſperity they fly hot upon their kindred*

The wavering of theſe Samaritans; one while claiming, another while renouncing the kindred of the Iewes.

kindred againe. And hee giveth inſtance of their renouncing them, *Lib.* 12. *Cap.* 7. when the Jews were ſo ſorely and tyrannouſly oppreſſed by *Antiochus*, which is related by the Author of the Maccabeicall Story. *The Samaritans conſidering how the Jewes were oppreſſed, would no longer owne them for their kinſmen: nor was the Temple in mount Garizim at that time any Temple of the great God of Iſrael; but then they would bee deſcendents, as indeed they were, from the Medes and Perſians. They were no Jewes of the ſeed of* Jacob. Which aſſertion *Joſephus* proves by a Letter of theirs unto King *Antiochus*, in theſe words, "*To King* Antiochus, God, Epiphanes, *i. e. noble*", (whom *Polybius* more rightly ſtileth *Epimanes, i. e.* mad,) "*the Remonſtrance* "*of thoſe Sidonians which dwelt in Sichem. Our forefathers enforced* "*by many peſtilentiall diſeaſes, out of an ancient ſuperſtitious cuſtome,* "*were wont to keep holy the Sabbath day, as the Jewes doe call it, and* "*to obſerve it very ſtrictly: And having erected in the Mount called* "*Garizim a Temple without name, without any dedication, offered there-* "*in their uſuall and accuſtomed ſacrifices. But well conſidering and ad-* "*viſing, you have dealt with the Jewes in no other ſort then they well de-* "*ſerved: ſuch as were your Officers and Lieutenants in theſe Countries,* "*ſuppoſing that wee were of their lineage and kindred, and therefore u-* "*ſed the ſame ceremonies, religion, and courſe of ſerving God with* "*them, have made us partakers of the ſame crimes, culpable together* "*with them; Whereas indeed, wee have nothing to doe with them, are* "*not of them; but as by publick Records it is manifeſt, we are originally* "*extracted from the Sydonians. Our moſt humble petition therefore is* "*unto you, That as our publick Benefactor and Preſerver, you would bee* "*pleaſed to command* Apollonius *Governor under you in theſe parts, and* "Nicanor, *Treaſurer of the Countrey, to put a difference betwixt us and* "*the Jewes, and not to involve us in the ſame caſe with them, wee being* "*neither of the ſame Stock, nor yet of the ſame Religion with them. And* "*that you would be pleaſed to command, that our Temple, as yet dedica-* "*ted to no Deity, may be named the Temple of* Jupiter Hellenius, *which* "*will be a preſent means to deliver us out of theſe troubles.* Thus thoſe Samaritans wrote unto *Antiochus*, diſclayming the Jewes, their religion and affinity at once.

And indeed a cleere difference our Saviour himſelfe put betwixt them and the Iewes. *Mat.* 10. 5.

137 Falſe it is which they pretend to be Sidonians, ſuch they were not: nor derived from them who were Georim, the ancient inhabitants of the land of Canaan. True it is, they were not of *Jacob*, of no alliance, by the Patriarchs, unto the Iewes. Our Saviour ſending forth his Diſciples to preach, into every place that himſelfe would come unto, makes a cleere difference betwixt the Iewes and them; that they were not of Iſrael, though not fully Pagans: *Go not into the way of the Gentiles, enter not into the Cities of the Samaritans, but goe rather unto the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael.*

* The Iewes as infenſe to the Samaritans as they to them: for as there is no tye to that of religion; ſo no diſaffection to that of religion.

138 * But whatſoever ſmall account they made of the Iewes for affinity or kindred, the Iewes were quit with them, and made as ſmall reckoning and eſteeme of them; they hated them as Pagans and

and ſtrangers, nay worſe then any ſtrangers or Gentiles in the world: they deteſted them as ſchiſmaticks from their ſervice and Synagogue, as diſſenting hereticks from their Doctrine and Law, as intruders *aliande* upon the inheritance of the ſons of *Jacob*. So deadly inveterated and implacable was the hatred that each bare to the other, from the return of *Juda* out of Captivity in Babylon, that they would not ſo much as trade, traffick, intercourſe, or commerce one with another: they refuſed to give lodging, covert, houſe-room, meat and drink one to another; which appeareth by our Saviours own caſe, whom the Samaritans would not entertain, nor receive into their Cities, becauſe *his face was ſet as going up to Jeruſalem to the Feaſts*. For, as there is no bond to the bond or tye of Religion; ſo there is no ſo great disbanding, diſaffection, or hatred as that of Religion: Religion hath a name which argues the ſtrictneſſe of the tie, it is of *religando*, binding faſt and againe; and ſemblably, our Saxon Anceſtors did very properly and ſignificantly call it in their tongue, *Eane faſtnes*. The practice of the world, which is, and hath beene ever, plainely ſheweth on the other ſide, that hatred which is betwixt profeſſors of contrary Religion, how farre it proceedeth, that the enemies of Iuda are reconcileable, and may be appeaſed; but the adverſaries of Sion are implacable. *Ponam inimicitias*, ſaith God unto the ſerpent, *I will ſet enmitie betwixt thy ſeed and her ſeed*; I will lay it as a ſtone in the foundation, which cannot be taken away, nor removed at any time.

139 And in this difference of Religion, obſerve it who will, the diſſention, hatred, rancour is not ſo high, extreme, ſo regnant or irreconcileable betwixt extreme oppoſites who diſſent utterly, (as Pagans and Chriſtians for example) as it commonly is betwixt ſubordinate profeſſors, who agree upon generals and for the maine ſubſtance, but diſſent in particulars or application. The Roman Confeſſioniſts at this day rather tolerate, doe not ſo extremely hate a Turke, a Jew, a Pagan, as they doe a Proteſtant; the one they will burne, but pity and commiſerate the other: and the Proteſtant, to bee quit with him, doth in his charity and affection preferre a Mahometan before him, and will tolerate any, the moſt blaſphemous heretick, rather then him. It is an ordinary Apothegme, in ſome mens mouthes, (as it was once a cognizance in the Dutch mens caps) *Better a Turk then a Papiſt*, though the Papiſt beleeves all Articles of the Creed. The Turks and Perſians ſemblably, both blaſphemers againſt God and Chriſt, enemies both of them unto the name and Croſſe of Chriſt, both alike beſotted with *Mahomets* impiety, both bearing the *mark of the beaſt*, that is, Circumciſion in the foreskin of their fleſh, diſciples both miſled by the ſame falſe Prophet, but not by one and the ſame way; the Turks following the way of *Ebubezer*, the Perſians being of the Schoole of *Haly*, do deteſt one another more then Chriſtians, make warre one upon the other, rather then on Chriſtians, will rather tolerate, as both of them doe, Chriſtians, then profeſſed Mahometans, as both of them are. So was it of old with the Jewes and

Difference in religion is not more high and irreconcilable betweene extreme oppoſites, then betwixt ſubordinate Profeſſors, that profeſſe both one God, but not one way.

Samaritans, both profeſſed one God, but not one way; the true God of heaven and earth, but differently, divided in ſchiſmes and doctrinall opinions many wayes.

The threefold proceſſe of the Samaritan ſchiſme.

140 For ſchiſme, the Samaritans had a threefold proceſſe in a threefold time: The firſt was ancient, and began in *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, who is eternally branded to have cauſed *Iſrael to ſin*; who fell off, and drew Iſrael away from the houſe of *David*: and leſt by going up to Jeruſalem thrice every yeere, at the ſolemne Feaſts, to worſhip, they might repent, and returne to the houſe of *David* again, hee drew them alſo away from the houſe of God, and erected Altar againſt Altar, Idol againſt God, golden Calves in policie, upon reaſon of State, at Dan and Bethel, within the Territory of the tenne Tribes.

141 The ſecond ſchiſme by them made was at, and from the building of their Temple in mount Garizim by *Sanballat* for *Manaſſes*, a Prieſt, his ſon-in-law, which continued unto the demoliſhment of it by *Hyrcanus* the Maccabee, not many ſcore yeeres after the firſt building thereof. The third from thence unto the finall deſolation of the land, at what time all ſchiſme ceaſed, Altar was no more erected againſt Altar, worſhip againſt worſhip, the Jewiſh State, Polity, and Religion being aboliſhed utterly and undone. This was according to that ſpeech and prediction of our Saviour to the Samaritan woman; *The houre commeth, and already is* (begun) *wherein true worſhippers*, (who ſhall worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth) *ſhall neither worſhip in Jeruſalem, nor in this Mountaine.* Yet howſoever the ſchiſme ceaſed by deſolation of their States, the hereticall opinions of that ſchiſmaticall ſchoole were not therewith aboliſhed, but continued long after, in *Origen*'s and *Epiphanius* his dayes, as themſelves remember.

Schiſme for the moſt part ends in hereſie: ſo did theirs.

142 Schiſme and hereſie are not the ſame thing, nor ever incident undividably to the ſame parties: divided they may be ſubjectively; a ſchiſmatick may be orthodox in his doctrine: divided they are objectively, in the nature and condition of the thing; for, one reſpects charity, being breach of unity in the bond of peace; the other reſpects faith, being an aberration from truth of doctrine in Religion of the Church. And yet are they of neere alliance, often, as mother and the daughter, as is the cauſe and the effect. Schiſme for the moſt part produceth hereſie, ends in hereſie: It moſt commonly happens in proceſſe of diviſion, that the diſparted in affection from the unity of the Church, become divided in opinions from the beliefe and doctrine of the Church, making ſhipwrack of faith, as well as breach of charity; which is a juſt reward to thoſe to be abandoned and forſaken of God, who out of diſcontent, ambition, or ſome ſuch ſiniſter end, doe break the unity and peace of the Church. So did the Meletian ſchiſmaticks in Egypt, right beleevers at firſt, though ſeparatiſts in act from the Church, fall in, and combine with the Arians in their blaſphemie againſt the Son of God. And ſo theſe ſchiſmaticall Samaritans being divided

divided from the politie of the Synagogue, fell into hereſies againſt the faith and doctrine of the Synagogue, and into Paganiſh profaneneſſe many wayes. They honoured with divine worſhip, as *Epiphanius* relates, the daughter of *Jeptha* Judge of Iſrael, as their country-Patronetſe, and kept (in his time) an Anniverſary or yeerly Feaſt and Obit in memory of her: which yet, it may be, was no other then that ancient uſed cuſtome in Iſrael, remembred *Judic.* 11. 12. whereby the *women of Iſrael* uſed every yeere, foure dayes together, to celebrate the memory of her, and to bewaile her.

Ἐν τῇ Σεβαστῇ τῇ τότε Σαμαρείας πρωτευούσῃ τῶν ἓξ ἀρχόντων Ἑβραϊκῶν θεοτιμήτως, ἔτι καὶ τὰ τελετῶντα, καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. 46 g.

143 Secondly, they were exceedingly given, and generally addicted unto ſorcery, magick, and witchcraft, inchantmens and conjurations, with all other kind of curious and unlawfull arts; *Simon* the Sorcerer, or *Magus* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, was by birth a Samaritan; borne, as *Juſtin Martin* relates, (who was his country-man) at Githon, a Village or ſmall Towne of Samaria; this man, as the ſacred Story of the *Acts* reporteth, was famous for his skill that wayes: ſuch was *Menander*, a Samaritan likewiſe, and his Diſciple. Theſe were the Fathers and Founders of all hereſie in the Church; ſeduced many by their magicall impoſtures, which ſect was frequent and much dilated in *Juſtin Martyr's* dayes, as himſelfe reports: Nor did it begin at, or with *Simon Magus*, it was the generall practice of his Country, onely hee became excellent in the Trade. That the Samaritans were anciently defamed therewith, the Jewes doe intimate in that their blaſphemy againſt our Saviour, *Thou art a Samaritan, and haſt a divell*, as taxing him with the practice of that people, who commonly being witches, had familiar ſpirits attending on them. For, otherwiſe they knew hee was no Samaritan, but a Galilæan of Nazareth; and a Jew: their meaning was, Thou haſt a Divell, thou workeſt by the devill, as the Samaritans doe. Howſoever they ſpake thus of pure malice againſt our Saviour, and out of inveterate hate againſt the Samaritans, which might ſomewhat aggravate the imputation; yet the manner of objecting it argueth the Samaritans were taxable that way, and not cleere of that crime objected: Now magick and ſorcery is eſteemed by the Church a principall hereſie, as it deſerves.

Which hereſie againe appeared in their magick & ſorcery; which, that the Samaritans were anciently defamed with that blaſphemy againſt our Saviour intimated, *ſub.* 8. 48.

144 Secondly, they were hereticks for denying holy Scripture; of which they received and acknowledged no part, but onely the Pentateuch, or five books of *Moſes*. In thoſe books eſpecially, both in direct termes and undenyable conſequences, works, and inferences, the Monarchy of God is eſpecially confirmed; that is, That there is but one onely God; That hee made all things in heaven and in earth; That hee alone by his power and his providence, ordereth, altereth, ruleth every thing that hee hath made: And therefore in theſe grand points of Beliefe, they profeſſed, as the Jewes and Chriſtians, deteſting paganiſh Idolatry, and plurality of gods, as being taught in the books of *Moſes*, by them admitted and received, to acknowledge and adore but one God. But ſuch points of faith as bee not there, or

Againe, hereticks they were for denying holy Scripture, all but the Pentateuch; as in Parag. 51.

ſo cloſely delivered and couched there, that they were not ordinarily diſcernable, rather inſinuated then delivered, they did not apprehend or beleeve: for inſtance, the judgement to come; the reſurrection of the dead; and life everlaſting, were not beleeved by the Samaritans, as neither by the Jewiſh Sadduces, who in this conſented with the Samaritans; becauſe, as they thought, theſe points were not taught them in the Pentateuch. There is no mention of any riſing from the dead, no relation of any raiſed from the dead, and therefore they beleeved it not: though by way of neceſſary conſequence, of immediate and undenyable deduction it is, as we know, by our Saviour thence evidenced againſt the Sadduces; and was therefore delivered, though not ſo manifeſtly, in the Pentateuch.

Their fond ſuperſtition in often waſhing and purifying themſelves.

145 Againe, If any Samaritan had travelled abroad into forraine parts by way of merchandize, trade, traffick, or otherwiſe occaſioned, at his returne home, the firſt thing hee did was to waſh and purifie himſelfe with water, and to change his clothes, as having been polluted by commerce and converſation abroad. And at home, if caſually a Samaritan had come neere unto, or touched a man of a contrary religion, ſect, or profeſſion, hee would preſently, as being polluted with that touch, waſh his body all over with his owne urine, and would rinſe his clothes in water before he would meddle with, or touch any thing at home, or within doores. In which ſuperſtition they partaked with the ſectaries of the Jewes.

All ſchiſmaticks are oppoſed commonly and divided amongſt themſelves; ſo were theſe.

146 Theſe were generally received opinions, and doctrinall practices of all Samaritans whatſoever taken in lumpe; beſide which, many private fancies were in particular maintained by many, as they were affected, and ſtood ſubdivided into ſeverall ſorts and factions; as commonly all ſchiſmaticks and hereticks are oppoſed and divided amongſt themſelves. Truth ever is but one, ſimple, ſingle, plaine, not *ad oppoſitum* to it ſelfe; but error is infinite, and inextricable; if once a man be wandered and gone out of the plaine way, he comes up and downe, God knowes whither, and not himſelfe, intangling himſelfe in brakes and mazes not extricable, as did theſe Samaritans. Being divided from the Jewes in ſchiſme, and erecting Temple againſt Temple, Altar againſt Altar, Service againſt Service; in proceſſe of time they became ſubdivided amongſt themſelves into many ſects; none of them be remembred in Scripture; but *Epiphanius* reciteth foure ſeverall, all hereticall and ſchiſmaticall Samaritan ſects, the Oſſens, Sebuæans, Gorthenians, and Doſitheans: all theſe conſented to the generall Samaritaniſme, of receiving *Moſes* his Law; all, according to the preſcript of the Law, were circumciſed, as were the Jewes; all of them obſerved the Sabbath; all abhorred Idolatry and Pagan Polytheiſme, adoring, though not truely and ſincerely, yet the true God of heaven and earth; all kept the rites and ceremonies of the Law, for the moſt part; but had different obſervances amongſt themſelves beſides.

Καὶ γὰρ πολύπλοκον ἡ πολυειδὲς, ἡ συγκεχυμένον, ἢ πλανη· ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια μιὰ. Chryſ. hom. 3. ad Rom. πολυχιδὲς τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ πολυσχιστον. Theodoret.

147 *Epipha-*

147 *Epiphanius*, the principall Author of remembring theſe Samaritan ſects and hereſies, nameth them not Oſſeni but Eſſeni, reckning the Oſſeni for a ſeverall ſect and hereſie of Judaiſme afterward; but *Epiphanius*, as *Petavius* often confeſſeth, is exceedingly confuſed, extravagant, and erronious in his narrations, in putting difference betwixt hereſie and hereſie, hereſie and ſchiſme, opinion and opinion, and ſo hath hee miſtaken here, or his tranſcribers have done him wrong; for Eſſeni or Eſſei were Jewiſh ſectaries, of whom already wee have intreated; and the Samaritans were Oſſeni, though in effect all one: for the Samaritan Oſſeni in many things did concurre with thoſe Jewiſh Eſſeni, as by collation of Tenets may appeare, if ſo bee the Sampſæi, or Helciſitæ were in effect the ſame with them, as in thoſe ſeverall hereſies hee ſeemes to make them. In his particular intreating of them he ſaith no more, but that without any alteration at all, or innovation, they perſiſted in their firſt entertained opinions, according to originall inſtitution; *Quod ad Eſſæos ſpectat, ii nullâ re prætermiſſâ, primum inſtitutum retinuerunt*: but what that was, hee very ſecurely hath conceited. If he meane, as hee may ſeem, and it is moſt probable that he doth meane, the originall inſtitution and doctrine of the Samaritans; why doth hee make them a particular ſubdivided ſect? for no alteration being made, there is no reaſon to make ſectaries of them. They held themſelves ſtrictly to the firſt Samaritan confeſſion, without altering, adding, detracting, inforcing any new device of their owne, but tooke things as they found them in practice, according to tradition and inſtitution of their fore-fathers: I ſee no reaſon to make ſuch men a new ſect of Samaritans. *Nicetas* in his *Panoplia*, *M. S.* affirmeth, that the Eſſeni conſorting with the Sebuæi kept the Feaſt of Paſſeover, or unleavened bread, in the month of Auguſt; the Feaſt of Tabernacles when the Jews kept their Paſſeover; and the Feaſt of Pentecoſt at the fall of the leafe, that is, in September or October; which he tranſcribed out of *Epiphanius*: ſo that the Copies of *Epiphanius*, as we have them at this day, are depraved; the rather I think ſo, becauſe afterward, forgetting himſelfe, hee makes the Oſſeni to conſort with the Sebuæans, in this tranſpoſition of the Feaſts. *Petavius*, that great undertaker for ſetting forth of *Epiphanius*, hath done as little here, as in infinite other places, to rectifie what was amiſſe.

The Samaritan Oſſeni and thoſe Jewiſh Eſſeni remembred above, were in effect both one.

Εκεινοι μὲν ὂν τῇ Ἀυγούστῳ μηνὶ ἐπιτελοῦσι τὰ ἄζυμα, καὶ συμφωνοῦσι κατὰ τοῦτο τοῖς Σεβυαίοις· τῷ δὲ σκηνοπηγίαν ὅτε παρ' Ἰουδαίοις τὰ ἄζυμα γίνεται· τῷ δὲ Πεντηκοστῶν οὐ μετοπώρῳ.

148 The Sebuæans altered and tranſpoſed the legall times of the legall Feaſts, therein not obſerving the Law of *Moſes*, which in particular conſideration ſtood thus: *Moſes* did preciſely and ſtrictly command all Iſrael, that when God ſhould give them reſt, and they were ſetled in the Land of their Inheritance, the males amongſt them that were able to travell, and not hindered by age, ſickneſſe, or infirmitie, ſhould thrice every yeere goe and appeare before the Lord in that place which hee ſhould chooſe out amongſt all their Tribes, to put his name there; that is, where hee would appoint the Temple to bee

The Hiſtory of the Sebuæans; their not obſerving the Law of *Moſes*, in tranſpoſing the legall times of the legall Feaſts.

be built, the Arke to bee ſeated, the daily Sacrifices and Offerings to bee performed, and the Prieſts to attend in their daily ſervice. This was at Eaſter, the Feaſt of Paſſeover, or unleavened bread; the Feaſt of Pentecoſt fifty dayes after; and the Feaſt of Tabernacles at the inning of the yeerely fruits, or end of Harveſt. Now, as it hath beene ſhewed, Canaan being divided into three maine parts, Judea, Samaria, and Galile; the inhabitants of Galile dwelling fartheſt off, in the utmoſt parts of the Countrey, called Galile of the Gentiles, not as inhabited by Gentiles, but as frontiring upon them, muſt needs paſſe through Samaria, which lay in the way into Judea, to Jeruſalem, to bee at the Feaſts. This occaſion drew great concourſe of the Galileans, who aſcended in companies to Jeruſalem, and as it hapneth in ſuch concourſe of people, were often unruly in their paſſage, offering wrongs, injuries, violence ſometimes unto the goods and perſons of the Samaritans: Whereupon the Sebuæan ſectaries tooke occaſion to alter the times of their owne Feaſts, which they kept in mount Garizim, as the Jewes did at Jeruſalem, and to tranſpoſe them, as hath beene ſaid: his words follow; "*Cùm Lex undi-*
"*que Judæos Jeroſolyma confluere juberet, idque tribus anni tempori-*
"*bus, in Azymorum Feſto, Pentecoſte, & Scenopegiâ: cùmque per Ju-*
"*dæam & Samariam Judæi ſparſim habitarent, accidebat ut qui Hiero-*
"*ſolymam contendebant, per Samaritanas urbes iter facerent. Quare*
"*cùm eodem tempore conventus ſuos haberent (Samaritani) inde nata*
"*eſt jurgiorum occaſio: Ideò Sebuæi ad tollendam hanc rixarum occa-*
"*ſionem, illarum celebritatum tempora commutarunt*; which is the narration of *Epiphanius*, and proceedeth diſtinctly for the ſeverall times. The firſt moneth of the yeer, in which the Paſſeover was to be eaten, they pitched upon the moneth of Auguſt, after harveſt inned; and upon that moneth kept the Feaſt of unleavened bread: At the beginning of Autumne they obſerved Pentecoſt: The Feaſt of Tabernacles in the beginning of the Jewiſh ordinary yeere. Which alteration was to no purpoſe, or I underſtand it not; for, the paſſengers would be as unruly as they were before: and ſo, no marvell if the other Samaritan ſects approved it not, but held themſelves to the former courſe and inſtitution in being unchangeable.

Epiphanius his narration of the Gortheni.

149 Concerning the Gortheni, *Epiphanius* ſayes little, and that little is to no purpoſe: but more of the Doſitheans then the reſt, who were for ſome other points of higher aſſiſe, divided from them and the Samaritans in generall; for they taught, beleeved, and profeſſed the Reſurrection of the dead. Secondly, with the Grecian Pythagoreans and Jewiſh Eſſens, they abſtained from eating any thing which had life. Some of the ſect, though married men, kept themſelves chaſte, and uſed not the carnall company of their wives: others lived altogether ſingle, and married not at all. Circumciſion and the Sabbath they obſerved very ſtrictly, as all Iewes did more or leſſe. They might not touch or come nigh unto any man, but onely thoſe of their owne ſect; for they eſteemed all other men, even Samaritan ſectaries,

to

to be utterly uncleane, out of opinion of their owne holinesse and perfection. In their Ascetical exercises and scleragogie they were extreme rigorous and severe.

The miserable story of *Dositheus* the grand Patriarch and first Founder of the Samaritan heresie.

150 *Dositheus*, or *Dosthai* the grand Patriarch and first Founder of this Samaritan Heresie was a Iew by birth, education, and profession; concerning whom, *Epiphanius* writeth, that hee fell off from the Iewes upon a discontent, which is an humour, that in the Church hath ever been the originall of errors, heresies, schisms, and seditions. Amongst the Iewes, so long as hee lived there, he was, and was accounted very skilfull in the Law, and in the Traditions of the Elders: And (as such men commonly are, out of selfe conceit of their owne worth and deserving) being of so haughty a spirit, and aspiring high thoughts, because he missed of that preferment which he would have had, and was not preferred answerably to his deserts in his owne opinion, in disdaine and high discontent, hee left the Iewes, and went over to the schisme of the Samaritans; where, what became of him, is by *Epiphanius* thus related. "*Deinde in speluncam secedens, præ affectata* "*quadam sapientia, perpetuis se, uti ferunt, jejuniis inaniter ac simulatâ* "*pietate confecit, donec cibi ac potus inediâ voluntariâ scilicet morte* "*consumptus est: Aliquot inde post diebus, qui ad eum venerant, pu-* "*trefactum ac verminans cadaver inveniunt, ac muscarum examine* "*scatens.* Hee was found dead in a cave, having foolishly starved himselfe to death, out of an affected superstitious humour of extreme fasting; where, after some dayes search for him, by his followers, his carcasse was found swarming with lice, and other vermine, and intolerably stinking, that none durst come neer to bury him.

Hæc omnia à *Dositheo*, hac occasione sancita sunt: cùm enim Iudæus esset, se ad Samaritanos adjunxit. Quippe & in Legis institutis apprimè versatus, & Traditionum, quas illi observant, scientissimus, principem locum inter suos appetit: à quo depulsus, nec tamquam sperabat, inter Iudæos auctoritatem adeptus; ad Samaritanos defecit, & illam sectam condidit.

151 This is in briefe the relation which *Epiphanius* hath made concerning him; who, if hee were, as some have fancied, the first Founder of the Sadduces, they cannot bee so ancient amongst the Iewes, as the Pharisees were; for those Deuterosies, those Traditions of the Elders, and Additions to the Law, in which *Dositheus* is said to be so skilful, were the inventions of the Pharisees, and doctrinall resolutions of their Schools. In which *Dosthai* before his revolt unto the Samaritans, is said to have been so skilfull: therefore those Traditions, and the authors of them, the Pharisees, must needs have been elder then he, the Founder of the Sadduces, was; and therefore these Sadduces could not possibly be so ancient as the Pharisees. But *Epiphanius* was herein, as in many other important narrations, much deceived, here by the ambiguity of the name, and indistinction of the party, putting that upon one *Dositheus* which belonged to another; for there were many of that same name: 2 *Mac.* 14. there is one *Dositheus* a great souldier, and *Origen* relateth, *Tract.* 27. *in Matt.* there was a *Dositheus* or *Dosthai*, a Samaritan, of whom the Dositheans were denominated, who lived after our Saviours Incarnation, with his Apostles,

Apoſtles, and together with *Simon Magus*, a man much of *Simon*'s making, who went about to perſwade men, that hee was the Meſſias, as the ſame *Origen* hath it alſo, *Lib. 1. contra Celſum*; and upon the fourth Chapt. of Saint *John*: "*Vtrum ex traditione id dixerit Samaritis, an ex Lege* (that which hee intended is that Text of the Evangeliſt, *He, when hee is come, ſhall teach you all things*) "*nec ſanè ignorandum eſt, ut Jeſus ſeipſum, non ſolum eſſe ex Judæis Meſſiam dicebat, ſed & demonſtrabat: ſic* Doſitheum *etiam quendam extitiſſe è Samaritanis, qui ſeipſum diceret Meſſiam Prophetarum; quo uſque nunc Doſitheani ſunt, libros Doſithei circumferentes, & fabulas quaſdam enarrantes de eo, proinde quaſi ille non peririt, ſed alicubi adhuc in hac vita degat.* This grand Impoſtor could not be the Father and Founder of the Sadduces, who were elder then himſelfe by many yeers. Secondly, this man became an apoſtata from the Jewiſh religion, and ſo muſt alſo his diſciples: but the Sadduces continued in their Communion, and were not in ſchiſme divided from them: And undoubtedly, if any *Doſitheus* was Founder of the Sadducaicall hereſie, he muſt needs have lived long before our Saviours Incarnation. Laſtly, I cannot ſee how any *Doſitheus*, a Samaritan, ſhould pretend himſelfe to bee the Meſſias ſpoken of in the Prophets, when the Samaritans admitted no Scripture but *Moſes*, and denyed, with rejection, all Prophets.

The Jewiſh ſuperſtition in keeping of the Sabbath.

152 *Baronius* tels us, that the Doſithean ſectaries did moſt ſtrictly obſerve the Sabbath (which more or leſſe was the practice, not onely of all ſectaries, but of Jewes in generall) ſo that in whatſoever habit, place, poſture, any one of them happened to bee at the beginning of the Sabbath, whether ſtanding, ſitting, going, lying, abroad, within doores, howſoever, in the ſame hee would perſiſt immoveably and preciſely, without any change or alteration all the Sabbath long; which had growne into uſe amongſt the Jewes, not long after the Captivitie, it ſeemes; for wee read 1 *Macc.* 2. 37. That the Jewes would rather ſuffer their owne throats to bee cut by the enemie aſſaulting and breaking in upon them, then that they would fight, or make reſiſtance upon the Sabbath. And not long before that, as *Joſephus* relates out of *Agatharcides*, when *Ptolomeus Lagi*, one of *Alexander*'s Princes, unto whoſe ſhare, in the partition of *Alexander*'s Empire, Egypt fell, did beſiege Jeruſalem, hee tooke it and ſacked it upon the Sabbath day, the inhabitants making no reſiſtance againſt him. So likewiſe did *Pompeius*, and after him *C. Soſius* with *Herod*, by the ſame meanes ſurpriſe them. Which ſuperſtitious reſolution had growne ſtrongly upon them in leſſe then foureſcore yeeres: for in *Nehemias* his dayes, who either did, or might know *Alexander*, they were not ſo ſcrupulous in obſerving the Sabbath, but apt enough to break it upon light occaſions. *Mattathias*, Father unto *Judas Maccabæus*, taught them better doctrine; not to offer violence, or aſſayle their enemies on that day, but if they were aſſayled, to defend themſelves: which, ſaith *Joſephus*, continued

tinued their opinion, practice, and reſolution in his time.

153 To prove that this ſuperſtitious obſervation of the Sabbath came from *Doſitheus* his Schoole, *Baronius* refers us unto *Origen lib.* 4. *de principiis*; whoſe words upon that Text of *Moſes* (*None of you ſhall move out of his place upon the Sabbath*) ſpecifie as much. *Literally to fulfill this*, ſaith *Origen*, *it is impoſſible*; *for no man living can by any meanes continue without any motion or ſtirring at all, an whole day together in the ſame poſture.* They of the Circumciſion, and whoſoever in expoſition of Scripture goe no further then to the letter, doe talke, as if they would tell us tales of Tragelaphi, Griffins, Chimæra's, and I know not what monſters, out of certaine obſcure Traditions about the Sabbath; affirming, that any diſtance of 2000. ells from the place wherein hee ſtood or ſate, was to bee accounted his place. But others, and amongſt them *Doſitheus* the Samaritan, obſerve and ſpecifie this expoſition, but waive it; and bring out of their owne ſtore that which is more ridiculous; namely, that look in what place, poſture, habit a man is found at the beginning of the Sabbath, in the ſelfe ſame he muſt abide and continue, ſitting, ſtanding, howſoever, untill the next evening and end of the Sabbath. This was the doctrine of theſe Doſitheans in their ſchool, amongſt the ſectaries: but the generall doctrine and practice of the Jewes, was that taught them by *Mattathias* the Maccabee.

Which *Baronius* would have come from *Doſitheus* his Schoole.

154 *Syneſius* in one of his Epiſtles to *Euoptius* hath a ſtory remarkable about that ſuperſtitious obſervation of the Sabbath which *Baronius* faſteneth upon the Doſithean ſect: Hee there relates a voyage which himſelfe made from Alexandria in Egypt, by ſea, to Cyrene in Africk; in which paſſage it ſo happened, that they were overtaken with an extreme outragious tempeſt upon a Friday, being the eve or preparation of the Jewes Sabbath, the Pilot of the ſhip was a Jew, ſo were moſt of the ſaylers: upon Friday at Sun-ſet, when the Sabbath began, the Pilot Jew, in the middeſt and greateſt rage of the ſtorme, forſooke the helme, caſt himſelfe groveling on the ground, there hee lay, tread, trample on, kick, ſtrike him who would, all was one to him; ſtill hee lay, ſtirred not, would not ariſe: the poor paſſengers at firſt were exceedingly appalled, as ſuppoſing hee had done this out of diſpaire, that the ſhip could live in that ſo growne a ſea, and expected every moment to bee ſwallowed up and ingulfed in the deepe: but perceiving their owne error, and underſtanding the true reaſon of that his carriage, they earneſtly intreated him to ariſe, and take in hand the helme againe; but doe what they could, intreat, perſwade, threaten him, it was to no purpoſe, ſtill there hee lay reading the Law, and would not ſtirre till midnight was paſt; then of his owne accord he aroſe, and went againe unto the helme which hee formerly had abandoned.

A remarkable ſtory about ſuch an obſervation.

155 This *Baronius* referrs to the Doſithean doctrine, how truly I cannot ſay; for the Doſitheans, as himſelfe confeſſeth, changed not either place, habit, action, geſture at all, in which they happened to bee

Whence they had their pretence or colour for ſo rigid an obſervance of that day.

bee at the beginning of the Sabbath: but this Pilot in *Synesius* did all otherwise; hee left the helme where he was, cast himselfe upon the ground where hee was not, opened and read the book of the Law, which he did not before: It seemes then hee was not a true Dositheian. The truth is, as all Iewes, so especially sectaries amongst them, were rigid obsservers of the Sabbath, though somewhat differing circumstantially: whereto they had some pretence or colour in the Law it selfe. *Exod.16.29. Let every man tarry in his place, let no man goe forth of his place upon the Sabbath day*; that is, not out of his tent or house wherein he dwels. Lawes must be made in strictest manner, but may, and doe very well admit, upon good reason, a mitigation: so was the law of sanctifying the seventh day, which yet was often, and many wayes set upon an higher straine, and was tentered farther then needed, then was intended or convenient, by Iewish sectaries in their singularities. The Esseni held it unlawfull to make a fire, remove a dish, take up a pot, ease nature, or dresse meat upon that day; in which last point the generality of the Iewes were precise; for they ever dressed that upon the Friday which they were to eate upon the Saturday or Sabbath: which *Ignatius* stileth ἐωὰ ἑσθιειν, to eat that which was dressed the day before.

The Iews have first & last sufficiently paid for this their superstitious folly. *Iosephus* his own opinion in the point. It should seem, in our Saviours time they were grown older and wiser.

156 Some Sabbatarians would bring this Jewish ceremony upon Christians; for my selfe have heard it preached, that it is not lawfull for us to dresse any meat upon the Sabbath, as they stile it, or the Lords day, but they that doe so, breake the Sabbath. And however, as hath been said, *Mattathias* reformed that error of his time, rather to suffer the Citie to be sacked, and their owne throats to bee cut by the enemy, then they would fight, or make resistance upon the Sabbath: yet those precise hypocrites, the Pharises, did againe *refigere* that interpretation and doctrine of *Mattathias*; for *Iosephus* relating the taking in of Jerusalem by *Pompey* the Roman Generall, upon the Sabbath, saith, it was becausse the Iewes made no resistance, according to the tradition of the Pharisaicall Schoole: his owne opinion hee delivereth thus; *The Law permitteth us to repell and resist injuries offered unto us upon the Sabbath day, and to oppose those that violently set upon us; but otherwise wee are not permitted to resist the enemy.* Thus hee, being a Pharisee by profession, according to the doctrine of his sect: which Jewish superstitious folly the Romans wisely taking advantage of, plyed their mines, their battering rams, their scaling towers, their vines and other engines against the walls and gates upon the Sabbath day, and were not repulsed, resisted, or made head against, the Iewes being meerely occupied in their sabbaticall exercises; and having no violence immediately or directly offered to their persons, not regarding the consequents, their imminent danger, unavoydable surprisall, the losse of life, liberty, which did necessarily ensue: such was their superstitious folly about the Sabbath.

Possessed with this humour, without all doubt, and in all likelihood, one of this frantick sect was that Iew of Tewkesbury, of whom our

our Chronicles make mention, who falling caſually into a jakes upon a Friday at night, in reverent regard unto his Sabbath, would not, leſt hee ſhould break and profane it, be drawne out from thence upon the Saturday: Of which his folly and ſuperſtition the Earle of Gloceſter being informed, for like reverence by him pretended unto the Chriſtian Sabbath, the Sunday or Lords day, would not ſuffer him thereon to bee pulled up; and ſo, fool as he was, upon Munday morning hee was found dead with hunger, cold, and ſtinke; a juſt reward for his ſuperſtitious folly. But certainly, in our Saviours time this was not any generall received ſuperſtition, either amongſt the Jewes or Samaritans; for, ſaith he, *Which of you having an oxe or an aſſe fallen into a pit, and doth not helpe him out upon the Sabbath day?* And againe, hee intimateth, it was their common received cuſtome to looſe their cattell from the ſtall, and to lead them to water; works of mercy, compaſſion, and duty even to brute beaſts, much more unto men, might, without breach of Sabbath, be performed on that day.

157 Thus ſtood the ſtate and condition of Iſrael in the times at and immediately preceding our Saviours Incarnation, both for civill Polity, and Service of God, decayed, and running faſt on to ruine and finall deſolation; which enſued not long after. Times moſt exorbitant, miſerable, and utterly deſperate, rejecting all pietie, feare of God, religion, common honeſty, naturall civilitie, reaſonable demeanour; the Law of God (as in it ſelfe, ſo intended to bee the perfect rule of righteouſneſſe) made mere, as commonly it is, a matter of State, to ſerve purpoſes and turnes; ſacred Things and Functions moſt profanely and impiouſly expoſed to ſale, bought, ſold, and chaffered up and downe by Varlets, unworthy of any civill, much leſſe ſacred function: generally, none advanced or preferred, but ſuch as would give moſt, could ſerve turnes, play faſt and looſe for purpoſes, ſooth, lye, fawne, face, flatter, make little conſcience of right or wrong; bee at command of Greatneſſe, to make reaſon of piety and religion attendant and hand-maid to reaſon of profit and of ſtate. It was *time for thee, O Lord, to lay to thine hand, becauſe the wicked had deſtroyed thy Law.* So that, to reſtore religion, and the ſervice of God aboliſhed; to expiate and ſanctifie holy things and places irreligiouſly profaned; to purge and cleere the Law from thoſe many depravations caſt upon it, brought into it by traditionary interpretations and ſuperadditions; to honour Prieſthood ſacrilegiouſly trampled under foot; to ſet all things at rights as at firſt they were, being no work or atchievement for the arme of man, but extraordinarily to be acted by the Almighty, he undertooke his owne cauſe himſelfe, hee ſent Redemption unto his people, to take away iniquity from Jacob.

Though the Jewiſh State were thus generally corrupted, yet ſome remained unblamable in their lives; of whom *John Baptiſt* and our Saviour deſcended.

158 But howſoever in thoſe laſt and forlorne times of the Jewiſh State and Polity, all things were run ſo far out of frame; yet remained even then ſome *Lots* in Sodome, who ſerving God with a perfect heart, lived unblameably before men; ſuch were *Simon*, *Annah*, *Zachary* and *Eliſabeth*, *Joſeph* and *Mary*, ſhee, the moſt bleſſed amongſt

women, and her parents, *Joachim* and *Anna*, with ſome few others, an handfull or *ſpicilegium* after harveſt, a bunch or two of grapes in a plentifull vintage of iniquity. For their ſakes, to rally their hopes, to ſatisfie their longing deſires and expectation, to fulfill the promiſes made unto the Fathers, to re-build the Tabernacle of *David* fallen downe, to make up the broken walls of Jeruſalem, the Son of God became the Son of man, and dwelt amongſt us. *Non ſubito*, ſaith *Tertullian*, *quia diſpoſitum opus, & ideò prædicandum, in quantum credi habebat ut prodeſſet, in tantum paraturam deſiderabat ut credi poſſet: Not upon the ſudden, inſtantly, for it was a work of diſpoſition, and therfore to bee preached, as being to be beleeved for ſalvation; for this therefore it was expedient to be before affarniſhed, that ſo it might be beleeved.* And *Leo*, *Advenientibus autem temporibus, quæ Redemtioni hominum fuerant præſtituta, ingreditur hæc infima* Jeſus Chriſtus *Dominus noſter de cœleſti ſede deſcendens, & à paterna gloria non recedens, novo ordine, novâ nativitate generatus, inviſibilis in ſuis, in noſtris viſibilis factus eſt.*

The neceſſity of CHRIST his comming into the world.

159 Now if God were ſo little known to purpoſe, or worſhipped in Jury, if darkneſſe were ſo palpable in the land of Goſen, it was far more over-hayled in the world beſide, the abominations of the Amorite were more improved. It was high time for God to come and viſit, all things generally being ſo out of frame. That ſo it was, we have it exemplified in one people, the beſt civilized nation in the world, who about this time ſuffered great declination from their former goodneſſe: Saint *Auguſtine* obſerves it from their owne Writers, and *Saluſt* (I conceive it) is the man he means, who at large diſcourſeth of the vices growne in upon the Roman State, utterly degenerated from the vertuous courſes of their Predeceſſors. *Ecce Romana reſp.* ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *quod non ego primus dico, ſed Authores eorum, undè hæc mercede didicimus, tantò ante dixerunt, paullatim mutata, & ex pulcherrima atque optima, peſſima atque flagitioſiſſima facta eſt. Ecce, ante Chriſti adventum, poſt deletam Carthaginem, Majorum mores, non paullatim, ut antea, ſed torrentis modo præcipitati, adeò juventus luxu & avaritiâ corrupta fuit: Behold the Roman Common wealth, which is not my originall obſervation of them, but averred by their owne Authors, from whom at our charges we have learned, that by little and little it was changed, and of a good, wel-ordered, and goodly Eſtate, became moſt irregular and abominable. Before Chriſts Incarnation after Carthage was ruined, the ancient Roman manners, not by little and little, as formerly, but as inundation of waters at a breach, came headlong downe, riot and covetouſneſſe ſpreading over all States.* And *Cornelius Tacitus* reſpecting the exorbitances of thoſe times wherein *Julius* and *Octavius Cæſar* ſeiſed and altered the State, ſaith expreſſely, that without ſuch alteration that State could not have ſubſiſted; ſo much amiſſe were all things, and ſo farr out of frame: *Ob certamina Nobilium, avaritiam Magiſtratuum; in valido Legum auxilio, quæ vi ambitu, poſtremò pecuniâ turbabantur.* And yet, this was the golden head of the Image; the feet being but durt and clay tempered with water, could not but bee much worſe then

De Civ. Dei 2. cap. 19.

then ſo: and proportionably were other parts decayed. Wherefore, not alone to reforme things amiſſe in the Jewiſh Synagogue, but to reforme the whole courſe of things generally ſo deformed and out of frame, it was expedient God in goodneſſe ſhould looke downe upon men, *That righteouſneſſe ſhould appeare as the light, and juſtice as the noone day.* For a long time, many hundred of ages, God in juſtice, ſecret, but righteous, for reaſons beſt known unto himſelfe, ſuffered all Nations to walke in their owne wayes, though even then hee left not himſelfe without Teſtimony, ordering the yeer, diſpenſing the ſeaſons, cauſing the Sun to ſhine, the raine to fall; but when the fulneſſe of time came, hee thought upon his promiſe, and ſent redemption unto his people: *Ad ſanandum graviter ægrotum deſcendit omnipotens Medicus, humiliavit ſe uſque ad mortalem carnem tanquam uſque ad lectum ægrotantis:* which *Serm.* 206. *de Temp.* S. *Auguſtine* reſembles to that of *Eliſæus*, raiſing to life the Shunamites childe. The ſervant of *Eliſæus* was a type of *Moſes*, whom God ſent into Egypt with a ſtaffe: this ſtaffe without Chriſt could only ſcourge Egypt, but could not reſtore or raiſe them up from ſin; it behoved him who ſent this ſtaffe to come himſelfe: the ſervant and the ſtaffe without *Eliſæus* himſelfe, could availe nothing, for the Croſſe without Chriſt was of no efficacie: *Eliſæus* bowed downe himſelfe to raiſe the child up, *Chriſt Jeſus* humbled and abaſed himſelfe to raiſe up the world lying dead in ſin: conſider how far, he being a man of growth, was conſtrained to contract and gather up himſelfe to apply his body to the dead corſe as it lay, being a child; this he did when he became as one of us, when he fitted himſelfe to the womb of the Virgin, and took fleſh of her fleſh, by the powerfull operation of the *moſt high*; whoſe ſtate and condition in this world we are now Hiſtorically to take into our conſideration.



CHAP. VIII.

The Anceſtors and Parents of our Saviour.

THE SUMMARIE.

PARAG.

1 The worth of parents and anceſtors is a commendation & addition to the true eſtimation of a man; but vertue alone is alſo true Nobility.

2 A fourefold Nobility: 1. Originall or heavenly. 2. Collaterall, by mixture of blond. 3. Homebred, which is Vertue, and iſſueth from the firſt. 4. That which is conferred from the Prince.

3 Our Saviours originall nobility, i.e. the myſtery of his incarnation, 't is not for us to ſearch into.

4 Our Saviour royally deſcended from Kings. Nine ſeverall wayes of interpreting that name Sonne.

5 How and why Chriſt termes himſelfe ſo often The Sonne of man.

6 Chriſt the ſeed of Abraham, not excluſively intended, but precedently: to fulfill the Propheſies of Chriſt, the houſe of Judah went not into captivity as the other Tribes did.

7 The kingdome of Chriſt not a temporall, but a typicall regality.

8 The Church of Rome (from Chriſt as man) falſely teacheth, that the Pope directly, without any reflecting upon ſpirituall ends, hath temporall power over all Princes and their ſubjects in the world.

9 The Jewes expect Chriſt as a temporall Prince, to governe temporally, and in pompe and ſtate for ever here upon earth.

10 Chriſts kingdome is not temporall; but hee was miſerable, poore: and why?

11 The Virgin had no right to any temporall kingdome; therefore neither Chriſt as man.

12 Chriſt would have ſpoken concerning his temporall power, and not have refuſed it, (Luk. 12. 14.) if qua man it had belonged unto him.

13 Saint Auguſtine on theſe words, My kingdome is not of this world.

14 Matth. 28. 18. explained. Saint Ambroſe his ſpeech concerning Chriſts kingdome.

15 Men have come into the world foure wayes. Melchiſedech had neither father nor mother in effect, i. e. not knowne.

16 None but hereticks deny that the Virgin came by lineall deſcent from David, though it is not directly proved in Scripture.

17 An expoſition of that phraſe. The Sonne of man; and why it is ſaid, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and not τῆς ἀνθρώπου.

18 A queſtion propounded concerning the pedegree of Chriſt from Joſeph, and not from Mary. Julians and Celſus cavill at it.

19 The anſwer to the former queſtion from teſtimonies of the Fathers.

20 The reaſon which the Fathers relyed on in their anſwer, which was from a cuſtome of the Jewes, to reckon by the fathers ſide.

21 The former reaſon of cuſtome not ſufficient

ſufficient ; and why.

22 *The other reaſon, that they married in to the ſame Tribe, is diſproved.*

23 *Thoſe which were inheritors of lands and heires, might not marry from the Tribe ; and that 'tis probable* Mary *was ſo.*

24 *An objection that* Joſeph *was poor and therefore* Mary, *if an heire, would not marry him.*

25 Joſeph *and* Maries *lying in an Inne is no proofe that they were very poore, or that ſhe was not an heire.*

26 *'Tis not materiall whether* Mary *had brothers and ſiſters.*

27 Joacim *and* Anna *to have beene the names of the parents of* Mary ; *and concerning her parents, many ſeverall traditions.*

28 *That Epiſtle is not Saint* Hierom's *that goeth under his name to* Chromatius *and* Heliodorus de nativitate Virginis.

29 *Divers other Authors that write Legends of the Virgins parents.*

30 *That* Joacim, *the moſt probable to be the Virgins father, was not of the Tribe of* Levi.

31 *The Virgins deſcent from the Tribe of* Levi *is apocryphall.*

32 *The Virgins being Couſin to* Elizabeth *is no proofe that Chriſt came from Levi.*

33 *A fabulous genealogie of Chriſt.*

34 *Other lies concerning the Virgins kindred at Bethlehem.*

35 *The Gnoſticks the firſt falſe writers in the Apoſtles and holy mens names, from whence commeth the falſe genealogie of the Virgin from* Levi.

36 *Arguments that Chriſt was not of the Tribe of* Levi.

37 *The error of thoſe who make a two-fold deſcent from* David, *one as Saint* Matthew, *another according to Saint* Luke.

38 Baronius *and others accuſed for not handling this point.*

39 *Two wayes to reconcile S.* Luke *and S.* Matthew.

40 Euſebius *his citation of* Jul. Africanus *concerning the genealogie of S.* Luke *and S.* Matthew.

41 *How* Joſeph *was the ſonne both of* Eli *and* Jacob.

42 Matthew *his genealogie not to ſooth the vulgar opinion ;* Africanus *his genealogie not likely.*

43 *Three reaſons alledged why* Maries *pedegree is not related ; but none of them ſufficient.*

44 *It is not onely convenient but neceſſary that Chriſts line from* Juda *ſhould punctually be ſet downe.* Joſeph *and* Mary *not two, but one fleſh.*

45 *Hee concludeth, that Saint* Matthew *(being a Jew) wrote, according to the Law,* Joſeph's *pedegree ; S.* Luke, *being a Gentile, according to nature, the Virgins pedegree.*

46 Joacim *and* Anna, *the Virgins parents, very pious, but a long time barren.*

47 *The falſeneſſe of that Epiſtle to* Heliodorus *and* Chromatius *written in Saint* Hierom's *name.*

48 Joacim *and* Anna *being barren, went to Jeruſalem to pray, and uſed all pious meanes that they might have a childe.*

49 *The Legend (out of the forenamed falſe Epiſtle,) of an Angels apparition to* Joacim *and* Anna.

50 *The excellency of the bleſſed Virgin.*

51 *Three kinds of fulneſſe of grace, and how Saint* Mary *is ſaid to bee full of grace.*

52 *Divers attribute too much to the Virgin.*

53 *Some attribute too much, ſome too little to the bleſſed Virgin.*

54 *The difference betweene the Dominicans, Franciſcans, and Jeſuits concerning the freedome of the bleſſed Virgin from originall ſinne.*

55 Melchior, Chamus, *and others opinions concerning her immaculate conception from ſinne.*

56 *Certaine concluſions concerning the Virgins being without actuall ſinne.*

57 *Some Fathers opinions of her impeccability, with three concluſions concerning it.*

58 *A Chronology of the time of the Virgins birth, and her age when ſhee bare Chriſt.*

59 *The Epiſtle called* Lumen, *that goeth in* Euodius *his name, is none of his*

his: what in that about the Virgin.
60 A falſe tale that ſhee lived in the Temple eleven yeers.
61 It is probable ſhee, as a firſt borne, was preſented in the Temple.
62 Probable that ſhee ſerved there as Samuel did.
63 That about the Temple were houſes for the Prieſts as now about Cathedrals.
64 The bleſſed Virgin was not a Nun there, as ſome would have it.
65 The Authors owne opinion concerning her education.
66 Caſtrious his fabulous narration of the Virgins eſpouſals to Joſeph.
67 Whether Joſeph by lot was choſen for her huſband.
68 Whether Joſeph was a batchelor or widower, or had any children.
69 Divers Fathers that accord, that Joſeph was a widower, and had foure children.
70 Concerning the Lords brothers, that they were children by another woman.
71 Many queſtions about our Saviours kindred, drawne from Marke 6. 3. Joh. 19.
72 Anna had not three husbands, for Salome (who is reckoned one) was not a man but woman.
73 Mary Cleophas was not ſiſter to the Virgin: Couſin-germans called brothers, &c.
74 Whether Cleophas was brother unto Joſeph, and why James peculiarly is ſo often called the Lords brother: four things may probably be concluded.
75 Concerning the kindred of our Lord by the mothers ſide, eſpecially, whether there were two or three Jameſes; whether James the Lords brother was an Apoſtle: not onely the 12 were called Apoſtles.
76 What Joſeph was; that hee was a juſt man, but not borne without ſin.
77 Joſephs age and uncertaine death. He concludeth that all theſe things are but apocryphall traditions and uncertainties.

Ambr. in 1. Lu.

The worth of parents & anceſtors is a cõmendation & addition to the true eſtimation of a man, but vertue alone is alſo true nobility.

Docet nos Scriptura divina, non ſolum mores, in iis qui prædicabiles ſunt, ſed etiam parentes oportere laudari. The Scripture being to ſpeake of famous men, of perſons of quality, renowne, and reputation, it doth magnifie and ſet forth not onely themſelves, in their owne perſons, but uſeth to aſcend up to the acts, heroicall vertues, and commendable conditions of their Progenitors, eſpecially of their immediate parents. *Ut veluti tranſmiſſæ immaculatæ puritatis in iis quos volumus laudare, præcellat:* which hee inſtanceth from the paſſage of *John Baptiſt* his birth and parentage, by the Evangeliſt related. *Quæ enim alia intentio hoc in loco ſancti Evangeliſtæ, niſi ut ſanctus* Johannes Baptiſta *nobilitetur, parentibus, miraculis, moribus, paſsione; ſic etiam ſancti* Samuel *mater* Anna *laudatur; ſic* Iſaac *à parentibus nobilitatem pietatis accepit, quam poſteris reliquit: Sacerdos itaque* Zacharias, *nec ſolum Sacerdos, ſed etiam de vice* Abiæ, *id eſt, nobilis inter ſuperiores Familias: The Evangeliſt in this had no other intention, but that holy* John Baptiſt *might be ennobled by his parents, by myracles, life, ſuffering; ſo is holy* Samuel *and his mother* Anna *commended; ſo* Iſaac *received religious nobility of his parents, which hee tranſmitted to his poſterity;* Zachary *thus is ſaid to be a Prieſt, and of the order of* Abia, *that is, noble, as being iſſued from illuſtrious Families.* Which may much more be applied to our Saviour; for, in ſo remembring their Parentage, Pedegree, Houſe, and

and Family, it is intimated, That they are the Sons of Nobles, borne *in domo regnatrici*, iſſuing forth of ancient Stocks and Families, who in their dayes were famous, and men of renown; ſo vertue ſeated in them, and intended to be repreſented by them, gains more luſtre, credit, and reputation, when it preſents it ſelf accompanied with a train of honourable Precedents in that kind: So we hold it to be their paternall inheritance, engrafted in them, and fed by that root from whence they iſſue. It is true which is Proverbially ſaid, *Vertue alone is true Nobility*, although it hath no Anceſtors to attend it in that perſon whom it honoureth, being *homo novus*. Accidents of Gentry doe not make a man Gentle: for how ſhould they? It is not poſſible that Accidents ſhould make or conſtitute a Subſtance; yet, as they have their being and ſubſiſting in and from Subſtances, ſo doe they add ſomewhat unto Subſtances, grace, favour, furtherance, complexion, countenance, beauty, and many other like advantages unto the moſt exact, and moſt perfect, moſt abſolute exiſtences in the world. Worth is worth, and vertue is vertue, whereſoever, or in whomſoever wee finde it; yet true it is, that a worthy man, if hee alſo be a Noble-man, is much more regardable and honourable then hee who hath bare vertue to commend him, and no Imagines from his Fathers: but hee who hath nothing to commend him but his bloud, and Grandfathers coat; nothing to boaſt of but the actions of his Anceſtors, is of much leſſe eſteeme. It is folly to value a man for what hee hath not, as if *John a Stile* muſt be a wealthy man becauſe that *John a Nokes* is ſo. Men do not uſe to make choice of an horſe, an hound, or any ſuch beaſt of ſervice, onely for the Sire, or the Damme; but for its ſelfe, qualified as it is, and for performance; though becauſe of probability in the kinde, *quia fortia creantur fortibus & bonis*, wee uſe to enquire after and reſpect that alſo; but the beaſt, and not the kinde is approved beſt. Baſeneſſe is not of inheritance ever, nor is honourable worth propagated everlaſtingly by deſcent; for if ſo, a good father would not have a bad ſonne to ſucceed him; *& vice verſa, Naſcuntur filii*, in Divinity, *non de Regeneratione ſpirituali, ſed de Generatione carnali*.

Quis generoſa putet, niſi fortia, nempe volucrem
Sic laudamus equum, facili qui plurima palma
Faver, & exultat tauco victoria Circo.
Nobilis hic quocunq; venit de gramine, cujus
Clara fuga ante alios, & primus in æquore pulvis.

2 But for deſcent of bloud, ſo much eſteemed of in the world, that men rather boaſt of their Gentility then of their Chriſtianity: it was a true rithme, though abuſed,

When *Adam* dig'd and *Eve* ſpan,
Where was then the Gentleman?

In *Adam*, in *Noah*, from the Arke, all come alike: unlikeneſſe hath interchanged in deſcents; from *Nimrod* eſpecially, and ſuch hunters. In nature it holds, that the more remote from the head, the farther from perfection, by proceſſe and progreſſion from one to another; in diverſities of courſe and kinde, as that which was had is empaired or loſt; ſo what was loſt or empaired becomes againe reſtored and revived. *Gregory Nazianzen* obſerves a threefold Nobility in the world;

A fourefold nobility; 1. Original or heavenly: 2. Collaterall, by mixture of bloud; 3. Homebred, which is vertue, and iſſueth from the firſt: 4. That which is conferred from the Prince.

world: the first, originall and heavenly, derived down from our Maker himselfe, who made man a living soule after his owne image and similitude: After this nobility, all men of all sorts, conditions and qualities are interessed alike, all equall alike, all came alike out of Gods hands in *Adam*: This is *respective Nobility*, referring unto other creatures, not so much honoured nor advanced by God. The next is *collaterally contracted Nobility* by a commixture of bloud and bloud, as it happeneth in humane generation. A third is an issue of the first Nobility, residing at home within a man; where Vertue swayes all, and cryeth downe all contrary opposition: this is more or lesse eminent and illustrious, as men doe more or lesse participate the first originall Nobility, which is Gods Image restored againe by grace in Christ. To these three hee addeth yet a fourth, the most ordinary and most sought after of Nobility; which is ἐν γράμμασι καὶ προστάγμασι, in Patents and Commands; that is, which is conferred by gift and creation from the Prince, sometime cast upon undeserving men: such, saith *Nazianzen*, I will esteeme of as noble, when I adore a man painted upon a wall, or account of an Ape in a Lions skin. Nor did Christian Antiquity deeme otherwise: they all account vertue true Nobility, and looke upon desert personall not ancestriall, or derived Titles from Grandsires long agone. Common opinion falls another way: but when departed the spirit of discretion and understanding from them, to direct these? It is our folly to account and talke of no Nobility, but what Writs, Rolls, Patents, Creations, Pedegrees, descents from Ancestors doe represent, in some highly favoured and advanced by Princes, for affection, favour, obsequious flattery, moneyes, or the like. *Vulgus enim ita statuit*; this is no custome of yesterdayes comming up: for saith *Julian* the Apostata, a learned, but impious and irreligious Prince; *It hath ever been the common opinion of men, that wealthy, rich, and great monied men are Noble men: And yet how can it but be a maine absurdity, that a Cooke, a Currier, a Sonter, a Potter, who by their Trade, or some other meanes have raised their fortunes and estates above ordinary assise, should therefore be accounted noble, and be the only talked of man amongst the multitude? If it so happen that such a mans son, or some issue of him leave that so gotten estate unto posterity, they will then swell in selfe-conceit amaine, and will contest for nobility and descent, with the descendants from* Hercules *or from* Pelops (the greatest nobility amongst the Pagans) *On the other side, the man cannot assume or challenge his Predecessors nobility to himselfe, who being of high descent and parentage from his Ancestors, is not an imitator of their vertues. No man could pretend to bee of* Pelops *his kindred heretofore, who had not the marke and stampe of that Family upon his shoulder,* Humerum eburneum. Thus discourseth that most learned Prince, and more, in just indignation against the course of those times, where every Cobler, Letherseller, Grasier, Clothier, who had scraped together a masse of money, was advanced to the Title of a Lord or Baron; permitted to beare

ὅταν γὰρ ἐλέφας ἐπιδείξωμαι τὸ ἐν γράμμασιν, ἢ πίθηκον σκυτίνην λέοντα εἶναι κεκελεύσωμεν.

beare Arms, though the inſtruments and enſignes of his Trade; and to make his ſon a Gentleman, could he ſpeak French.

3 All this I have inſiſted on to no other end or purpoſe, but that whatſoever in propriety, due deſert, juſt account, may challenge and carry away true nobility reſided in, and was inveſted on the perſon of our Lord and Saviour, as hee was incarnate by the mighty power of God of the Virgin *Mary*, of the Line and royall Houſe of *David*, of the Thigh of *Jacob*, and Tribe of *Judah*; not only τὶς μέγας, *a certaine great man*; but ὁ μέγας, *the onely great man*; above all ranked great amongſt the ſons of men; every way *the ſon of Nobles*, begotten of his Father before all worlds, borne of his Mother in the world, perfect God and perfect man, ſubſiſting of humane fleſh and ſoule, who, though hee be both God and man, yet is hee not two, but one Chriſt: one, not by converſion of the God-head into man, but by taking the man-hood into God; not by confuſion of ſubſtance, but by unity of perſon. *Deus enim, Dei Filius, de ſempiterno & ingenito Patre unigenitus, ſempiternus manens in forma Dei, ac incommutabiliter, & temporaliter habens non aliud eſſe quàm formam ſervi, ſine ſuæ Majeſtatis detrimento accepit, ut in ſua nos proveheret, & non ipſe in noſtra deficeret*, ſaith *Leo*: *For God, that is, the Son of God, only begotten of his eternall and unbegotten Father, himſelf everlaſtingly the ſame, remaining in the forme of God unchangeably, and temporally having no other being then the forme of a ſervant, which without impeachment of his divine Majeſty hee aſſumed, intending to advance us to his owne State, and not himſelfe to deſcend unto our imperfections.* But how hee was from eternity begotten, how hee could become man, and take fleſh upon him, as he did, wee cannot ſet downe, becauſe wee cannot conceive, we muſt not curiouſly enquire after, we dare not determiningly reſolve, wee ought not boyſterouſly to ruſh upon it; as moſt commonly we doe, in the hidden and ſecret things of God. It is enough, as much as can bee knowne, which wee read revealed, *In the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, and God was that Word*: otherwiſe, *Who can declare his generation?* But, as God, he was the roote of all Nobility, the ground and author of whatſoever is excellent amongſt men. As becomming fleſh, and dwelling amongſt us, hee had above all, and more then any, that nobility of our kinde, which is ἀκρόθινιον, the top, height, chiefe of the image and ſimilitude of God, whereafter God made man at firſt, when hee framed him of the duſt of the earth, and breathed into his noſthrils the breath of life: That image was in reference to that humane ſhape of man, which then hee aſſumed, as he could and was ſo pleaſed for a time; in which bodily ſhape often οἰκονομικῶς diſpenſatorily hee appeared unto the Patriarchs, and which hypoſtatically afterward hee united inſeparably to himſelfe in his incarnation: So that ſimilitude was, in reſpect of his humane ſoule, that ſoules ſimilitude which he infuſed into man at his creation, a ſpirituall, reall, eviternall ſpirit, as God is himſelfe an eternall ſpirit incarnate; the pureſt humane ſoule hee had that ever gave life

Our Saviours originall nobility; *i.e.* the myſtery of his incarnation, 'tis not for us to ſearch into.

life to the body of man; the moſt perfect, and beſt complexioned body hee had, th at ever was quickned by any living ſoule; becauſe in him alone *non peccavit Adam*, he had no tang of the ſinne of *Adam*: both for the naturall indowments of underſtanding and reaſon, and for the ſupernaturall indowments of grace, hee was ſo ſupplied as never was any: *Gratia capitis* muſt needs bee tranſcendent to that of members: For why? his actions, correſpondent to his indowments, were unblameable. His capitall enemies were forced to confeſſe, that πάντα καλῶς, *Hee did all things well*, and with commendation, though out of pure charity to undoe him, they had ripped up his whole life from his cradle, and paſſed upon him particularly.

Our Saviour royally deſcended from Ks. Nine ſeverall wayes of interpreting that name *Sonne*.

4 But with his Nobility wee meddle not, heaven and earth may admire it, and ſtand at gaze, but comprehend it they cannot, they are not able. That which we, as wee may, take into conſideration, is his deſcent royall, as hee was extracted from the loynes of ancient Kings and Patriarchs, of *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *Juda*, *David*: hee had in him the beſt of the bloud of Great ones, the friends of God, the chiefeſt Nobility under heaven, the ſeed of *Abraham*, and thigh of *Jacob*, the Lion of *Juda*, the root of *Jeſſe*, the ſonne of *David*; ſuch hee was as he was borne, of his Virgin Mother *Mary*, deſcendent from them in direct line. It was not occaſionall, for nought, without myſtery, that our Saviour ſtill entitles himſelfe to the ſonne of man; not the ſonne of God, the ſonne of *Mary*, the ſonne of *David*, the Meſſias, the King of Iſrael, or King of the Jewes, but evermore *the ſonne of man*; which was not κατ' γλῶσσαν onley, according unto the phraſe of the tongue, that is Man; or κατ' μίσιν, out of humiliation; but, κατ' μυστικὴν θεωρίαν, by ſome myſticall ſpeculation, leading us to ſome ſpeciall meditation. The name of *ſons* or *ſon* is many times, many wayes, differently uſed in Scripture: There bee ſons by naturall generation, which is the primer originall uſe of the word, as *Solomon* was the ſon of *David*, and *David* was the ſon of *Jeſſe*. Secondly, there bee ſons of ſons, derived from them mediately; that is, poſterity referring to their fore-fathers; ſo Iſrael were all the ſons of *Jacob*, and the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes* the ſons of *Joſeph*. Thirdly, ſonnes by care and education, by reference to practice and uſe of parents, *Iſa.* 1.3. *I have brought up ſons, and they have rebelled againſt mee.* Fourthly, by inſtruction and doctrinall precepts, *Come you ſons, hearken unto mee, and I will teach you underſtanding.* Fifthly, by practicall imitation, *That you may be the ſons of your heavenly Father*; ſo our Saviour ſaith, that the Jewes were *the ſons of their Father the Divell*, becauſe they went about to kill him, in imitation of the Divell, who had been a murtherer from the beginning. Sixthly, by adoption, which is twofold; Humane, *per as & librum*, as the Law was of old: Divine, in ſimilitude and proportion, ſuch as be not borne in the houſe, ſtrangers from God, and from the covenant of his grace, are by Chriſt, through his meanes and merits adopted for heires, aſſerted into the liberty of ſonnes, have power and licence to ſay *Abba, Father*. Seventhly, in

Appennage

Appennage hereunto, when actually we are inveſted with filiation, being by baptiſme borne anew unto him. Eightly, when the in-dwellers and inhabiters of a place are called ſons of the place in which they dwell, as the ſonnes of Sion, the daughters of Jeruſalem. Ninthly, moſt commonly the ſon of any thing is the thing it ſelfe; as, the ſons of Rams; the ſonnes of the Mighty, the ſons of Nobles; that is, noble and valiant men: and ſo *filii hominum*, ſons of men, are *homines*, men: for parents and children are ὁμοούσιοι, of like ſubſtance, and ὁμόουσιοι, of the ſame ſubſtance one with another.

5 Chriſt, in ſtiling himſelfe, as hee doth ever, the ſonne of man, repreſents firſt, his humiliation and humility, in affection of his owne, in ſtate, reputation, opinion of men, no way glorious in the eye of the world. As hee would be accounted, ſo he was; and as he was, ſo hee would be accounted, one of the meany, the people of mean array. Secondly, hee would teach, that hee was as hee ſeemed to bee, true very man, fleſh, bloud, and bone as wee truely are; which the Divell denyed in the *Docitæ* or *Imaginators*, who held nothing reall, what hee was, what hee did, what hee ſuffered, but all onely ſeeming ſo and in appearance. And thirdly, hee referred to that originall promiſe, the firſt of all made unto mankinde, *The ſeed of the woman ſhall bruiſe the ſerpents head*: That ſo hee might intimate, ſaith *Epiphanius*, himſelfe was the party meant, intended, foretold by all the Prophets, who was to come into the world, to all Nations in the world, Jewes and Gentiles originally, alike deſcended of the woman, who both had alike intereſt in the woman and her ſeed; though the Jewes did and might challenge greater propriety in the ſeed of *Abraham*, then the Gentiles could: They having been a long time, as it were, Gods Favorites, a ſelected people, a choſen nation, would utterly appropriate the Meſſias to themſelves, induring no partners, not that any ſhould have any right, title, intereſt to him but themſelves; they never talke otherwiſe then of the Meſſias, *the King of Iſrael*, *the ſonne of* David: never naming him once *the light of the Gentiles*, *the expectation of the Gentiles*, *the hope and deſire of the eternall hils*, *the hope of all the ends of the earth*, *the ſeed of the woman*, *the ſonne of man*, as deſcending from *Eve*, extracted from *Adam*, allyed unto all mankinde, and therefore *came into the world to ſeeke and to ſave whatſoever was loſt*, to be a Mediator for, and Redeemer of all mankinde, a Sacrifice expiatory for the ſinnes of all men, and not for the tranſgreſſions of onely ſome; unleſſe there be a man who cannot be intituled to the ſeed of the woman, that is, who by propagation is not deſcended of *Adam* and *Eve*, firſt parents of all; unleſſe, I ſay, there be ſuch a man, hee may have, hee hath an intereſt in Chriſt: Hee that is the promiſed Seed of the woman, the Sonne of man, was ſent unto every ſingular and particular man, not to ſome few only, as out of a meere Jewiſh, envious affection, ſome would confine him to themſelves.

How, and why Chriſt termes himſelfe ſo often, *The Son of man.*

6 It is true, that by the diſpenſation of grace, the *Seed of the woman* was, in proceſſe of time, contracted unto the *ſeed of Abraham*:

Chriſt the ſeed of *Abraham*, not excluſively

Not

extended, but precedently: to fulfill the Propheſies of Chriſt, the houſe of *Juda* went not into captivity as the other Tribes did.

Not excluſively, that cannot be, except a generality is extinct by proceſſe of a ſpeciality from it, as ſome creatures doe die in propagation; It could not, it cannot be taken excluſively, unleſſe *Abraham* had not beene borne of a woman, or that God would reverſe, or at leaſt not performe his former promiſe, but precedently only, as in time neerer, as more neere and direct in line; ſo, as but for a ſeaſon, not for ever. In the family, and ſo in the ſeed of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* ſonne unto *Sarah* had more intereſt then *Iſmael*, or the ſons of *Ceturah*, and in the houſe of *Iſaac*, *Eſau* was poſtponed unto *Jacob*: Amongſt the ſons of *Jacob*, twelve Brethren in all, and all of them equally within the promiſe; yet *Levi* had the Prieſthood, *Joſeph* double portion, and *Juda* the Scepter bequeathed to him, Judah *is my Law-giver*, ſaith Jehovah; that is, as the Chaldee paraphraſe hath it, Juda *ſhall ſend forth, and ſupply mee with a King*, fulfilled in *David* and his poſterity, which held the Scepter untill *Zedechiah*, the laſt King that reigned in *Juda* of his line; but rather fulfilled in another *David*, who came from him; of whom it was ſaid, when hee came into the world, *And hee ſhall rule over the houſe of* Jacob *for ever*; *David* was he that ſpake the words, and hee ſpake them when hee was actually King, by way of Prophecy for the time to come, ſuppoſing the people to have been, as they were, a long time without a King. In regard of this promiſe thus made by God, though Iſrael, ten Tribes, departed away from Juda, following *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, who made Iſrael to ſinne, yet there remained unto *David* a *Light in Jeruſalem*: and in proceſſe of time afterward, when the King of Aſſyria carried away the ten Tribes that had followed *Jeroboam* in his revolt from God, and from the houſe of *David*, the Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin* entire, and many Families of the other rebellious Tribes adhering to the Lord, and the houſe of *David* went not into captivity unto Keir. Theſe bee thoſe *ſure mercies of* David, the *faithfull oath which hee ſware unto* David; according to which promiſe his practice was in the caſe of *Senacherib*, *I will defend this City for my own ſake, and for my ſervant* David's *ſake*: and againe, *For my ſervant* David's *ſake I will not deſtroy Jeruſalem in my wrath*, that David *may have a light therein for ever*. Not meaning ſo with *David* the ſonne of *Jeſſe*, as the root and ſtemme, and ſon of *David*, Chriſt the Redeemer, called alſo *David*, *Ezek.* 37. 25. *Jerem.* 23. 5. and 60. 9. That hee might bee borne unto the Houſe of *David*, the Tribe and Houſe of *Juda* was preſerved, and went not into finall captivity till hee was come, as the ten Tribes did under *Salmanaſſar*. For Gods promiſes are Yea and Amen: *Yet have I ſet my King*, ſaith hee to purpoſe, *upon my holy hill of Sion*: Now Kings muſt have ſubjects to command, or they are but Titular, and *Kings of the Beane*. So the Tribe of Juda ſtood faſt, where from he deſcended. The Iſraelites called Jewes, of the Tribe of Juda, after their returne from the Captivitie of Babilon, being a mixture of all the Tribes, having ſate many dayes, as the Prophet ſaid they ſhould, without a King, recovered the Royalty better ſetled in him, who deſcended

deſcended of *Juda*, and the Houſe of *David* in direct extraction by his Mother, who was of them by whom hee was intituled to the Throne of *David*.

7 Not any temporall, and therefore but typicall Regality ſated upon *Juda* in the perſon of *David*, and diveſted afterward in *Zedechias*, over Juda, and thoſe remaines of Iſrael, who in the defection of the ten Tribes adhered to Juda and the houſe of *David* ſo long as they continued in the Land of Canaan: but a ſpirituall, eternall, antitypicall Regality over all Nations in the world. Iſraelites according to the ſtate of grace, in that ancient generall Charter patent, *I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for thy poſſeſſion*; a promiſe renewed by Angelicall declaration, *God ſhall give him the ſeat of* David *his Father, hee ſhall rule over the houſe of* Jacob *for ever, and of his Kingdome there ſhall bee no end.* Into this hee was enthronized really in the day of his glorious manifeſtation, when, having overcome the ſharpneſſe of death, hee was mightily declared to bee the Sonne of God by the reſurrection from the dead, and triumphant aſcenſion into the heavens. Then hee put in his claime unto a large Regality; All power is given me in heaven and earth, which inſtantly hee put into execution, giving Commiſſion thus unto his Apoſtles, *Goe you into all the world, and preach the Goſpel to every creature, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all that I have commanded you.* This is that Kingdome, that Power, and Dominion which *Daniel* ſaw given by the Ancient of dayes unto the ſonne of man, *Dan.* 7.13,14,15. *And I beheld in the viſions by night, and behold one like unto the Sonne of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came unto the Ancient of dayes, and they brought him neere before him: and there was given him Dominion, and Glory, and a Kingdome, that all people, nations, and languages ſhould ſerve him. His Dominion is an everlaſting Dominion, which ſhall not paſſe away, and his Kingdome is that which ſhall not bee deſtroyed.* For, reigne hee muſt untill all his enemies be made his footſtoole; as himſelfe ſpake unto his Diſciples, *The gates of hell ſhall not prevaile againſt it*: which hitherto we have known accomplished exemplarily, in and through all hard aſſayes, and reſt aſſured for ſucceeding ages; the Church ſhall ſtand everlaſtingly.

The Kingdome of *Chriſt* not a temporall, but a typicall Regality.

8 This Kingdome of *Chriſt Jeſus*, as Head of the Church, as become man, borne of the Virgin, of the houſe of *David*, ſome men, for their owne advantage, out of ſiniſter ends, have put over and referred to the execution, right at leaſt, of all temporall Power, Authority, Juriſdiction which is incident to man. This, as man, he hath right unto, may challenge, muſt have over all the world, all and every thing and things in the world, to diſpoſe of all at his pleaſure: which tranſcendent Power, and illimited Authority conferred upon the humane perſon of Chriſt; is not ſo much pleaded for his owne particular, as for the intereſt of ſome body ſuppoſed to have all derived right which hee had, or was capable of in the dayes of his fleſh, as Head of

The Church of Rome (from Chriſt as man) falſly teacheth, That the Pope directly, without any reflecting upon ſpirituall ends, hath temporall power over all Princes and their Subjects in the world.

the Church; namely, that the Pope, ſaid to bee Chriſts Vicar generall, as ſucceſſor to Saint *Peter*, may claime and execute all abſolute, independant, incontrollable, commanding Power, and diſpoſing Authority over Kings and *Caſars*, their States and Subjects, their lives and goods, to bee at his command and diſpoſition in all things, by downe direct right, not by collaterall, or ſome indirect conveyance; which to effect, they proceed thus: Firſt, to inveſt ſuch power in the perſon of our Saviour, as hee is man, not reflecting on him as hee is God; by which hee hath that, and greater power reſiding in him. *Alphonſus Mendoza*, a Spaniſh Divine, ſtateth the concluſion thus; *Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, really, properly, and truly was Lord & King of the whole world, and of all things created in heaven and earth, as he was man; not alone a ſpirituall Lord and King, but properly and truly a temporall King, as properly and directly, as* Philip *the ſecond* (for *Mendoza* lived in his time) *is King of Spaine, or any private man is Lord of his owne goods and inheritance: and accordingly hee may, if hee pleaſe, and as hee pleaſeth, uſe and diſpoſe of all them.* This is the profeſſion generally of the Canoniſts, *Congregatio Oratorii*, and many others in the Church of Rome, who hold and teach, that the Pope directly, without any reflecting upon ſpirituall ends, hath fulneſſe of power and authority over all the world, as well in temporall as ſpirituall things, which accrueth unto him as ſucceſſor unto Saint *Peter*, unto whom *Chriſt Jeſus* did conferre it; thus *Celſus Mancinas*, the two *Bozii*, Cardinall *Baronius*, *Alexander Carerius*, who in vehement indiſcretion goeth ſo farr, as directly to reckon Cardinall *Bellarmine inter impios Politicos*, and in termes to Anathematize him, becauſe hee qualifieth the horridneſſe of that deſperate doctrine, and runs not upon it *point blank*: For ſo doth *Bellarmine* temper their fury, *Chriſt, as man, when hee lived amongſt men upon earth, nor did, nor would receive any temporall Dominion at all. The Pope, Chriſts Vicar upon earth, repreſenteth Chriſt unto us on earth, as hee was when hee converſed with men: Therefore the Pope, as Pope, hath not any temporall Dominion at all.* That moſt imperious man *Sixtus* the fifth, they ſay, liked not that qualification; but doubtleſſe, ſuch moderate men as *Urban* the eighth will never trouble the world therewithall: the Cardinall proſecuting his delivered doctrine, for confirmation of his concluſion, ſupponeth it as unqueſtionable, that Chriſt, as hee was the ſonne of God, ever was King and Lord over all, of all things that are in heaven and earth, in as large and ample ſort as God the Father is: but this is no temporall or earthly Kingdome, it is a divine, and ſo an everlaſting Principality; which intrudes not upon temporall States of Princes, nor is this competible with any creature. Secondly, hee ſupponeth as alike unqueſtionable, that Chriſt as man, is a ſpirituall King of men; and had, when hee lived here upon earth, tranſcendent, inconfinable power and authority, and juriſdiction ſpirituall over all men, all ſorts of men, beleevers and infidels, in order unto eternall life; or to procure and work out their ſalvation ſo far, as to compell them to admit

of,

of, and heare the Word, to receive the Sacraments of the Church; which Kingdome of Christ after the generall Resurrection, is to become obvious, sensible, and conspicuous, which began to bee gloriously remonstrated by his Resurrection from the dead, and visible Ascension into glory; this is no Kingdome of this world. Lastly, He supponeth, that Christ, as man, could have assumed regall, temporall Power, Kingdome, and Authority, had hee so thought fit, or had it been convenient for the dispensation of grace; but hee knew it unexpedient therefore: So hee neither invested himselfe with the right thereof, nor ever put it in practice upon earth.

9 This is the generally received doctrine of the Roman Schools; that other is a novelty Christian, but an old Jewish foppery; for they have, and ever had such a conceit of their Messias whom they expect, as yet to come, conceiting him to be meerly a temporall Prince; all his actions and atchievements temporall; his glory, power, rule, dominion temporall: onely this is the difference, because the Prophets, some of them, in some places, speake of the glory, power, and great atchievements of the Messias; and other Prophets, in other places, speake as much of his poore, base, contemptible estate, of his miseries, afflictions, death, passion: they have, and yet doe dreame of two Messiases to come; the one *Ben Joseph*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who is to suffer and undergoe those indignities; the other *Ben David*, of the Tribe of *Juda*, who must redeeme, deliver, and restore Israel to their former inheritance, to gather them together out of all the earth, who must vanquish, subdue, and make tributary all Princes and Potentates of the world; who never must die, but live and reign everlastingly in temporall glory; who shall raise againe all dead Israelites unto life, and, amongst them, Messias *Ben Joseph*: which blasphemous fancies are built upon the very same grounds that our Novellers erect the temporall Kingdome of *Christ Jesus* upon: And because he neither had it when hee lived upon earth, nor doth exercise it being gone into heaven, it were not amisse to take one thing more from those blasphemous Dottrels, That because Messias was borne of poore parents, at least, not honourable in the world, which we know and confesse our Saviour was, that hee lived in a low and poore estate, and so without meanes to recover his dreamed of temporall Kingdome, or gather forces to make head against usurping enemies, hee hath a long time (and so continueth) gone up and downe the world to beg good peoples almes, and gather money to pay his souldiers, who must fight for recovery of his state, which is the cause we heare no newes of him yet; the cause that he is so long in comming.

The Jewes expect Christ as a Temporall Prince, to govern temporally, and in pomp and state for ever here upon earth.

10 Impious, not onely vaine and ridiculous fopperies of forsaken miscreants, deservedly to bee cast on them for Tenents, who run upon such doating dreames, not regarding the perpetuall course of Scripture, in predictions, predesignations, relations present, and verifications upon instructions, since predictions, as *Isa.* 53. where hee is a *man of sorrowes, broken with infirmities, &c. Zach.* 9. 12. *Behold thy*

Christs Kingdome is not temporall; but he was miserable, poor: and why.

King commeth, and hee is poore, borne of poore parents, in a poore obſcure place, in a poore manner, a poore man in his Trade of life and Profeſſion, *the Carpenters ſonne*, they call him the *Carpenter*, as being profeſſed in that Trade; ſo poore, that hee had not, as himſelfe ſaith, *a place whereon to reſt his head*, which was fore-deſigned, *Deut. 17. The King of Iſrael ſhall not gather, or heap up gold or ſilver.* The things of this world are conſiderable, either as they bee, or as they be uſed, encumbrances or hinderances to the ſervice of God: and therefore in the doctrine of thoſe very men, who entitle our Saviour to ſo great eſtate, dignity, and dominion, deepe poverty is accounted high perfection, for better advancing of Gods ſervice. *Qui luctam init, is veſtes exuit: David* going to fight with *Goliah* of Gath, put off *Saul's* armour, which fitted him not, and went as hee was wont to goe after his ſheepe, having no encumbrances but his ſling, and five ſmall ſtones in a ſcrip: ſemblably, I ſhould think, and ſay in their owne doctrine, that Meſſias the Prince, Captaine of the Armies of the Lord of Hoſts, being in his condeſcenſion to combat, not with fleſh and bloud, not with carnall, temporall, common enemies, but with Powers and Principalities, with the Prince of darkneſſe, in this world, ruling over the children of diſobedience, emptied and diſfurniſhed himſelfe, not onely of that paramount power of Omnipotency, by which hee was able to have blowne them all away with the very blaſt of his diſpleaſure, but of all humane furtherances and aſſiſtances. Κατέβη μόνος *Hee came downe alone*; *Torcular calcavit ſolus, Hee trod the wine-preſſe of Gods wrath alone*; *Hee had no place to fly unto, and no man cared for his ſoule*: Friends, Favourers, Souldiers, Rulers, Comfort was none neere him, bared as it were, of branch and bough, the more to magnifie his power in his weakneſſe, againſt their force and preparations: he became poore to make us rich, weake to make us ſtrong, a ſervant to ſet us free. *Oh thou Hope of Iſrael, and Saviour there-of in time of need, Jer. 14. 8. Why art thou as a forreiner in the land, and as one that paſſeth by to tarry but a night? Why art thou as a man aſtoniſhed, and as one that cannot helpe?* Which cannot agree with that fancied Monarchie of a temporall Prince reigning in pompe and glory.

The Virgin had no right to any temporal Kingdome; therefore neither *Chriſt* as man.

11 But though he had it not, it was his due peradventure, and belonged unto him, though hee did not uſe it; which is true: but we meddle not therewith. It is not put to queſtion what hee might have done if he would, but onely what he did, which was expedient. Nothing was omitted, I make no doubt, of what was fitting for him in his employment. It belonged to him, which they talke of, it was his; but how? as the Son of God, as God coeternall, coequall with the Father: Hee is Lord of all things thus, in heaven and earth, by the beſt title that any Lord can have, by right originall in Creation: All that hee hath made (and all things that are, hee hath made) can belong to none but to himſelfe, or to him or them where he hath or will beſtow them. But as hee is ſuch wee talke not of him: not what hee had,

had, or what hee might doe, nor what ſo belonged unto him: But we conſider him here, as hee was man, the ſonne of his mother; and what ſo, or ſuch he had, muſt be conveyed to him, or be caſt upon him by gift, purchaſe, toleration: More then his mother had, ſhee did not, ſhee could not convey unto him; which could not goe beyond *the Scepter of* Juda: not ſo much, but not poſſibly more; not to be Lord and King temporall of all the earth; ſhee had no ſeeming Title, nor could have any to all the Kingdomes of the earth. Whatſoever hee had or enjoyed as man muſt come and deſcend upon him from man, or be immediately conferred upon him from God: And certes, whatſoever he had as man, God gave it unto him, as he gives to all, though in a moſt abundant and overflowing meaſure. And what God ſo gave him, was for ends wherefore hee gave it him; for all Gods gifts are fitted for, and addreſſed unto thoſe ends for which God deſigned them when hee gave them. Now his ends in ſending Chriſt into the world, in collating upon him what hee gave him, were not temporall or carnall, but ſpirituall and eternall, not concerning *this*, but *another* world. But whatſoever ſo, or ſuch, God at any time appointed for him, at ſome time or other he muſt have had it, and God muſt actually have conferred it on him. In Nature, there is nothing in poſſibility but at ſome time or other muſt, and doth come into act: in Grace, God is not ὁ Δώσων, one that *will give*, but never giveth. And doubtleſſe, if God in his Councell of old had reſolved any ſuch power for him, hee would have made it knowne, put it into practice when hee came and dwelt amongſt us. Peradventure his right was kept from him, hee ought to have had what he never enjoyed, as many men are ſhut out from their owne doores; but wee ſay truely in ſuch caſes, that *Might doth overcome Right* when juſtice by power is overborne, as *David* pleaded, *The ſonnes of* Zerviah *are too ſtrong for mee*: But in our caſe and Perſon this is no plea; no Prince nor Power could have oppoſed or withſtood, if hee would have ſaid it, *Dieu & mon Droit*, *God and my Right*, it is my right, and I will have it.

12 Peradventure hee would not ſet on foot his claime, but was contented, rather then hee would ſtrive, as many men are; rather then goe to law, to ſit downe by loſſe; and without wrinching forgo what was his due: Men may doe ſo, I grant, if they bee ſo diſpoſed; but had it been Gods will to have conferred it upon him, to inveſt him with it, hee had not done *omnia benè*; hee could waive, abandon, or forſake what ſo was appointed for him, which hee had failed in, and had not; beſide, as hee ſaith, hee had declared unto them all Gods Will; for ſure wee are, that this to bee his Will, hee never declared. And though he might have concealed it for a time, as of ſome things hee ſaith, *You cannot beare them now*; *Thou knoweſt not now*: for all things are not to bee taught at all times, to all or every man, but with due and diſcreet diſpenſation: Yet, as the things hee adjournes were afterward declared; ſo would hee, no doubt, have done in this caſe: But utterly to conceale it and paſſe it over, if, as incarnate and Head of

Chriſt would have ſpoken concerning his temporall power, & not have refuſed it (*Luk.* 12. 14.) if *quæ* man it had belonged unto him.

the Church, it had appertained to him, it could not well bee done. It ſtood not with Juſtice to betray himſelfe and his due; not with Charity, when the claiming and putting it to practice might have quieted and ſetled contentions; not with Truſt, in execution of his Office; not with care of Succeſſion and Poſterity; the Church hereby loſing what is thought moſt neceſſary and due unto her. All the time that hee lived and converſed with men upon earth, hee nor uſed nor claimed what is now put upon him by Pretenders for their owne advantage, yet had hee cauſe offered to doe it more then once; an infallible ſigne hee held it not his due: hee was intreated by one to deale with a brother of his about dividing patrimony and inheritance, *Luk.* 12. 14. his anſwer is, *Man, who made mee a Judge, or a divider of inheritance amongſt you?* To have done it, was a principall part of that authority which by our Pretenders is caſt upon him; and that he ought to have undertaken, and would, had it appertained unto him: but, *Terrena declinat, qui propter Divina deſcenderat; nec Judex dignatur eſſe litium, & arbiter facultatum vivorum habens, mortuorumque judicium & arbitrium meritorum: Hee diſclaimeth earthly things, who came to work heavenly things. Hee diſdaineth to bee an umpire in kinde of difference, or to meddle with inheritance temporall, who is to bee the Judge of quick and dead, and finall determiner of every mans deſerts*, ſaith *Ambroſe* upon that Text of Saint *Luke*. And what hinders, but wee may imagine he would not meddle in this caſe, which ſeemed ſo apparantly a deed of goodneſſe and charity; becauſe, out of his divine and intuitive knowledge, hee foreſaw what extravagant courſes men would run into concerning his humane power and authority in things temporall, whereto he would not give the leaſt ſuſpition and countenance of approbation.

S. *Auguſtine* on theſe words, *My Kingdome is not of this world.*

13 At another time, having by myracle fed and ſatiſfied a multitude of hungry ſoules with bread and meat, and knowing that they would come and make him King, hee withdrew himſelfe, went apart, avoyding that occaſion, becauſe his intent and comming into the world was not for it. Hee gave charge to his Apoſtles, not to bee as Princes, not to carry themſelves as ſuch who be called *Gracious Lords*; hee rebuked the ſonnes of *Zebedee*, with their mother, for dreaming, after the common, but erronious opinion of the Jewes, of Meſſias to be a temporall Prince; and hee reproved the Apoſtles, all in generall, even after his Reſurrection, for that point; when yet, if ever, it was due unto him: but eſpecially at his arraignment, when hee ſtood before *Pilate* at *Caſar's* Judgement ſeat, when the cauſe was in queſtion of his Kingſhip, and their maine ſpeeding accuſation was, Hee maketh himſelfe King of the Jewes, he diſclaymeth it utterly in that diſavowry; *My Kingdome is not of this world.* Saint *Auguſtine* obſerveth hereupon the punctuality of our Saviours words; *Hee ſaith not, My Kingdome is not* in *this world*; *but, not* of *this world: Neither doth he ſay, My Kingdome is not* here; *but, My Kingdome is not* hence: here *it is*, in *the world it is*; *For the Kingdome of God*, ſaith hee elſe-

where,

where, *is come amongſt you. Not of the world, according to the faſhion of the world, ſuch as be Kingdomes erected and eſtabliſhed in the world. Heare this you Jewes and Gentiles, attend it Circumciſion and Incircumciſion; heare it all you kindreds of the earth, I impeach not your Rule and Dominion in this world; for my Kingdome is not of this world. Feare you not with vaine feare as* Herod *feared, when hee heard that Chriſt, King of the Jewes was borne, and maſſacred thereupon ſo many Innocents, ſuppoſing to have diſpatched him with them: His feare, rather then anger, made him cruell. For my Kingdome is not of this world: What would you more? Aſſociate to that King, who is no King of this world.*

14 So diſcourſeth Saint *Auguſtine* to purpoſe; which was the doctrine and beliefe of Antiquity in generall, and in particular, as it is confeſſed by the Authors themſelves and Favourers of the contrary opinion. *Alphonſus Mendoza*, a great ſtickler for Chriſts temporall Authority, hath muſtered up many, both ancient and late Writers of his owne Confeſſion, ſuch a Liſt of Authorities, as nor hee, nor the followers of that opinion can eaſily diſcharge and rid themſelves of; who would caſt upon Chriſt a temporall State, who came not to rule with a golden Scepter; who nor had ſuch Authority, nor would accept of it. *Daniel* forepriſeth him, as a ſpirituall and eternall Prince, *The Kingdome, Dominion and Greatneſſe of the Kingdome, ſhall bee under the whole heaven, given to the holy people of the moſt High, whoſe Kingdome is an everlaſting Kingdome, and all power ſhall obey and ſerve him*, Dan.7.27. which was that power hee put in practice, *Matt.*28.18. *All power given*; therefore meant and intended him, as man; not divine power: that nor is nor can be given; originally hee had it, from everlaſting: that power he had given, and hee gave, as was fitting for his Apoſtles to uſe and put in practice, in execution of the worke he ſent them about. *To preach the Goſpel to every creature*, the power of Redemption, then newly acquired and eſtabliſhed by his Death, Paſſion, and Reſurrection, and to be conſummated by his Aſcenſion: which formerly was not actually inveſted upon him, becauſe hee had not actually performed that worke, nor yet purchaſed it by ſhedding his bloud. *Interrogemus Scripturas, & inveniemus, quia Regnum ejus non eſt de hoc mundo. Qui dicit Regnum ſuum non eſſe de hoc mundo, oſtendit illud eſſe ſupra mundum. Ita & Regnum eius erat, & non erat in ſæculo, ſed ſupra ſæculum: Let us enquire at the Scriptures*, ſaith Saint *Ambroſe*, *Lib.*3. *ſuper Lucam cap.* 5 *and there we ſhall finde it, that his Kingdome is not of this world. Hee that ſaith ſo, in ſo ſaying, doth manifeſt that his Kingdome is above the world. So his Kingdome was, and was not in the world, but directly was above the world.*

*Mat.*28.18. explained. S. *Ambroſe* his ſpeech concerning Chriſts Kingdome.

15 Men that are borne into the world are not all borne to one end; not all to be Kings or Princes, nor all to bee Peaſants; but are diſpoſed according to diſpenſation of Divine Providence, which ſo ordereth all things in heaven and earth, as God in his eternall Counſell

Men have come into the world foure wayes. *Melchiſedech* had neither father nor mother in effect, *i.e.* not known.

ſell once appointed, ſince there was firſt men upon earth. Men have come into the world foure wayes: three are peculiarly appropriated to ſome, the fourth is common to all men and women, except thoſe three. The firſt production was from nor man nor woman, but immediately produced by the hand of God; Thus came *Adam* into the world without father or mother; ſo none but hee. The ſecond Production was of man, not woman; which was peculiar to *Eve*, taken forth of *Adam*'s ſide; and therefore had her name as born of man. The fourth is the ordinary courſe of kinde of man and woman according to that Bleſſing, *Increaſe and multiply, and repleniſh the earth.* The third, but laſt to bee remembred, is to bee borne of a woman without man, the peculiar priviledge of him alone, concerning whom wee proteſſe and beleeve, that hee was *Conceived by the holy Ghoſt, and borne of the Virgin* Mary; who, as hee knew no Mother, but Father in heaven, after his eternall generation; ſo had hee no Father, but Mother on earth, according to humane procreation; rightly reſembled to *Melchiſedech* herein, and *Melchiſedech* a type of him, concerning whom the Apoſtle ſaith, *Hee was without Father, and without Mother, without kindred. Melchiſedech* had indeed all; (hee needs muſt have ſo, unleſſe, with ſome frantick fooles, wee dreame that hee was the holy Ghoſt, or the Sonne himſelfe) but who, whence, or of what condition they were, it is not knowne or reveiled; and ſo, in effect, hee had none: For all things are as they are eſteemed of, and eſteemed of they be, as they are knowne. Wee know the Mother of our Saviour, and confeſſe her to have been the Virgin *Mary*; this was her Name, that is her honourable ſtate and condition, wherein ſhe is *Bleſſed above women.* His birth and conception are upon ſacred Record, and in due convenient order we ſhall come unto them; but many particulars intervene, worth enquiry, about her Parents, her Profeſſion, her Kindred, and the like; which bee not reported all in ſacred Scripture, but convenient to bee ſearched for and knowne, and coincident with the acts and courſe of *his* life, who was, if ever any was, *the ſonne of Nobles.*

None but hereticks deny, that the Virgin came by lineall deſcent from *David*, though it is not directly proved in Scripture.

16 *Baronius* ſaith truly, *It hath ever been a ſtable, fixed, profeſſed, and conſtantly beleeved Truth amongſt all Chriſtian, Catholick Profeſſors, That the holy Virgin* Mary, *Mother of God, was lineally deſcended of the Tribe of* Juda, *and Line of* David. This no man can deny or make queſtion of, without hazzard eternall to his ſoule. It is certaine, ſaith Saint *Paul*, that our Lord ſprang out of *Juda*, was *Flos de* Jeſſe, of the roor of *David.* Pagans and Apoſtataes have denyed it; impious hereticks have prophaned, queſtioned, embeaſled, what they could, the truth of it: but the faith of Chriſtians ſtandeth ſure, ſhee came from *David*, from the Royall Houſe of *Juda* in direct line; though it be not reſolved, and therefore not *certum & de fide*, inqueſtionably to bee beleeved (though, for my part, I thinke it probable) that ſhee was an Inheritrix, and heire unto that houſe of *David* in direct line.

17 But

17 But to goe on with our courſe concerning him and her: Firſt, our Saviour, who uſeth ſo often that ſtile, *The ſonne of man*, ſaid not, τῆς ἀνθρώπου, which the word will beare, as reflecting upon his mother, but υἱὸς τῦ ἀνθρώπου, referring to his father; though mother he had, but had no father according to humane or temporall generation. Hereupon that ancient learned Author, whoever he was, who wrote the Queſtions which goe under *Juſtin Martyr's* name, ſaith, That Pagans were wont to object, that our Saviour was borne of and in matrimony, according to courſe of kinde, as other men are, begotten by *Joſeph* upon his wife *Mary*; and not in her conceived by the power of the holy Ghoſt, without carnall copulation. With which Pagan blaſphemy and hereticall impiety wee meddle no farther to refell it, then by the way, as conducing to our purpoſe, to take in his made anſwers, which are theſe; Firſt, if a reaſon could not be given why the Scripture uſeth that phraſe, *The ſonne of man*, and not rather, *The ſonne of woman*, yet is there no reaſon, that for one obſcure and intricate phraſe, we caſt off, or diſcredit, or not embrace unqueſtionably thoſe other many plaine and expreſſe teſtimonies, where it is directly ſaid, he was conceived by the holy Ghoſt, and borne of the Virgin *Mary*; wherefore it was ſaid unto her, *That holy thing conceived in thee ſhall be called the ſon of God:* which is a good and ſound anſwer, applyable to many like purpoſes in queſtioned Truths. *Nunquid enim ideò negandum eſt quod apertum eſt, quia comprehendi non poteſt quod obſcurum eſt? Nunquid propterea dicturi ſumus quod ita eſſe perſpicimus, non ita eſſe, quoniam cur ita ſit non poſſumus invenire? Muſt that which is unqueſtionable be therefore denyed*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine de dono perſever. Cap.* 14. *Tom.* 7. *becauſe what is obſcure cannot be apprehended? Muſt wee ſuppoſe what wee ſee is not ſuch as wee ſee it, becauſe when ſuch it is wee cannot finde it out?* Secondly, he anſwereth, That if *Jeſus* had beene borne of *Joſeph* and *Mary*, as of man and wife in wedlock, the Evangeliſt would not have uſed this ſpeech, *Being, as he was ſuppoſed, the ſonne of* Joſeph; but ſimply, *Being the ſonne of* Joſeph: for the word *ſuppoſed* oppoſeth opinion and common account unto Truth, to Truth and Reality in the thing it ſelfe. Thirdly, that *filius hominis, the ſonne of man* is κατὰ γλῶσσαν, according to the phraſe of the tongue, and man is rather depending of, and iſſuing from the male, then from the female. The woman was not firſt made, but the man; the man is originall being to the woman. Fourthly, hee anſwers, and that to purpoſe, that if wee conclude hee was borne of *Joſeph*, becauſe it is ſaid, Hee was the ſonne of man, not of woman; wee way as well inferr, Hee was not *Maries* ſonne, becauſe he is no where ſaid to be υἱὸς τῆς ἀνθρώπου, the ſonne of a woman. Laſtly, as *Joſeph* is called the ſon of *Eli*, who never begot him, but was begotten of *Jacob*, brother unto *Eli*, to raiſe up ſeed to *Eli*, according to the Law, who dyed iſſueleſſe: ſo might *Jeſus* be the ſonne of *Joſeph*, though hee were not indeed, but onely

An expoſition of that phraſe, *The ſon of man*; and why it is ſaid τῆς ἀνθρώπου, and not τῆς ἀνθρώπου.

Ἐπειδὴ σωματικῶς ὁ κύριος υἱὸν τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει, καὶ οὐχὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, διὰ τοῦτο ἀσεμνόσας οἱ ἄπιστοι διακεῖνται, ὡς ἐκ γαμικῆς συμπλοκῆς ὁ διδάσκαλος γέγονε τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ, τῆς ἀνθρώπου φασὶν ἡ ὕλης ἐστὶν, ἢ ἀνδρὸς τὸ σπέρμα.

onely in reputation, according to opinion and common ſpeech of people, though they talked ignorantly.

A queſtion propounded concerning the Pedegree of *Chriſt* from *Joſeph*, & not from *Mary*. *Julian* & *Celſus* cavill at it.

18 Thus diſcourſeth that ancient Writer; and by his diſputing about his being the ſon of man, not woman, though hee were the ſon of woman, not of man, hath caſt us upon another diſquiſition, about his being, by his mother, of the Tribe of *Juda*, and Houſe of *David*; the rather, becauſe *Joſeph*, who was not his father, but in opinion, is lineally deduced from *David* and *Juda*; but ſo is not *Mary*, of whom he took fleſh, who yet, much rather then *Joſeph*, muſt be proved to have beene of *David*, if wee hold, as we muſt againſt all oppoſition, that our Lord ſprang forth of *Juda*, that hee was the ſonne of *David*; the aſſurance of which evidence is infallible, divine Teſtimony and Revelation. That the bleſſed Virgin was of *Juda* and *David*, as moſt certaine, we profeſſe and beleeve it: But, in what ſort or degree ſhee was ſuch, is not ſo cleere as the Sun when hee is verticall, at high noon. For in theſe Pedegrees, aſcendant, deſcendant, drawne by thoſe heavenly Heralds, *Matthew* and *Luke*, wee are not brought unto *Mary*, but unto *Joſeph*: a courſe ſomewhat ſtrange, to prove his deſcent from *Juda* and *David* by *Joſeph*, of whom hee received nothing; and not by *Mary*, of whom he had all. In the Pedegree it would be expected, not the *father* of *Joſeph*, the *husband* of *Mary*, of whom was borne *Chriſt*, as wee reade it; but the *father* of *Mary*, the eſpouſed *wife* of *Joſeph*, of which *Mary* was borne *Chriſt*: But in neither of the Genealogies doe wee heare of *Maries*, but *Joſeph*'s father. Whence *Julian* the Apoſtata, and *Celſus* the Pagan did of old blaſpheme, that *Chriſt* was not, as wee pretend, of *David* or *Juda*, becauſe he was not *Ioſeph*'s ſon deduced from them, but the ſonne of *Mary*, who had no intereſt in them, being extracted out of *Levi*. And therefore let the Queſtion proceed, What have wee to doe, out of the Evangeliſts, with *Ioſeph*'s Pedegree, in deducing the ſtem of *Chriſt* our Saviour?

The anſwer to the former queſtion, from teſtimonies of the Fathers.

19 *Hilarie*, *Can.* 1. upon Saint *Matthew*, anſwereth the Queſtion thus; *Quod* Joſephi *potiùs quàm* Mariæ *Nativitas recenſetur, nihil refert: It mattereth not, that* Joſeph's *Pedegree is recited, and not the Virgins, eadem eſt enim utriuſque Tribus, atque una cognatio*: which is the ſame which *Baronius* inſiſteth upon, They could not be of two ſeverall different Tribes; and therefore becauſe their ſtock and kindred was the ſame, it is all one, in effect, that *Joſeph*'s Pedegree is drawne downe by the Evangeliſts, and not the Virgins: For hee that repeateth the heads originall, includeth whatſoever is contained thereunder. And this is the joynt unanimous anſwer of all the Ancients almoſt unto the queſtion; though in inſtancing particularly, and declaring the courſe and manner how, more punctually, they doe ſomewhat differ. For, upon this inſiſt *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Hierome*, *Chryſoſtome*, and others; *Euſebius*, *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 7. having made a long narration about this

Non refert, quis in Originis numero atque ordine collocetur, dummodo univerſorum familia cepta intelligatur ab uno. Itaque, cùm ejuſdem Tribus ſit *Joſeph* & *Maria*, dum profectus eſſe ex *Abrahæ* genere *Joſeph* oſtenditur, profecta quoque docetur & *Maria*. *Hilar.* ibid.

this queſtion out of *Julius Africanus*, concludes with his owne opinion, to the ſame purpoſe thus; *Joſeph* his Genealogie being thus delivered, inclusively with him is the Virgin *Mary* intituled to the ſame Tribe; if, according to the Law of *Moſes*, they might not marry into other Tribes.

Καὶ ἡ τῆ Ἰωσὴφ δέδεκται γενεαλογικῶς, δυνάμει καὶ ἡ Μαρία σὺν αὐτῷ τίθησιν, ἐκ τ αὐτῆς ἐστι φυλῆς· ἔγγε καὶ τὸν Μωσέως νόμον ἐκ ἐξὸν ἑτέρας ἐπιμίγνυσθαι φυλαῖς.

20 But theſe allegations come not home to ſatisfie the queſtion, nor cleere the doubt: they are bare teſtimonies containing hiſtoricall opinions of men, delivering barely what they thought, without enforcements of reaſons to lead them to think ſo. Not to reſt upon bare words, wee muſt proceed to enquire what moved them to think ſo, to anſwer ſo, and rely themſelves upon that anſwer. Firſt, *Euſebius Emeſenus*, or rather, *Eucherius Lugdunenſis*, inſtanceth the uſuall cuſtomes of the Scriptures every where, to deduce and ſet out genealogicall deſcents from the men, and not from women: and therefore neither of the Evangeliſts touch upon *Maries*, but *Joſeph*'s family and deſcent. *Ideò per* Joſeph *Evangeliſtæ generationem pertexere voluit: quoniam uſus eſt ſanctarum Scripturarum, ubique per viros, & nuſquam per mulieres generationis ſeriem ordinare*; which paſſage he borrowed from *Hierom*, whoſe words theſe are, *Non eſſe conſuetudinis Scripturarum, ut mulierum, in generationibus ordo texetur: Therefore by* Joſeph, *and not by* Mary, *the Evangeliſt ſets downe his Pedegree, becauſe it is every where the uſe of holy Scripture to direct Pedegrees and Genealogies by men, and never by women*: To which he might have added, *Nec conſuetudinis Judæorum*. The Jewes had not any ſuch cuſtome; and therefore the Scripture, which inſiſteth on the uſe and cuſtome of the Jewes, could not mention it. The Rabbins therefore are reported to have a Rule, That a man is not ſaid to be of this Tribe, or that Tribe, reſpecting his mothers Houſe or Family, but for his fathers. And *Joſephus*, whoſe authority and credit I far preferr before all Rabbins in the rabble, ſaith as much in his firſt booke againſt *Appion*: That it was ordinary, and a cuſtome amongſt the Jewes, when any woman was married to regiſter her name at Jeruſalem, with the name of her father and his Tribe: And out of relation to ſuch cuſtome, the Family & Tribe of the bleſſed Virgin is not deſigned, but only that of her husband *Joſeph*, which the Evangeliſt may ſeem to have tranſcribed out of thoſe Protocols and Regiſters at Jeruſalem then extant, and to bee ſeene, as our Church-books, by a very good order, bee preſerved and tranſmitted to poſterity: and to this accordeth Cardinall *Baronius*. Why the Genealogie of *Joſeph* is related by the Evangeliſt, and not that of *Mary*, the reaſon is, When Pedegrees are entred upon publick Records, the Mens, not Womens names were written.

The reaſon which the Fathers relyed on in their anſwer, which was from a cuſtome of the Jewes, to reckon by the fathers ſide.

21 But many incumberances lie upon this anſwer. For, admit of this cuſtome as infallible, and invariable amongſt the Jewes; yet, as the Jeſuite *Maldonate* well obſerveth, it is no ſatisfactory anſwer: For, after that cuſtome the bleſſed Virgins father might have beene ſpecified, and ſo his father, grandfather, and the reſt of the males, as high

The former reaſon of cuſtome not ſufficient, and why.

high as *David*, the Pedegree might have beene brought downe from father to ſonne, unto the bleſſed Virgin, and have beene ſtayed there: Her mothers Family needed not be ſpecified, her fathers would have ſerved to all intents and purpoſes; and according to that cuſtome, might as well have beene related as *Ioſeph*'s was. Secondly, It may ſeeme to bee falſe which is alledged for uſe of Scripture and cuſtome of Iewes. For the Jewiſh cuſtome, wee have inſtance againſt it, *Iudith* 8. where her Stemme and Genealogie is deduced from *Simon*, of which Tribe ſhee was, which might as well have beene done for the bleſſed Virgin. Again, in that very Genealogie of *Ioſeph*, *Mat.* 1. wee have certaine women entred amongſt men, as *Thamar*, *Ruth*, *Bathſheba*, or the wife of *Urias*. And though it be true, that thoſe women come in upon the by, being only occaſionally mentioned, not as links or parts of the Pedegree, yet are they ſpecified in the Pedegree; and why then may not a womans Pedegree be lineally derived, eſpecially if there bee no male children to ſucceed, as it is probable, the Virgin was the onely child of her father; and as of old *Zelophahad*, who had no ſonnes but daughters, had their names recorded in Scripture, and their Stemme deduced downe along from *Manaſſes*.

The other reaſon, that they married into the ſame Tribe is diſproved.

22 It is further ſaid, that it was *certum & exploratum*, a conſtant and inviolate cuſtome in Iſrael, that no man might take a wife, no woman an husband, but of their owne Tribe. And this eſpecially is relyed upon by all the ancient Writers, though they name not the ground of the cuſtome, a poſitive Law of God, inſiſted on by *Baronius*, and urged by him as ſatisfactory every way; which muſt therefore be examined more throughly, though already wee have touched it in and about the marriages of Prieſts. The Law intended is extant, *Numb.* 36. 6. in the caſe by *Moſes* propoſed unto God, concerning the daughters of *Zelophahad*; they are permitted to marry where, and to whom they pleaſed, only into a Family of the Tribe of their father; that is, to ſome deſcendent from *Manaſſes*. The reaſon of that reſtraint and inhibition is, *ſo ſhall not the Inheritance of the children of Iſrael bee removed from Tribe to Tribe*. This is the Law from whence the Inference is, *Ioſeph* being approved by lineall deſcent to have been of the Tribe of *Iuda*, his wife muſt needs be ſuppoſed alſo to have been of that Tribe, anſwerable to the intent and purpoſe of the Law. Againſt which declaration are exceptions laid in, many, manifold, of importance: Firſt, contrary practice to that Law; for *Saul* being of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, promiſeth his daughter, indefinitely, to any Iſraelite, of any Tribe, who would undertake the combat with *Goliah*; and in concluſion, gave one of his daughters to *David*, of the Tribe of *Iuda*: In which, nor *Saul* nor *David* are blamed as offendors againſt that Law: Nor was *Iehojada* (ſome ſay, High Prieſt, but queſtionleſſe a Prieſt of *Levi* and *Aaron*) ever taxed or reproved for taking, as hee did, a wife of *Iuda*, ſiſter unto a King of *Iuda*.

23 *Baronius*

23 *Baronius* puts in an exception, fond and groundleſſe, that, notwithſtanding the Law, the Regall and Sacerdotall Tribes might marry together. But hee is deceived, and deceiveth. The Law is generall, the reſtraint indefinite; *Levi* and *Juda* in this caſe had no more priviledge then other Tribes. *Levi* and *Simeon*, *Simeon* and *Juda*, *Juda*, *Benjamin* and *Levi* might marry at liberty, as they pleaſed, except in that caſe excepted in the Law, as already it hath been ſhewed. Such as were not Inheritrices, Heires unto their Parents, who did not carry inheritances away with them into other Tribes, might marry where, when, to whom they would, and into whatſoever Tribe they pleaſed; they were not tyed nor confined to the Tribe of their Fathers: So that, according to the Practice, or to the Law in Iſrael, it is no argument *Joſeph* and *Mary* were man and wife together, and therefore neceſſarily of one and the ſame Tribe: nor can it bee a good reaſon, though much applauded, that becauſe *Joſeph* and *Mary* were both (as they were both) of one Tribe, therefore it was proofe ſufficient to recite the Line and Pedegree of *Joſeph*, to prove our Saviour to have beene of the Tribe of *Juda*. For though it were ſo, and could not be otherwiſe, yet muſt they have beene of ſeverall and diſtinct Families in *Juda*: the Tribe of *Juda* was ever the moſt populous Tribe of Iſrael; (for why? wee read of the *Thouſands of* Juda) and had many more Families then that of *Jeſſe* or *David*. It was neceſſary that our Lord ſhould come out of *Juda*; it was as neceſſary that in *Juda* hee ſhould deſcend of *David*. Now, unleſſe we conceive the bleſſed Virgin to have beene, as doubtleſſe ſhee was, iſſued both from *Iuda* and *David*, and alſo an Inheritrix, as I think ſhee was in that Tribe and Family, as were the daughters of *Zelophehad* in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*; the allegation of that Law is not to her: but if ſhe were ſuch, then will it fit her; for, ſaith the Law, in the reaſon thereof, *Every daughter that poſſeſſeth an Inheritance, ſhall be wife unto one of the Family of her Father*: not alone to one of the *Tribe*, but further, to one of the *Family*: not every daughter generally, or ἑαυτοῖς; but every daughter *which poſſeſſeth an Inheritance*. Now *Ioſeph* being doubtleſſe, as hee is ſtiled, a juſt man; that is, as Saint *Luke* ſpeakes of *Zachary* the father of *Iohn Baptiſt*, one that *walked in all the Ordinances of the Lord without blame*, would not wittingly, I ſuppoſe, and willingly tranſgreſſe the Law, as *Chryſoſtome* obſerveth upon that example; *Nequaquam juſtus, iſte pateretur uxorem ſibi aliundè, quam Lex patiebatur eligere.* And ſo alſo *Ambroſe*, *Nec potuit juſtus facere contra id quod Lege præſcriptum erat.* So that, *Mary* and *Ioſeph* being ſuppoſed to have been both of the ſame Tribe and Family; and it being admitted a generall cuſtome in Iſrael comanded by Law, that women Parceners, or inheritrices muſt marry within their owne Tribe, to ſome of their owne Family; it may ſeeme to be an anſwer ſufficient, it being the generall uſe in Iſrael to account by the men, and not by the women, which muſt and doth verefie this aſſertion; or elſe that legall Cuſtome is not to purpoſe, that the bleſſed Virgin was an heire,

, Thoſe which were inheritors of lands, and heires, might not marry from the Tribe; and that 'tis probable *Mary* was ſo.

at leaſt a Coparcener in the Tribe of *Iuda* and houſe of *David*; and peradventure heire in direct Line, unto the royall houſe of *David*. For the Law of not marrying out of the Houſe and Family of their Fathers, howſoever not preciſely obſerved by others, yet was punctually kept by them, who having no brethren of their blood, were to ſucceed in the inheritance of their Fathers: So meant *Hilarius*, and thoſe other Ancients; who hold, that *Mary* was married unto *Ioſeph* of her owne Tribe and Family; to fulfill the Law. For I almoſt abſolutely hold, ſhee was an heire, and that her Parents had inheritance to leave her; which *Nicephorus* delivereth, and I make no queſtion out of ſome Records then extant, which now are loſt: *Ad domicilium ſuum apud Nazareth redibant, propter eam, quæ tunc iis erat, ſubſtantiam, & poſſeſſiones: Utrobique enim habebant quod utroque loco, &c.* This for Bethlehem is not true, it ſeemeth, becauſe they were faine to take up their lodging in a ſtable, which they needed not have done, had they been owners of any houſe, or had any Tenants there: but upon this ſuppoſition, that the bleſſed Virgin was ſole heire, or parcener to her Parents, *Baronius* might ſay, *Deducentes itaque Evangeliſtæ genus* Joſeph *ex* Davide, *perindè eſt, acſi ex eodem principio* Mariæ *proſapiam derivarent*; *It is in effect all one, as if the Evangeliſt had deduced the Stemme of the Virgin* Mary *from* David, *when they derive* Joſeph *thence*; though, it being not cleered that ſhee was an heire, it is not of neceſſity to be beleeved.

An objection that *Ioſeph* was poor, and therfore *Mary*, if an heire, would not marry him.

24 But againſt this poſſibility of being an heire, it is objected, that ſhee was of very poore eſtate, becauſe her husband *Ioſeph* was a man of meane degree, a Carpenter or Plowright, and not likely that an heire would diſparage her ſelfe, and marry with him; which is a fond conceit, oftentimes falſe, even in theſe laſt and worſt times, wherein not *man*, but *money* is reſpected; portion and eſtate is all in all: but the Jewes in their worſt times were better diſpoſed and affected, rather regarding the *man* then the *money*; an honeſt man, well qualified, well deſcended, howſoever of meane eſtate, was preferred before, and againſt a man, who brought nothing but gold to gild a rotten piece of wood. Had *Ioſeph* been poorer then detraction can make him, yet was his poverty no barr to marry with an heire; but eſpecially, if hee were the next of kinne, to preſerve the inheritance of the Family.

Joſeph & Maries lying in an Inn is no proof that they were very poore, or that ſhee was not an heire.

25 And whereas ſome *malè-feriati* have preſſed ſo farre upon the point of baſeneſſe and humiliation, as to ſay it, and almoſt ſweare it, that her husband, her ſelfe, her parents, were very poore, extreme poore, *tantum non* Beggars from doore to doore; I ſay, it is an idle ſurmiſe of ſome fooliſh Poſtillers, of ſome mendicant Friars, who make height of poverty to be height of perfection. He was a Carpenter, ſo was Saint *Paul* a Tent-maker; and yet no ſuch poore man, a Citizen, himſelfe ſaith, of no vile Citie, borne a Roman Freeman, an honour in thoſe dayes; his father able to bring him up like a Gentleman,

at

at Jeruſalem, at School, at the feet of *Gamaliel*. The Jewiſh Doctors tell us, that the beſt, the greateſt Clerks in Iſrael, did not ſcorn to learn a trade to maintaine themſelves by, as the great Turke in all his royalty is not aſhamed to have, uſe, and to thrive by a Trade, ſelling his works at a deere rate: ſo that *Ioſephs* Trade is no inference of his poverty, no more then it is and hath beene for Princes, Nobles, great Commanders to be Merchants. And though ſhee had been ſo poore her ſelfe, ſo meanly furniſhed from her parents, yet might their houſe and land belong unto her, either as a ſole Inheritrix, the onely childe of her Parents, which is moſt probable, or as a coparcener with ſome ſiſters; and then a portion divided, as it were land held in gavell kind, will prove the leſſe. And what though at Bethlehem they were lodged in a ſtable, yet will not that act or paſſion inferre ſuch mean eſtate and grand poverty as is pretended; as if they had been lodged in a ſtable, not having money to defray the charges of the Inne. The reaſon of ſuch poore lodging and entertainment is not there given, becauſe they had not money to provide better, but becauſe *there was no roome for them in the Inne*, as like enough there was not for men of good rank and quality. The lodgings were full, all taken up before they came; as it commonly happeneth in great meetings, in ſo generall a courſe, where firſt come is firſt ſerved. It is probable, that *Ioſeph* and *Mary* came late, becauſe they came from farre, out of Nazareth in Galilee to Bethlehem in Juda. Secondly, becauſe ſhee was great with childe, and very neere her time; in which reſpects ſhee could not be better accommodated, howſoever they had wherewithall to pay for their lodging, and to defray charges. Upon ſuch occaſions as that, at ſuch times as that, upon hard exigencies, good men, great men, maſters and owners of faire eſtates in poſſeſſion, having money enough in their purſes to defray greater charges and expences, have oftentimes been forced to couch it as homely, in a ſtable, a barne, a belfry, an hovell, and glad withall to bee ſo fitted; nor doe they account it any diſparagement of their houſe, bloud, gentry, nobility, eſtate or calling, which notwithſtanding ſuch occaſions, is great and honourable, ſo that no proof is of any ſuch poverty from that accident, nor impeachment of her being an heire.

26 Some doe inſtance that ſhee had brothers and ſiſters, which is no where expreſſed: For the particulars inſiſted on, whereof more anon, doe not prove it. It is no point of faith or infallibility to ſay and hold one way or other, but relyes meerely, as incredibility, upon the opinions and relations of Antiquity, as being of humane ground, not divine. But howſoever it bee not revealed in Scripture, yet is it materiall unto Story, and concernes us to know as much as wee can concerning him, his ſtate, parents, and kindred, to whom we are ſo much bound and beholding for as our happineſſe in heaven is; who was crowned with dignity above all holy Angels; was the ſon of the nobleſt Houſe upon earth; had the beſt of the bloud of *Iacob* in him, the greateſt nobility under heaven, borne *in domo Regnatrici*; not

'Tis not materiall whether *Mary* had brothers and ſiſters.

onely ſo, but actually a King, ruling over the Houſe of *Jacob* for ever, of whoſe Kingdome there is no end; which may very well put us upon further diſquiſition concerning his kindred by his mother, her parents, her birth, her education, her ſtock and kindred, her endowments; Firſt concerning her parents and kindred in Iſrael.

Joacim & Anna to have beene the names of the parents of *Mary*, and concerning her parents many ſeverall traditions.

27 It is not ſpecified in holy Scripture who were the parents of the bleſſed Virgin, what were their names, of what ſtate and condition of life they were; a certaine and infallible ſigne, that the knowledge thereof is not a point belonging to ſalvation, the proper, immediate, ultimate end of all Scripture. If ſuch it had been, wee had not been ignorant thereof at all; for Scripture is abſolutely all-ſufficient for that proper and peculiar end to which intentionally by God it was addreſſed, *To make the man of God perfect unto every good work*; but not ſufficient, becauſe not ſo intended, to every act and action under the Sun. Many things concerning Chriſt bee wrapped up in ſilence, not remembred in Scripture; whereof we may be ignorant, whereof wee may doubt, which wee may deny without prejudice of piety, hazzard of our eternall ſtate, without aſperſion of hereſie or of error. Beleeve it wee muſt, becauſe wee are ſo told it, that *Joſeph* and *Mary* were man and wife, of the Tribe of *Juda*, and Houſe of *David*. We may pionſly beleeve it, and without impiety deny it, that ſhee was the onely childe of her Father; that ſhee was heire to the inheritance of her Parents; that they were, as in favour with God, ſo in good credit and reputation with men; that their names were, as wee have received from ancient Antiquity, by long Tradition, *Joacim* and *Anna*. Joacim & Anna *parentum erant nomina, ambo accuratiori, juxta præcepta Legis, vita præſtantes & clari, nec non primis quibuſvis, & ſplendidiſſimis, nobiliſſimiſque genere commemorati.* Nicephor. *lib.* 1. *cap.*7. and long before him *Epiphanius*, *Hæreſ.*78. *Mulierem quidem noverat ipſam formatione* Joſeph. *& fœminam naturâ, ex matre* Anna, *& patre* Joacim, *& cognata* Elizabeth, *ex Domo & Familia* David. Whereabout is no contention betwixt contrary Confeſſioniſts in Chriſtianity: but concerning them in their perſons, their deſcent, their calling, their condition, divers fables, fopperies, impoſtures of ancient time have been invented and obtruded upon Chriſtianity, credulous, ignorant, inconſtant men, partly out of good pious zeale enough; but, as in ſuch caſes and perſons it happeneth, with indiſcreet affection, and ſome ſiniſter paſſion beſide, ill good, ſimple, well meaning Chriſtians, both of the Greek and Latin Church, but eſpecially through the malice of the common enemy to Truth, by the impious deſignement of cunning hereticks, to call into queſtion the whole ſtate of our Saviours incarnation, and taking fleſh of the Virgin: ſuch were the Gnoſticks, Docitæ, Ebionites, Marcionites, and Manichees, who, to advance their owne dreams and impieties, thruſt forth into the world, under the ſacred names of the Apoſtles, many blaſphemous and ridiculous forgeries.

28 This

28 This appeareth in particular many waies; generally, and at a bluſh, by a Synodicall Decree of *Gelaſius*, firſt of that name, Biſhop of Rome, who formally hath condemned them; and by *Epiphanius*, who caſually remembreth moſt of them; of which the greater part be loſt and gone, but ſome remaine unto this day. There is extant in the 9. Tome of *Hieromes* works, a fooliſh and ridiculous, but an impious Treatiſe; the Inſcription is, *An Epiſtle of* Hierome *unto* Chromatius *and* Heliodorus, *two Biſhops, about the Nativity of our Saviour*. This fooliſh lewd forgery hath often been branded deſervedly by many learned men, famous in the Roman Schooles; *Melchior Canus* ſtileth it *Fabulam inſulſam aque ac barbaram*, *Loc. Com. lib.* 11. *cap.* 6. *Molanus*, *cap.* 22. *de picturis*, ſaith that *All men of learning and underſtanding doe confeſſe it to bee a meere fabulous thing, unworthy to carry* Hieromes *name*. *Sixtus Senenſis*, a man of infinite reading, and withall, which ſeldome happens ſo, of exact and accurate judgement, affirmeth it a fiction of the Valentinian and Gnoſtick hereticks. Cardinall *Bellarmine*, as a Jeſuite, ſaith nothing of it; but Cardinall *Baronius* payes it home, as one who had not *diſcretion enough to avoid moſt apparent, palpable, groſſe leaſings*; *Scriptio illa, quæ hactenus* Hieronymi *nomine ad* Chromatium *&* Heliodorum *ſcripta, vulgata eſt, non tantum eum* Hieronymi *non eſſe dixerimus, ſed authoris planè ut ignoti, ſic prorſus imperiti; qui in eâ audendâ & conſcribendâ, non novit aperta vitare mendacia*. And yet, that *like lettuce* may have *like lips*, for all theſe cenſures, *Chriſtopherus à Caſtro*, a Spaniſh Jeſuite, a man, as it ſeemes by his writings, of a *leaden, but bold pen*, in his *Deiparæ Hiſtoria*, undertakes the protection and defence of that impious Impoſture, for ſuch it is, againſt all thoſe right learned and judicious great Clerks of his owne Confeſſion, and whoſoever ſhall, or hath oppoſed it; *Quem vindicare operæ pretium duxi per quemcunque tandem confectus ſit, à morſibus eorum qui ejus authoritatem elevare contendunt*.

That Epiſtle is not S. *Hieron.* that goeth under his name to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, *de nativitate Virginis*.

29 This is one of that ſtamp yet extant; another likewiſe as yet remaines, called *Protevangelium* Jacobi; which, ſaith Cardinall *Bellarmine*, was never received nor acknowledged in the Church, and which is caſt off and condemned even by *à Caſtro* himſelfe. In both which lying fabulous Legends, much there is concerning the bleſſed Virgin, and her Parents; which *Damaſcene*, *Germanus*, *Nicephorus*, *Sergius* of Heliopolis, *Andreas Hieroſolymitanus*, *Hippolytus*, and other Homilians, Rapſodiſts have borrowed thence, with very poore judgement and diſcretion, and therewithall have embelliſhed their Legends, Hiſtories, Homilies, and Panegyricall Harangues. And after them *Baronius* deſerves to come in the rere, who more then once layes his judgement at ſtake upon the relation of ſuch forged foppe-ries, which he takes up by retaile, upon their word and credit, without examining what Authority they had to relate them.

Divers other Authors that write Legends of the Virgins parents.

30 That our Ladies Fathers name was *Joacim*, though not ſo commonly knowne unto every Artificer, it is confeſſed to have been anciently

That *Joacim*, the moſt probable to be the Virgins father, was not of the Tribe of *Levi*.

anciently beleeved. The eldeſt Author of credit, whom I at preſent remember to mention *Ioacim* for her father, is *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of Conſtantia in Cyprus, about 370. yeers after Chriſt, *Hæreſib. 76. & 78.* That Oration which goes abroad with his name, *de laudibus* Mariæ, cited by *Baronius*, *Caniſius*, and *à Caſtro*, is none of his, but a Declamation of another *Epiphanius*, of later time, ſmaller learning, poorer credit and authority in the Church, one of the Convenors at the ſecond Councell of Nice. Saint *Auguſtine*, writing againſt *Fauſtus* the Manichee, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* who taught, that *Ioacim* the Virgin *Maries* father was a Prieſt of *Levi*, and not of *Iuda*, doth not reject or caſt off the relation that his name was *Ioacim*, but ſaith hee is not peremptorily tyed to beleeve it except hee pleaſe, becauſe hee findes no ſuch thing in Canonicall Scripture: *Quia Canonicum non eſt, non me conſtringit; ſed etiamſi hoc credam, ipſum potius* Joacim *dicerem aliquo modo ad* Davidis *ſanguinem pertinuiſſe, & aliquo modo de Tribu* Juda *in Tribum* Levi *fuiſſe adoptatum.* That his name was *Ioacim*, as Tradition hath taught us, is of credibility; that which is diſcredited and diſavowed, becauſe heretically blaſphemous, is, that *Ioacim* was of *Levi*, not of *Iuda*. In which particular point this advice muſt bee taken in withall, that many ancient Writers are of opinion, that our Saviour came alſo of *Levi* as hee did of *Iuda*; which they conceived thus, That hee had a mixture of both Tribes, Regall and Sacerdotall; as being by God deſigned both King and alſo Prieſt. But *Fauſtus*, and the Manichees blaſphemouſly held that *Ioacim* was of *Levi* excluſively, a Prieſt by *Aaron*, not by *David* deſcendent from *Iuda* at all; as oppoſing the beleefe of that myſtery of his Incarnation: which to perſwade, they forged divers counterfeit writings, under great and glorious names, as the Goſpel of Saint *Thomas*, *Protevangelium Iacobi*, *Iohn* the Divine, the Paſſion of the Apoſtles, and the like, to check and overturne, at leaſt to ſtagger, controll, or bring into queſtion the Churches Faith and Beleefe, founded upon evident and plaine Scripture, which every where teſtifieth, that Meſſias muſt iſſue from *Iuda* and *David*. Now *Ieſus* of Nazareth could not bee the party, if his mothers father *Ioacim* were a Prieſt deſcendent of *Aaron*, and not extracted from *Iuda* by *David*; which opinion of the neceſſity of his being a Prieſt prevailed ſo farre, that howſoever men held cloſe to *Iuda* and *David*, yet they were through alſo for *Levi* and *Aaron*; of which more anon: So for her father *Ioacim*, out of Tradition and opinion of old. That her mothers name was *Anna*, it is more commonly and better knowne, then that her fathers name was *Ioacim*. For *lippis notum & tonſoribus*, that there is a day in the Calendar, the next day after S. *Iames* his day, namely the 26. of July, dedicated to the memory of Saint *Anne*, our Ladies mother; and few young people but have heard, or can tell of faſting S. *Annes* Faſt upon her Eve.

The Virgins deſcent from the Tribe of *Levi* is apocryphall.

31 But for their diſſent from, or alliance with *Levi*, it is not ſo obvious nor indifferent. Many have been of opinion, and yet are, that our Lord came of *Levi*, as well as of *Iuda* and *David*: *Baronius*

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tels us it was the common received opinion of the Fathers, *Dei genetricem* Mariam, *genere Sacerdotali natam: that the mother of God was borne of Prieſtly progenitors*; but nor his, nor their intent was, that ſhee *totally* or *wholly*, nor *principally* and *paternally* was of *Levi*, as the Manichees held; and *Spalatenſis* with them, amongſt other hereticall conceits of his, whereof to my knowledge hee had good ſtore, holdeth that it cannot be proved out of Scripture ſhee came of *Juda*, but poſitively, that ſhee was of *Levi*. But the Fathers opinion therein was, that intermixedly or collaterally ſhee was of *Levi*, and that our Saviour deſcended alſo from that Tribe; from whence they aſſigne the cauſe of difference betwixt the two Evangeliſts, Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Luke*, in their genealogicall Liſts. Thus *Baronius* delivereth out of S. *Auguſtine*, That Saint *Matthew*, whoſe purpoſe was to repreſent the Royall perſon of our Saviour, reporteth his naturall deſcent and extraction from the Kings of *Juda*, his Predeceſſors: but Saint *Luke* intending to ſet forth his Sacerdotall perſon, expreſſeth the genealogie of Adoption, which I underſtand not; For what hath his Sacerdotall perſon to doe with Adoption; except it be imagined, that *Ioacim* the Virgins father, or ſome of his anceſtors, were adopted by ſome Prieſts deſcendents of *Aaron*; a thing contrary to the Law both of Prieſthood in Iſrael, and Inheritance? And yet if ſo, what is that to *Iacob* or *Eli*, the naturall and legall father, not of *Mary*, but *Ioſeph*? *Hilary* goeth that way; and long after him *Iulianus* of Toledo; which two are vouched for that opinion by *Baronius*; to whom hee might have adjoyned the Author of the Tragedy called *Chriſtus patiens*, under *Nazianzens* name, but none of his. *Ambroſe* upon *Luke*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. and elſewhere, with others. *Hilary* his words are, *Whereas* Matthew *reports his paternall deſcent from* Juda, Luke *deduceth that which by* Nathan *hee received from the Tribe of* Levi; *ſo either of them have done their parts towards our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *who was a King and a Prieſt for ever, as he was man*; *which they have ratified, conferring upon him the glory of both in his carnall generation. Now this* Nathan, *of whom* Hilary *ſpeakes, is ſaid by Saint* Luke *to have been the ſonne of* David; *whom* Hilary *and others conceive to have been a Prieſt, and a Prophet,* Davids *Seer, appointed by him, together with* Zadoc, *to annoynt* Salomon *King*: Which is a very ſtrange overſight in ſuch learned men; for *Nathan*, *David*'s Seer, was a man growne before *Nathan* the ſonne of *David* was borne: this man was third ſonne of *David* by *Bathſheba*, younger brother unto *Salomon*; but the Seer or Prophet came to *David* in a meſſage from God about his murther and adultery, before hee had taken *Bathſheba* to bee his wife. Secondly, *Nathan* the ſonne of *David*; though hee might have been a prophet, as his father was; yet could bee no Prieſt, as nor his father was none, being of the Tribe of Juda; the Prieſthood in Iſrael being indiſpenſably annexed to the Houſe of *Aaron*, with intermination, that none preſume, upon paine of life and extirpation, who was not of *Aaron*, as *Nathan* was not, to miniſter in the Prieſts Office.

fice. Answerable to which ordination, Saint *Paul* hath assured it was performed; none ever of *Juda* did *so serve*. Secondly, it had beene *operæ pretium* in some of the so opinionated, to have informed us how *Nathan*, *David*'s sonne, came to bee a Priest; *David* his father was none, could not make him one, nor would ever have attempted it against peremptory Law: such presumption, in processe, cost *Uzziah* deare, for pressing upon the Priests place. This way of descent then is most apocryphall.

The Virgins being cosen to *Elisabeth*, is no proofe that Christ came from *Levi*.

32 Others extract our Saviour another way out of *Levi*, forasmuch as *Elisabeth*, *John Baptist* his mother, is said to have been Cosen to the Virgin, who, as shee was a Priests wife, so is shee said to have been a Priests daughter, one of the daughters of *Aaron*; a poor proofe, that therefore *Ioacim* was a Priest, or the Virgin descendent out of *Levi*. Many wayes might one of the Tribe of *Levi* bee Cosen to another of *Iuda*; one of *Levi* might have married *Annaes* sister, have been her uncle by marriage, and of that marriage might come *Elisabeth*, so shee and the Virgin might be sisters children, Cosens german, and yet *Ioacim* and *Anna* be both of *Iuda*. And it is confessed by *Baronius* himselfe and others, who bee so straight laced for not mingling Tribes in marriages promiscuously, that *Iuda* yet and *Levi* might inte-rmarry; which might have been done then, as well as of old; and so it is true, our Saviour might issue not onely out of *Iuda*, but *Levi*, *Benjamin*, any Tribe: nay, out of Gentiles, not only Jewes; Cananites, Moabites, and others, in *Thamar*, *Rahab*, *Ruth*, *Bathsheba*, for I take her, as her husband, to have been a stranger borne. Peradventure *Anna* the Virgins mother, as sister to *Elisabeth*, might have beene of the daughters of *Aaron*; For the Apostle meant not, *Our Lord sprang exclusively out of* Juda, nor had any of the bloud of *Levi* or *Aaron* in him; but that his mother was of the masculine line of *Iuda* by her father, derived from *David* in direct line, it being the fathers line which gives Title to the House and Family. So it may bee true which *Germanus* Patriarch of Constantinople saith, Anna *was borne of Sacerdotall stock, and of the line of* Aaron, *of Prophetical and Regall roote of* David *and* Salomon, *and those who succeeded them*. From this kindred consisting betwixt *Mary* and *Elisabeth*, some others, against direct Scripture, inferre, that forasmuch as the Virgin was of *Juda*, her Cosen *Elisabeth* must have likewise been of *Iuda*; *Cognata* Mariæ *inducitur* Elisabeth, *quia ambæ erant ex Tribu* Juda: *Didicisti ex Tribu* Judæ Mariam, *disce &* Elisabeth. which wee cannot learne, nor consent unto, so long as wee reade in Scripture, that *Elisabeth* was of the daughters of *Aaron*. And yet if the Scripture were not so expresse, the reason brought would never force consent, *Because shee dwelt in a City of* Juda, which will make her husband *Zachary*, certainely a Priest of the course of *Abia*, to have been of *Iuda*, not of *Aaron*. *Moses* gave inheritance to two Tribes and an halfe, *Iosua* did so unto the rest, who upon that distribution, appointed and set apart out of every Tribe certaine Cities with their Suburbs, unto the

the Levites; One of theſe was Hebron, in the Hill country, or Downs of *Iuda*, here *Zachary* and *Eliſabeth* dwelt.

33 But if wee be diſpoſed to heare and give credit to old wives tales, or ſome worme-eaten Traditions touching the kindred *inter Mary* and *Eliſabeth*, wee have a Pedegree taken out of the fore-remembred Records, and much made of by ſome later trifling Grecians, thus: One *Stolanus* of Bethlehem, deſcendent from *David*, took to wife *Emerantiana* of Bethlehem likewiſe, and of the Houſe of *David*; By her he had two daughters, *Iſmaria*, who married *Apranius*, of the houſe of *Aaron*; and *Anna*, whoſe husband was *Ioacim*, born at Nazareth in Galile, but of the Houſe of *David*; their daughter was *Mary*, eſpouſed to *Ioſeph*, native of Bethlehem, of the linage of *David*; of *Mary* was borne *Jeſus* the Chriſt. *Apranius* by *Iſmaria*, the other and elder ſiſter, had two daughters, *Eliſabeth*, married to *Zachary*, father of *John Baptiſt*, and *Elme* husband of *Joanna*, by whom hee had two ſonnes; *Martialis*, one of the 72. Diſciples, afterward Biſhop of Limoſin in France, and *Emelius* husband of *Mamilia* of Bethlehem, iſſuing from *David*, being daughter unto *Matthat*, who of her begat *Numenius*, husband unto *Rebecca* of Bethlehem, deſcendent alſo from *David*. A fabulous genealogy of Chriſt.

34 A very faire traditionary tale, no way loſt for lack of telling. No Herald could draw downe a better Pedegree, were it poſſible to prove the parcels. The Author of the 25. Sermons, *ad fratres in Eremo* (not Saint *Auguſtine*, though hee beare his name) had met, as it ſeemeth, with theſe Romancees; for thus hee preacheth: *For while holy* Eliſabeth *the daughter of holy* Iſmaria, *which* Iſmaria *was ſiſter, after the fleſh, unto St.* Anna, *the mother of our Lady, was great with child of* John, John *was not ſanctified in her wombe before the Virgins viſitation; but ſo ſoone as* Eliſabeth *was ſaluted by the Virgin, inſtantly was* John *ſanctified in her wombe.* But the miſchiefe is, the Mart of this good merchandize is marred by another contrary Romance of as good credit, which *Nicephorus* hath told us out of a certaine good fellow, who borrowed the name of *Hippolytus*, an ancient Biſhop of Portua, of better credit with *Baronius*, as it ſeemeth, for hee hath done him the honour to tell his tale after him, thus; *There were dwelling in Bethlehem three ſiſters, natives of that place, daughters unto* Matthan *a Prieſt, and to* Mary *his wife, who lived in the reigne of* Cleopatra, *and* Caſopatris *King of Perſia, before that* Herod *ſonne of* Antipater *reigned in Judea. The eldeſt ſiſter of the three was named* Mary, *the ſecond* Soba, *the third* Anna; Mary *the eldeſt married in Bethlehem, and was mother to* Salome *the midwife:* Soba *the ſecond married likewiſe in Bethlehem, and was mother to* Elizabeth, *wife of* Zacharias. Anna *the youngeſt married into Galile, and was mother to* Mary *the mother of God: ſo that* Salome, Elizabeth, *and* Mary *were coſen germans by the mothers ſide, as three daughters of three ſiſters; and ſo likewiſe our Saviour and* John Baptiſt *were coſen germans.* Only I wonder, if this tale be true, why the bleſſed Virgin, if ſhee had ſuch ſtore of kindred Other lies concerning the Virgins kindred at Bethlehem.

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at Bethlehem, ſo neere allyed unto her, was ſo uncourteouſly uſed by them, that none in ſuch exigence would entertaine her, being ſo neere her time; but ſuffered her to lye, and to bee brought to bed in a ſtable: the midwife *Salome*, her aunt, or coſen, or whatſoever ſhe was, was a very ill-nurtured and ill-natured woman, to ſuffer one ſo neere allyed, and in her caſe, ſo neere her time, to lie in a ſtable. But lyers ſeldome think of preventing all objections; no more did theſe reporters of lies.

The Gnoſticks the firſt falſe Writers in the Apoſtles & holy mens names, from whence commeth the falſe genealogies of the Virgin from *Levi*.

35 Theſe lewd tales and genealogies were fabled even in the beginning of Chriſtianity; In regard of which and the like, the Apoſtles gave this cautelous admonition, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3,4. and *Tit.* 3. 9. *Not to attend unto fables, and infinite, improfitable genealogies*, ἀπεράντους γενεαλογίας, Jewiſh and hereticall, invented and diſperſed by the father of lies, to diſcredit the Truth of the Goſpel, and evacuate that Faith which wee have in *Jeſus* the ſonne of *Mary* to be the Saviour of the world. The Gnoſtick hereticks, being the immediate off-ſpring of *Simon Magus*, that firſt begotten of the Divell, began this courſe of counterfeiting Writings under the names of the Apoſtles, and Apoſtolicall men; who alſo under pretence of traditions not written, but by the Apoſtles commanded to the Church by word of mouth, diffuſed abroad names and tales of Pedegrees. And from this ſhop originally came out theſe two bookes which wee have ſpecified, the *Protevangelium*, and the other Epiſtle of *Hierome* to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*; but interlaced after them, and new varniſhed by the Manichees: *Seleucus* a Manichee was a great dealer in this Trade; from whom *Fauſtus* received his blaſphemous Tenents, that *Mary* and *Jeſus*. were not of *Juda*, becauſe her father was a Prieſt: *Proinde nec Virginis ipſius origo, ex hac Tribu* Judæ *fuiſſe monſtratur, unde conſtat Davidem extitiſſe; ſed ex Tribu* Levi, *unde Sacerdotes. Quod & ipſum palam eſt, quia eundem habuerat patrem Sacerdotem quendam, nomine* Joacim. An opinion which followed when *Toſtatus* lived, as himſelfe affirmeth, *Qu.* 28: *in cap.* 1. *Matth. Multi volunt, quod* Anna *mater Dominæ noſtræ, fuerat ex Tribu* Levi, *& iſtud magis tenetur.* But *Auguſtine, lib.* 23. *cap.* 9. againſt *Fauſtus* the Manichee, ſaith true; *Whoſoever affirmeth the bleſſed Virgin* Mary *was not of the line and kindred of* David, *doth expreſſely and apparently gainſay holy Scripture, and is a lyar.*

Arguments that *Chriſt* was not of the tribe of *Levi*.

36 And yet have ſome of the Fathers themſelves, not onely counterfeits bearing their names, ſpoken ſomewhat inconveniently, and amongſt them *Auguſtine, lib.* 2. *de Conſenſu Evangel.* 2. *& lib.* 83. *Queſtionum Q.* 61. the ground of which their inconvenient ſpeaking in this caſe, was a ſtrong conceit poſſeſſing them, that it was altogether convenient, if not neceſſary, that Chriſt incarnate ſhould have intereſt in both Tribes, becauſe hee was to bee, as well a Prieſt unto God as a Prince unto the Church: whereas indeed, the contrary inference was both convenient and neceſſary; becauſe hee was to bee a Prieſt of another kinde and Order, above, and oppoſed to the Prieſthood of *Levi*, and therefore to have no reference to it, no affi-

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nity with it, no connexion or communion at all, contrary to that conceited opinion; It was intituled to another head, to *Melchiſedeck*, not to *Aaron*, who interloped onely a typicall Prieſthood for a time, unto the Jewes. The tranſlation of which Prieſthood, as the Apoſtle calleth it, doth utterly avoid the neceſſity of intereſſing our Saviours perſon therein: who, as hee was to be a Prieſt of *good things to come*; ſo was hee alſo to bee a Prophet: and if it were neceſſary for him to be extracted from the Sacerdotall Houſe of *Aaron*, becauſe hee was to be our High Prieſt; why muſt hee not have beene of ſome Propheticall Houſe becauſe hee was to be our Prophet? It may be ſaid, there was no ſuch Propheticall Houſe or Tribe; which is granted: and thence I inferre, it was not neceſſary that hee ſhould bee borne of the Prieſtly Tribe, no more then of any Propheticall one. If it had been neceſſary in the one, it was in the other. Then doubtleſſe God would have provided a Propheticall, as hee did a Sacerdotall Tribe. But proportions and conveniences out of humane conceits, muſt not be put, as neceſſary, upon divine Ordination, which are to be taken as they are tendered, and not be clogged with our inventions. Our Lord did not deſcend from *Juda*, becauſe *Juda* was to be the Royall Tribe; but *Juda* was therefore the Royall Tribe, becauſe our Lord was to come of it. We therefore hold to the publick Liturgy of the Church, againſt the private conceits of ſome men, that *Joacim* and *Anna* were both of *Juda*, neither of *Levi*; that in the Genealogy recited by Saint *Luke*, there is no Prieſt either native or adopted, much leſſe was *Nathan* ſon of *David* a Prieſt. Whoſoever affirmeth that *Mary*, Chriſts mother, was not of *Juda*, but *Levi*, Anathema to him and his affirmation. If it be ſaid, hee was reſpectively of *Levi*, thus farre wee yeeld, that as ſome of his Anceſtors were extract from Proſelite Gentiles, in regard the Gentiles were to bee intereſſed in him in time to come, ſo might they be of *Levi*, or any other Tribe; foraſmuch as all Iſrael appertained to him: *Juda* might marry with any Tribe, any Tribe with *Juda* as they pleaſed, intermixedly, ſo that the ground and rule of the Law was kept, *That Inheritances in Iſrael bee not confounded at all.* Peradventure the two Tribes of *Levi* and *Juda* did inter marry oftner then other Tribes, in regard of their mutuall commerce in the land of Canaan, and of the honour annexed of Prieſthood and Regality to thoſe Tribes; and ſo it is not improbable, our Saviour might have in him ſomewhat of the bloud of *Levi*; but not to put him off from *Juda*, nor to caſt him totally upon *Levi*, ſo as to derive his Pedegree by any Prieſt from *Levi*, ſo as to bee accounted a Levite, no more then from *Thamar* and *Rahab* hee might be accounted a Canaanite, of which countrey they were, and from whom wee are ſure hee was deſcended, there being no evidence that hee came from *Levi*, as there is Evangelicall that hee ſprang out of *Juda*. And it is not unlikely that if any of her Anceſtors did marry into *Levi*, yet God in great wiſdome would have no *conſtat* thereof remaine upon Record, as foreſeeing how impious hereticks would blaſphemouſly ſet on foot

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opinions againſt the humanity of our Saviour, vouch his Prieſthood to bee of *Aaron*, that it might not be ſaid to bee of *Melchiſedech*, and at length to come up to, Hee was not the Meſſias, becauſe not of *David*; which he could not be, were he of *Levi*.

The error of thoſe who make a twofold deſcent from *David*: one as S. *Matthew*, another according to S. *Luke*.

37 But then the maine is, What ſhall wee ſay to his Genealogie recorded by Saint *Luke*? whereof *Ambroſe* hath thus, Lucas *per Sacerdotes, à Deo tranſmiſſam in Chriſto ſeriem generis deducendo ſanctiorem ipſam originem declarat*: Luke *by deducing the ſeries of Chriſts Genealogie, tranſmitted by God, doth inferr his more ſacred origination*; meaning from Prieſts, Where he nameth the deſcent from *Levi* the more ſacred deſcent, and that Saint *Luke* deduceth it along by Prieſts. And againe, *Maximè propter Tribum* Levi *debemus hoc credere, &c. Eſpecially wee muſt give credit hereto for the Tribes ſake of* Levi; *foraſmuch as our Lord* Jeſus *ſeemeth to have deſcended according to the humane taking our fleſh on him: from which Tribe were iſſuent* Levi *and* Nathan, *both Prieſts, who are by Saint* Luke *regiſtred amongſt the Anceſtors of our Lord: Becauſe hee was his Fathers Prieſt, and Prince of all Prieſts, as it is written,* Thou art a Prieſt for ever: *Wherefore, expedient it was to ſet downe the originall of Prieſtlike ſucceſsion upon him.* So hee very incongruously in his Book *de Benedictionibus Patriarcharum cap.* 3. And yet *Nathan*, whom hee makes a Prieſt, is by Saint *Luke* in expreſſe termes ſaid to bee of *David*, τῦ Νάθαν, τῦ Δαβὶδ, *who was the ſonne of* Nathan, *who was the ſonne of* David. But it is ſaid, that from *David* deſcended two Families; the one of *Kings*, the other of *Prieſts*: that of Kings came by *Salomon*, which line is related by Saint *Matthew*; that of Prieſts by *Nathan*, which is recited by Saint *Luke*. So wee read, *Qu.* 65. of thoſe 83. queſtions which goe under *Auguſtines* name. *Out of* David *that originall deſcent was deduced into two Families, the Regall and Sacerdotall: of theſe two, Saint* Matthew *in deſcending line ſets downe the iſſue, and Saint* Luke *the Sacerdotall aſcending; to the intent that* Chriſt Jeſus *our Lord, our King, and our Prieſt, might derive his kindred from the Sacerdotall Tribe, and yet not bee of that Tribe by birth; not of* Levi, *but of* Juda; *out of which Tribe never any aſsiſted at the Altar*: which are Riddles to mee; that Saint *Luke* ſhould ſet downe his Prieſtly Pedegree, and yet hee be not deſcendent from the Tribe of Prieſts. Secondly, That from *David* the King, of *Juda*, ſhould iſſue forth two Families, the Regall by *Salomon*, the Sacerdotall by *Nathan*; and yet withall, which is moſt certainely true, Never any of *Juda* ſerved at the Altar; that is, was a Prieſt to execute the Prieſts Office, and yet *Nathan* of *Juda*, the ſon of *David* was a Prieſt: He that can unriddle theſe ſtrange Paradoxes *erit mihi magnus Apollo*. Into ſuch inconveniences have ſome Ancients run themſelves headlong, upon a vaine and falſe conceit, It was expedient Chriſt, becauſe hee was our Prieſt, as well as our Prince, muſt have beene of *Levi*, the Prieſtly Tribe, as well as of *Juda* the Regall; and therefore his Sacerdotall deſcent muſt as well have been ſet downe, as it is by Saint *Luke*, as his Regall originall was by Saint *Matthew*,

Matthew. The contrary whereof is true, and according to Gods diſpenſation in Scripture; this was at firſt unadviſedly taken up from hereticall fables, though to another end then thoſe hereticks invented, framed them, and ſet them on foot; and it may bee the more readily imbraced, becauſe of ſome ſeeming ſtrong objections made by hereticks and Pagans againſt thoſe Genealogies, which by this conceit, of a twofold deſcent, they imagined might bee the ſooner reconciled.

38 About the much debated queſtion of thoſe Genealogies, *Baronius* ſaith not much, and that which hee ſaith is to little purpoſe; for which hee is juſtly taxed in the Exercitations, as being ſo ſilent in a point ſo doubted of and much controverted, who in trifles, at leaſt in things of leſſer importance, uſeth to inlarge his diſcourſe out in length. And yet that Author is as culpable himſelfe, who ſpeakes as little of it, if not leſſe then *Baronius* did, ridding it cleanly out of his hands by a courſe of adjournment; an ordinary trick with Philologers, who when they are at a ſtand, and have nothing to ſay, tell us they will handle it moſt exactly elſewhere, if yet a man could tell where or when: the Author I meane is moſt culpable herein of any that I know; which imputation, that it reſt not upon me, though I profeſſe I cannot ſatisfie my ſelfe, much leſſe, as I preſume, others; yet will I ſet it downe what moſt probable I finde thereof.

Baronius and others accuſed for not handling this point.

39 Firſt then, ſetting aſide all intent and purpoſe of the Evangeliſts, and ſo all anſwerable act of theirs in performance for a lineall Pedegree of Prieſts deduced downe to our Saviour, bee it ſuppoſed as a truth, that in both Genealogies by Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Luke*, the line of our Saviour originally is referred to *Abraham*, *Juda*, *David* his Anceſtors, though with ſome difference, by *aſcending* in the one, and by *deſcending* in the other, by different names, and ſo by diſtinct Families, from and in one and the ſame originall Houſe; as from *David* by *Salomon* and *Nathan* his ſons; which diverſity ſo evident, hath produced ſundry diſputes and reſolutions thereabout, which be all now referred to two generall heads: Firſt, that both Genealogies ſet us downe *Joſeph*'s Pedegree from the Tribe of *Juda* and Houſe of *David*; but that in Saint *Matthewes* Genealogie his naturall father *Iacob*, who begot him, doth determine it upon him; in Saint *Luke*, his legall or reputed father *Eli*. The ſecond opinion is, that as in S. *Matthew Ioſeph*'s line is deduced, ſo in S. *Luke* is that of the bleſſed Virgin. That *Ioſeph* and ſhee both came from *David* by ſeverall deſcents, *Ioſeph* by *Salomon*, the Virgin by *Nathan*, *David*'s ſonnes by *Bathſheba* his wife; which at this day is the moſt feiſable reſolved opinion of the beſt Divines upon contending ſides, and anſwers all objections to the full; with which the other is encumbred, and cannot handſomely be cleared.

Two waies to reconcile St. *Luke* and St. *Matthew*.

40 The Author of that firſt opinion was *Iulius Africanus*, a man of great name for learning in the Primitive Church, eſpecially for matters of Story and Chronologie. He lived with *Origen*, but was

Euſebius his citation of *Julius Africanus* concerning the genealogy of St. *Luke* and Saint *Matthew*.

ſomewhat elder then hee in yeers; So much is manifeſt by *Euſebius*, who in the firſt of his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, *cap.* 7. writeth thus out of him; *Foraſmuch as both S.* Matthew *and S.* Luke *in their Goſpels have related the deſcent and generation of Chriſt differently, they are excepted againſt, as diſagreeing one from the other in ſundry points, by many: Chriſtians endeavouring to anſwer ſatisfactorily to objections, and to reconcile diſcordances, have inſiſted upon ſundry courſes of reſolutions, every one in his particularly invented way, as hee could; about which point there is a common received opinion held, which* Africanus *in a diſcourſe that hee wrote to* Ariſtides *about the conſent of Evangeliſts, ſets downe and relateth in theſe termes*: Thus much *Euſebius* by way of Introduction; then followes the diſcourſe of *Africanus*. *The names of Families and Genealogies in Iſrael bee reckoned and accounted of two wayes; either as Naturall, or as Legall: Naturall deſcents are, where the father begets the ſonne of his owne body; Legall, where a man begets a ſonne who is not reputed his ſonne, but the ſonne of his brother, who died iſſue-leſſe: For they had no certaine hope or aſſurance, as then the diſpenſation of thoſe times was,* (which is the opinion of *Chryſoſtome* and ſome others, though moſt falſe, as appeareth by many inſtances in Scripture) *of the Reſurrection of the body from the duſt of the earth, but, as well as they could, expreſſed the promiſe of a future Reſurrection, by a kinde of morall Reſurrection, or preſerving from the death of oblivion, in propagating the name and poſterity of the deceaſed. Anſwerably to this Jewiſh cuſtome, ſome of them whoſe names are remembred in theſe Genealogies, were the naturall children of thoſe parents to whom they are entituled; and others be intituled to them who begot them not: For which cauſe, both one and other, the names of their naturall and legall fathers be recorded in thoſe Genealogies. The Goſpels ſupplying both courſes of kinds; the deſcents of thoſe who came both of* Salomon *and of* Nathan *are confuſedly interlaced with iſſues raiſed up unto the iſſueleſſe, and ſecond marriages, to the end and purpoſe that indiſtinctly the ſame parties are ſaid to bee ſonnes of divers fathers; yet is the verity of true deſcents thereby not impaired, but in either line rightly and truely brought downe to* Iacob, Eli, *and* Joſeph; *which point I will more plainely particularize.*

How *Joſeph* was the ſonne both of *Eli* and *Jacob.*

41 In that Genealogie which *Matthew* by *Salomon* deduceth from *David*, the third perſon from the end of that deſcending line is *Matthan*, who begat *Iacob* the father of *Ioſeph*; in that which *Luke* by *Nathan* referreth unto *David*, the third from the end was *Melchi*, whoſe ſonne was *Eli*, father of *Ioſeph*. Here the queſtion is, how *Ioſeph*, whoſe deſcent wee enquire after, may be ſaid to be the ſonne of both *Eli* and *Iacob*; the one of which came of the Houſe of *Salomon*, the other extract from the Family of *Nathan*, both being the ſons of *David*, which is more expreſſely thus; How doth it appeare that *Iacob* and *Eli* were brethren? how their fathers, having different names, *Matthan* and *Melchi*, of two ſeverall Houſes, can be grandfathers unto *Ioſeph*? For ſatisfaction to which queſtions, thus it was;

Matthan

Matthan and *Melchi*, ſucceſſively marrying one woman, begat of her brethren by the mothers ſide; her name is ſaid to have been *Eſtha*; *Matthan*, who came by *Salomon* from *David*, begat upon her *Jacob*; *Matthan* dying, *Melchi* who by *Nathan* came likewiſe from *David*, marries her, being a widow, and begat of her *Eli*; ſo *Iacob* and *Eli* having two fathers, had but one mother, brethren by the ſame *venter*. *Iacob*, when his brother *Eli* was dead without iſſue, took his wife, and raiſed up ſeed to his deceaſed brother; ſo that *Iacob* begat *Ioſeph*, but he was legally the ſonne of *Eli*.

42 This is in effect the relation of *Africanus* reported by *Euſebius*, which was generally received after him, and eſpecially is inſiſted upon by the Author of the Queſtions and Anſwers under *Iuſtin Martyr*'s name; and is mainly defended by *Gabriel Vaſques*, but not by him at all cleered of home-preſſing, and, I conceive it, unanſwerable doubts. Firſt, it is diſcredited in the firſt Authors and Inventers of it; namely, Jewiſh impoſtors, mungrell Chriſtians, the Cochabites and Nazarens, as they were named, who called themſelves *Deſpoſynos*, the Lords kinſmen: Coſening and hereticall companions they were; who, for their owne purpoſes forraged up and downe the countrey, as our Gypſies doe, carrying with them theſe, and other their genealogicall leaſings, to ammuſe the world, and draw the vulgar after them. Theſe were the men who invented and told that tale, That *Antipater*, father unto *Herod*, was a poore Sextons ſon of Askelon. Secondly, ſet the diſcredit of the Authors aſide, many incompoſſibilities encumber the tale; for it is not hence reſolved, nor can be: What had *Ioſephs* Line and Pedegree to doe with Chriſts birth, who was not his father? For his Incarnation, Humanity, Fleſh, Nativity, Chriſt had no more reall intereſt in him then in *Simeon*, *Zachary*, or any that lived in thoſe dayes. It is generally anſwered which hath been premiſed, that *Ioſeph* and *Mary* were both of one Tribe. What is it to purpoſe? They might bee of the ſame Tribe, but not of the ſame Family: but grant that, yet dotſi it not ſatisfie the queſtion, why *Ioſeph*'s genealogie is recited, and not *Maries*, it being her Pedegree which toucheth Chriſts perſon, and not *Ioſeph*'s. And her genealogie might as well, with as little adoe, have been regiſtred as his was; which if it had been done, would have ſtinted, quieted, and removed all doubts which trouble men infinitely in this particular, and nor bee, nor can bee reſolved by any: nor is it to purpoſe which is ſaid *gratis*, that herein the Evangeliſts tooke the courſe to go after popular conceits, who imagined him to be the ſonne of *Ioſeph*. But as we muſt not runne with a multitude to ſinne, no more muſt wee comply with them to prejudice Truth. The popular erred in ſo thinking of him, and ſome blaſphemed in ſo ſaying of him. Can wee religiouſly think the holy Ghoſt would doe any thing to ſooth up or countenance a popular error in ſo maine a

Matthew's genealogy not to ſooth the vulgar opinion. Africanus his genealogy not likely.

ἐδέ μὴν ἀναπόδεικτον ἢ ἐχεδιασμένον ἐστὶ τῶν τὸ γένος συνίσης, οἱ καὶ σαρκικῶς ἐκλαμβάνεις, δεσπόσυνοι καλούμενοι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον γένος συμάφειαν, ὥσπερ τε Ναζιραίων καὶ καχαβιτῶν καινῶν Ἰουδαίων, τῶν λοιπῶν γῆς ὀπαδοὶ ὄντες, τὴν περιγραφὴν τῆς γενεαλογίας, ἐκ τε βίβλων τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἢ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην μυθολογίαν, ἐκ ἄπαν ἐξηγοῦντο· ἐσπουδάκασι, &c.

point of Faith, as Chriſt his Incarnation is.

Three reaſons alledged why *Maries* Pedegree is not related; but none of them ſufficient.

43 Now becauſe this former Reaſon came, it ſeemed, not home; it hath been ſupplied, That it was not the uſe and cuſtome of the Jewes, to ſet downe the ordinary deſcents of women; which is alſo to no purpoſe: For why might it not though bee done extraordinarily, in an extraordinary caſe of this nature? of ordinary women, in ordinary caſes, though it might hold; but in a caſe ſingular, peculiar, reſerved, that rule, if any ſuch had been, might ſurceaſe, eſpecially by them who did not apply themſelves, nor uſe their pens to popular practice, but to ends and purpoſes by God himſelfe addreſſed. Nor is it true generally which is pretended, that no Pedegree of any woman is inſiſted on, as hath been ſaid in *Judith*. Nor is it infallible, as it is conceived, that both were of the ſame Tribe and Family; had that been firſt aſſerted, it might have been anſwered, though not ſatisfactorily, that being both of one Tribe, his genealogie ſufficed to have been ſet downe. Peradventure if but once, but ſeeing it is twice, with ſuch exactneſſe and curioſity, with ſuch difference and diſtinction, *tanto conatu*, it ſerveth not, that it being delivered hee was of *David*, it muſt be granted ſhee was of *David*, Unleſſe it bee infallible ſhee was an Inheritrix, there is no neceſſity that both were of one and the ſame Family and Tribe. All the premiſed allegations are too weake to make ſatisfactory anſwers to thoſe objections which *Celſus*, *Porphyrie*, *Julian*, Pagans and Hereticks made againſt the genealogie of *Joſeph* alone; nor hath any man, upon premiſed grounds, given any *vel* probable reaſon why both Evangeliſts, in ſo great exactneſſe obſerved, ſhould waive and ſilence the lineall Pedegree of the Virgin *Mary*, which alone is materiall, and ſolely inſiſt upon that of *Joſeph*, which nothing at all concernes our Saviour.

It is not onely convenient, but neceſſary, that Chriſts line from *Juda* ſhould punctually bee ſet down. *Joſeph* & *Mary* not two, but one fleſh.

44 Wherefore, for my part, which *Hoſiander*, and eſpecially *Chemnitius*, one of the beſt learned, and moſt able Proteſtants that ever wrote ſince *Luther* made his revolt from Rome; I, for my part, reſolve, Firſt, that it was not alone convenient, but moſt expedient and neceſſary, that there ſhould bee extant a lineall, incontrollable Pedegree of our Saviours, originally from *Juda* and *David*, that ſuch as would contradict might be confuted *tabulis obſignatis*; that ſuch as made doubt or ſcruple thereof might be reſolved; that ſuch as would examine might finde it true, that hee deſcended from that Tribe, and was of that Family. And ſo much the rather, becauſe the Jewes whom it moſt concerned for ſatisfaction, and oppoſition, were excellently skilled in genealogies, taking chiefe delight and pleaſure in that ſtudy of Heraldry, as ſtanding much upon their Nobility, the *Seed of* Abraham; but chiefely becauſe Meſſias was promiſed to come from them. The Scripture in that regard, and with that reference, is moſt frequent in genealogies, which may ſeeme at a bluſh to bee ſomewhat needleſſe; that great aſſurance might be thence afforded againſt detracters, oppoſites, or gaineſayers. Secondly it muſt be conſidered, that the Meſſias being to be borne of a Virgin, without company

company of man, was alſo to bee the ſonne of his mother, not of his reputed father: and yet becauſe it was a myſtery of our moſt holy Faith, and ſo, a ſecret not to be ſuddenly, or hand over head revealed unto all, it was convenient that his deſcent ſhould bee regiſtred and publiſhed according to the cuſtome of thoſe times, and the manner of the people; but yet ſo, as with full ſatisfaction of others, not onely of that people, who had other different uſages. *Matthew* therefore, by birth a Jew, who wrote unto, and for his owne Countrey-men the Jewes, anſwerable to the cuſtome of the Jewes, who reputed a man to bee of this or that Tribe, of this or that Family, not for his mother, but his father, not accounting her Tribe or kindred in Iſrael; doth accordingly bring downe a Pedegree from *Abraham* to *David*, and from *David* to *Joſeph*, who was not his true, but ſuppoſed father, to ſatisfie the Law, People, Cuſtome in that kinde. According to which Law and Cuſtome in Iſrael, heires unto the inheritance of their parents were indiſpenſably to marry into the Tribe and Family of their Fathers, leſt the poſſeſſions of Tribes in their ſeveralties, might be tranſpoſed and confounded: out of this reſpect *Joſeph*'s genealogie might be regiſtred, though actually Chriſt had no intereſt in him, Man and wife being by marriage and originall inſtitution there, *no more two, but one fleſh*. The wife, as ſhe loſt her fathers name and Family; ſo was ſhee tranſplanted into her husbands, in naming of him ſhee being alſo named: And ſo farre the remembred opinion may hold. But as this was of conveniency, and might be done; ſo was it of neceſſity not to bee omitted, to ſet downe the lineall Pedegree of the Virgin mother, that all might know our Lord was of *Juda* by his mother, in whom onely hee was intereſſed taking fleſh alone of her.

45 At that time were remaining extant at Jeruſalem, as *Joſephus* tels us, both publick records and private rills of genealogies of all Families iſſuing from any Tribe, by which they could convince any falſe pretender unto any Family or kindred. The Jewes hated the condition, miniſtery, and name of *Jeſus Chriſt* of Nazaret; nor would they have omitted any occaſion or way to have diſgraced him, to have excepted againſt him: Exception there could bee none greater or more preſſing then that hee was a counterfeit, becauſe not of the Houſe of *David*; and of that there could be no ſtonger proof againſt him, then that his moſt confident ſervants failed in their undertakings for him, and therefore derived not his Stemme by his mother *Mary*, but by *Joſeph*, whom yet themſelves did avow not to bee his father. Therefore, thirdly, wee ſay, that his Pedegree is brought downe, not onely by *Joſeph*, his reputed father, which was not ſo materiall, though convenient for more full ſatisfaction; but eſpecially by his mother, whoſe naturall ſonne hee was. Saint *Matthew*, a Jew, writing to the Jewes, thought and ſpake, and wrote as a Jew, according to the uſe and cuſtome of the Jewes: Saint *Luke*, a Gentile by birth, as being a Proſelite of Antioch, and writing to Gentiles,

He concludeth that S. *Matthew* (being a Jew) writ according to the Law, *Joſeph*'s Pedegree: St. *Luke* (being a Gentile) according to nature, the Virgins Pedegree.

delivered that which in nature and reaſon was to bee ſtood upon, namely, his mothers, not *Ioſeph*'s deſcent from *David*. Saint *Matthew* deſcendeth but from *Abraham*, father of the Jewes, to whom that generall Promiſe, *The ſeed of the woman*, was confined, to *thy ſeed*, in *Iſaac*: But Saint *Luke* aſcends upward unto *Adam*, *father of all mankind*, and to God, *father of all fleſh*, by whom all Nations iſſuing from him, the roote of man-kind, had intereſt in God, and in his mercies; and therefore Saint *Luke* ſets downe the Pedegree of the bleſſed Virgin from *David*, by *Nathan* his Progenitor. And it is noted by *Chemnitius*, that Saint *Luke* doth not ſay, Joſeph *was the ſonne of* Eli, or Eli *begat* Joſeph; as Saint *Matthew* preciſely doth, Jacob *begat* Joſeph; but τοῦ Ηλὶ *who was of* Eli; as in the laſt aſcendent link, τοῦ Θεοῦ, *who was of God*; not his ſonne, but his ſubject, and his creature: τοῦ Ηλὶ, *hee was of* Eli, had reference to him, namely, was his ſonne-in-law, the father of *Mary*, τοῦ Ιωσὴφ, τοῦ Ηλὶ. In all which chapter, through the genealogie, the word *ſonne* ſhould not be added, though for moſt part it be true: it ſhould be, *which was (as he was ſuppoſed) of* Joſeph, *of* Eli, *of* Matthat, &c. But *Eli* and *Ioacim* are two words, I grant, but both ſignifying one perſon; *Ioacim* was the bleſſed Virgins fathers name, and ſo was *Eli*; for *Eli* is but ὑποκοριστικὸν a diminutive of *Eliacim*, and *Eliacim* is the ſame with *Iehoiakim*, or *Ioacim*, as in 4. *Reg.* 23.34. and in 2 *Paralip.* 36. 4. *Chriſtopher à Caſtro* citeth two Jewiſh Rabbies to this intent; which, though hee name him not, he borrowed of *Galatinus*; the one is *Macana ben Nehemiæ, in Epiſtola de generatione Meſsiæ. There was*, ſaith hee, *a certaine maiden of Bethlehem Iuda, by name* Mary, *daughter to* Jehoiacim *or* Eli, *of the Family of* Zorobabel, *the ſonne of* Salathiel, *of the Tribe of* Juda. His ſecond Rabbi is Rabbi *Hacadoſh*, whoſe words are, *Whereas you deſire to know whoſe daughter the mother of Meſsias was, and of what tribe, you may obſerve it, that her father muſt have two names, the one* Eli, *the other* Joacim: *the name* Eli, *which is a derivative, ſheweth, that hee ſhall aſcend to high place and dignity: and* Iehoiacim, *which is a name compounded, declareth, that God will in, and through his hand, raiſe up ſalvation unto Iſrael. Caſtrio* addeth hereto, that to prove the genealogie related by Saint *Luke*, is not *Ioſeph*'s but *Maries*, the authority of thoſe ancient Fathers ſufficeth, who have been of an opinion, that Saint *Matthew* ſets downe Chriſts *Regall Stem*, and Saint *Luke* his *Sacerdotall generation*, the one delivering his fathers, the other his mothers line. *Chemnitius* ſhuts up his diſcourſe with this cloſe, *I am of judgement, this opinion is moſt direct and plaine, and every way moſt congruous.* So did *Hoſiander*, the firſt Proteſtant that embraced it; ſo *Barradas*, *Ianſenius*, *Driedo*, *Gagneus*, *Arias Montanus*, *Eraſmus*, *Galatinus*, *Iohannes Lucidus*, and before them all, *Iohannes Annius*, who cites Saint *Hierome* for the ſame opinion in a worke of his not extant. *Gabriel Vaſques*, howſoever he followeth not, yet reporteth this Teſtimony of it, that it is *ſententia non parum hâc noſtrâ ætate plauſibilis*: and *Barradas* profeſſeth it the moſt common opinion of all moderne Divines.

vines. Wherefore, ſeeing Roman and Proteſtant Catholiques agree ſo generally upon it, let the Concluſion reſt upon theſe termes, Saint *Luke* ſets down the Pedegree of the moſt bleſſed Virgin; which, ſaith *Chemnitius*, is the moſt expedite, plaine, congruous, and ſatisfactory expoſition; for ſo all thoſe endleſſe and inextricable queſtions which theſe two Genealogies have made and moved, are facilitated, accorded, and at an end. Nor will I farther inſiſt thereon.

46 *Joacim* and *Anna*, father and mother of the Virgin *Mary*, were both of *Juda* and of *David*; both of them, as *Zachary* and *Eliſabeth*, are teſtified to have been unblameable before men, and righteous in the ſight of God; *Walking in all the Lawes and Ordinances of the Lord without reproofe.* Joacim & Anna *parentum erant nomina, ambo accuratiore, juxta præſcriptum Legis, vitâ præſtantes & clari*, ſaith *Nicephorus*. For it is moſt probable, that the maſſe was *holy* from whence that holy extract was taken and derived. It is ſaid, and I beleeve it, that they lived long in ſtate of holy matrimony, but had no childe, becauſe *Anna*, as another ancient *Anna*, the mother of *Samuel*, was barren, and they were both well gone in yeeres. This is the generall Tradition of Antiquity, who withall deliver, which is not unlikely, That they had long, and often, and earneſtly, with much faſting, prayer, interceſſion beſought God to give them a childe, to their owne joy and comfort, to the contentment of their friends, the putting off the reproach in Iſrael of being barren. So *Damaſcene* tels it of them, *lib.* 4. *de fide Orthod. cap.* 5. Joacim, *venerandam, & omni laude dignam*, Annam *in matrimonium duxit; ſed quemadmodum vetus* Anna (*mater* Samuelis) *ſterilis facta, per votum & repromiſsionem habuit* Samuelem, *eundem in modum & hæc, per ſupplicationem & repromiſsionem à Deo, Deiparam peperit; ut ita & in hoc, nulla illuſtriſsimarum fœminarum, & glorioſarũ haberetur poſterior.* And another Writer, who pretends to be *Gregory Nyſſen*, ſaith thus, *The father of the bleſſed Virgin (as I have read in the Story of a nameleſſe Author, was a man of good report and fame, well reputed of for his life, according to the ſtrict courſe and obſervation of the Law, and for holineſſe in his life and converſation. Hee, foraſmuch as his wife was barren, and naturally unapt to beare children, continued untill his old age childleſſe.* Women in Iſrael who were mothers of children had many priviledges, and very honourable reſpects done unto them, not commonly imparted unto the barren and childeleſſe: this *Anna* being barren, as the other ancient *Anna*, mother of *Samuel*, had recourſe unto the moſt Holy, and makes interceſſion unto God for a childe, that ſo ſhee might participate in the priviledges and bleſſing of mothers, vowing the childe unto God by conſecration. And hitherto there is nothing reported incredible, or contrary to piety and religion.

Joacim & Anna, the Virgins parents very pious, but a long time barren.

47 But divers points in proceſſe are adjoyned; as firſt out of that fabulous Author, who under Saint *Hieromes* name writes to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, *de Nativitate* Mariæ, where it is told, that *Joacim* and *Anna* having been married together 20. yeeres, and uſually

The falſeneſſe of that Epiſtle to *Heliodorus* & *Chromatius* written in St. *Hieroms* name.

ally going up every yeere, as the Law commanded, to the Feasts at Jerusalem; it fortuned upon a time, that at the *Encænia*, or Feast of Dedication, hee amongst his neighbours, acquaintance, friends, and allyes, presented himself with his Oblation in the Temple, where *Isachar*, High Priest at that time, beholding him ready to present his Offering unto God, put him back with disgrace and reproofe, asking him how hee durst, being childlesse, presume to come before God with his Offering, in company of those who were fathers of children? For, said hee, God will not hold him worthy to offer unto him any Oblation, unto whom hee hath not vouchsafed to give a childe, it being written in the Law, Cursed is every one that begetteth not a sonne in Israel, Goe thy wayes therefore, said hee to *Ioacim*, and procure thy selfe absolved from this malediction, by getting a childe, and then come and offer thy gift to God. Impudent blasphemous Impostor as hee was, thus to babble: For first, there never was any High Priest of that name in Israel; search all Catalogues any where extant, and no *Isachar* High Priest, will be found. Secondly, hee falsifieth and belyeth Gods Law; there is no such Law extant, Cursed is every one that begetteth not a sonne in Israel. Thirdly, hee belyeth also Gods goodnesse and dispensation with man: Barrennesse is no such signe of unworthinesse; *Abraham*, *Manoah*, *Elkanah*, *Sara*, *Rachel*, *Anna*, were no more unworthy of Gods favour, being childelesse or barren, then such as had children. Hee belyeth Gods goodnesse and favour, in rejecting mens Offerings, who never put any by that favoured him, or walked in his wayes, because they had no children. Had *Isachar* been in *Elies* place, when *Anna* prayed and offered for a sonne, hee would have thrust her out of doores with despight, and have upbraided even *Abraham* himselfe, had hee been in *Melchisedech* his place. Nay, this Impostor (most probable *Seleucus* the Manichee) belyeth himselfe and his owne words; for anon he tels of an Angel sent by God, to comfort *Ioacim* and *Anna*, much dejected and dismayed with *Isachars* reproach, and to tell them to their comfort, which indeed is true, That many famous, excellent, very worthy, and religious women, whom God deerely loved, had sometime been barren, and instanceth there in *Sara*, *Reachel*, *Anna*, *Samsons* mother, who were, as hee saith truely, notwithstanding their barrennesse, blessed amongst women. How could the Law say, the barren were accursed, and the Angel pronounce them blessed for the same thing? Such senseleſſe contradicting stupidities be to bee found in hereticall impostures: And yet this fellow is a principall Author with *Castrio* the Jesuite.

Joacim & Anna being barren, went to Jerusalem to pray, & used all pious means, that they might have a childe.

48 It is probable enough that *Ioacim* and *Anna* were barren and childlesse, having long time been married together. It is also to be credibly beleeved, that desirous of issue, they, as all good, honest, and religious people doe, in all exigencies and hard assayes, betake themselves and their cause unto God by prayer, imploring his blessing upon them. And so much the more might their desires bee set thereon,

thereon, becauſe they had obſerved out of Scripture, that parties by whom eſpecially God wrought works of wonder, whom hee in neereſt and moſt reſerved ſort ſet apart unto himſelfe and his ſervice, were τηλύγετοι καὶ μόνοι, the late borne and begotten, the onely children of their parents; ſuch were *Iſaac*, *Joſeph*, *Samuel*, *Sampſon*, *John Baptiſt*; *ſterilis corpore, fœcunda virtutibus*; *ſoboli tarda, non tarda Deo*; *non genimini incluſa, ſed tempori*; *non negata pignori, ſed reſervata myſterio*, as *Chryſologus* declameth of *Eliſabeth*. So excellent have many ſonnes of the barren beene; and why not ſome daughters as well as ſonnes, ſeeing ſex puts no difference betwixt the favours of God? and if any daughters, why not the moſt excellent amongſt daughters, for whom hee that is Mighty hath done thoſe great things, as hee never did for any daughter of *Eve*? Which diſpenſation of God with the barren, in the bleſſing upon their children when God gave them, I can eaſily perſwade my ſelfe, was, as all things were of old, in types and preſignifications of that which the Prophet ſpake concerning the barren, that is, the Gentiles, a long time barren and fruitleſſe unto God; who, when once they began to beare children unto him, their ſeed were moe in number, and more excellent in kinde then the children of the bearing woman, that is, of the Jewes; for, thick and threefold, as the ſaying is, they came in to the calling of grace; whereas the Jewes came but as *One of a Family, two of a Tribe, as the gathering of Grapes after a Vintage, or a few Olives upon the top boughs*, as the Prophet compareth it. And without ſuch Allegory, I doe not marvell if the bleſſed Virgin were the childe of Deſire unto her parents, being deſigned in eternall Purpoſe to bee mother to the Deſired of all Nations. I conclude with *Caſtrio*, When *Joacim* and *Anna* had many yeers lived in holy, chaſte wedlock, without iſſue, becauſe *Anna* was barren, not fit to conceive, they omitted not inceſſantly to importune God by prayer, with teares, faſting, and all other religious meanes and offices, that hee would ſend them a childe, whom they intended to conſecrate to his ſervice: This was their chiefeſt deſire and wiſh, whenſoever they went to worſhip at Jeruſalem.

49 It followes in the Legend, that returning home from the Feaſt of Dedication, where they received that check from *Iſachar* the Prieſt, they ſevered themſelves for a ſeaſon; *Anna* remained in her houſe in *Nazareth*, but *Joacim* repaired to his Country farme, abiding with his Hindes and Shepherds in the downes. *Interim*, that hee abode there, upon a day it happened, hee being all alone and ſolitary, an Angel of the Lord from heaven, with great light and ſplendor appeared unto him ſuddenly: At which apparition hee was extremely aghaſt; but the Angel comforting him, bad him not feare, nor be troubled at his appearance: For, ſaid hee, I am an Angel of heaven, ſent unto thee from God, to let thee underſtand that thy prayers bee heard, thy almeſdeeds have aſcended up before God, who hath conſidered of thy reproach, and taken notice of that rebuke which unjuſtly

The Legend (out of the forenamed falſe Epiſtle) of an Angels apparition to *Joacim* and *Anna*.

unjuſtly and undeſervedly was offered to thee; God puniſheth ſinne, but plagueth not nature. If at any time he ſhut up the wombe of any, hee doth ſo, the more wondrouſly to open it againe, and to have the greater thanks for the childe ſo born: *Sarah*, firſt great grandame of your Nation, lived 80. yeers barren, and in her old age conceived and bare *Iſaac*, upon whom the bleſſing of all Nations was confirmed; *Anna* thy wife ſhall beare thee a daughter, and thou ſhalt name her *Mary*: according to your vow ſhee ſhall from her cradle be dedicated to God, and ſhall be filled with the holy Ghoſt from the wombe; and as by miracle ſhee ſhall be borne the childe of a barren mother, ſo by a more incomparable miracle, ſhee remaining a pure Virgin, ſhall conceive and beare a ſonne to bee called *Jeſus*, the ſon of God. And this ſhall be a ſigne that I tell thee true, When thou entereſt at the golden Gate at Jeruſalem, *Anna* thy wife ſhall meet thee, and ſhall exceedingly rejoyce, as being much afflicted with thy long abſence. The Angel having thus delivered his meſſage, left *Joacim*, and went to *Anna*; to whom hee ſpake thus, Be not diſmayed, oh *Anna*, at my apparition, for I am an Angel of God, he who hath often preſented your prayers and almes unto God; and now I am ſent to let you know, that thou ſhalt beare a daughter, who muſt be named *Mary*; bleſſed ſhall ſhee be above all other women, ſhee from her Nativity ſhall be filled with Gods grace, and untill ſhe be wayned, which muſt be at three yeers end, ſhee ſhall remaine with you in her fathers houſe: From three yeers upward, ſhee muſt bee dedicated to Gods ſervice, and not depart from the Temple, till ſhee come to yeers of diſcretion. Wherefore ariſe, and goe up to Jeruſalem, and in token that what I have ſaid ſhall aſſuredly come to paſſe, at the golden Gate thou ſhalt meet thy husband. So both, according to the Angels direction, aroſe and went toward Jeruſalem; there, at the place appointed, they met together, told each other of the Angels apparition, went into the Temple to give God thanks for viſiting them in their humiliation; which being done, both together returned to Nazareth full of joy and gladneſſe, with hope and aſſurance expecting the accompliſhment of Gods promiſe. Thus reports that Romancer: wherein be ſome things not incredible; it being piouſly to bee beleeved, that the conception and birth of the Virgin was more then ordinary, and ſo foreſpoken by an Angel, meſſages by Angels being not unuſuall with the Jewes, eſpecially to perſons of quality and reſpect with God, to ſuch as were deſigned by God to excellent ends. Herein accordeth, againſt the Collyridians, *Epiphanius*, If God would not have us worſhip Angels, much leſſe her who was borne of *Anna* and *Joacim*, who by prayer and exquiſite interceſſion, was, according to promiſe, obtained by her father and mother; and yet ſhee was not borne but by ordinary courſe of nature: and though it be delivered by tradition in the ſtory of the Virgin, that it was ſaid unto her father *Joacim*, in the wilderneſſe (or Hill-Countrey) Thy wife ſhall conceive; yet was it not meant that

ſhee

ſhee ſhould conceive without the company of her husband; But the Angel who in that meſſage was employed, foretold it ſhould be ſo, to remove all doubting of that truth which God had promiſed, ordained, and would bring to paſſe. This meſſage might be reall, howſoever many fictions be interlaced in the narration. *Panteleon*, an Homiliſt, ſuppoſeth hee was the Angel *Gabriel*; for aſſured we are, that of old to *Daniel*, afterward to *Zachary*, and laſtly to the Virgin herſelfe, that Angel is named to have beene employed, ſo far as concerned the Incarnation. *Hac de cauſa*, ſaith *Caſtrio*, *cum in precibus per aliquot dies conſtitiſſent, clementiſsimus Deus miſit novi bonique nuntii Angelum ſuum, qui* Joacimo *nunciaret*, Annam *uxorem ſuam conceptura ſpectatiſſimam illam virginem, ex qua Ducem illum tot jam ſaculis optatum univerſo Orbi ſe daturum: atque id ipſum nutu Divino manifeſtatum eſt* Annæ: *Sic uterque fidem habentes Divino paranympho, cum ea, quæ tantum nuntium requirebat, gratulatione ſibi invicem renunciarent.*

50 Which bleſſed above women, though ſhee were not ſuch as ſome have vainly made her, advancing her above all degree of humane compoſibility, as to be conceived without any guilt of originall ſinne; yet much more doubtleſſe doth belong unto her, the mother of God, then ſome lewd, profane, and impious tongues and pens can afford her. *Virgo mater, quâ majorem Deus facere non poteſt: Majorem mundum poteſt facere Deus; majorem autem matrem quam matrem Dei, non poteſt facere Deus: God cannot create a greater creature then a Virgin mother: God can make a larger world; but a greater mother then the mother of God hee cannot make.* This was her Paramount ſtile above all ſtiles and titles of greatneſſe, to be the mother of God. No greater name can bee given in heaven or earth to a meere creature, then this: why might ſhee not then, having grace of excellency conferred upon her, without any prejudice to any courſe or diſpenſation of God, have imparted unto her, in her conception and birth, any grace whereof any creature is or can be capable in this world, or ever was or can be made capable of; and ſo far that ſpeech of *Baronius* is true, *Who can imagine, that God would beſtow more upon his ſervants then upon his mother?* ſtiled ſhee was at the ſalutation by the Angel *Gabriel* κεχαριτωμένη whether *Gratis dilecta*, or *Gratioſa facta*, or *Gratificata*, or, which is the moſt ancient, generall, and indeed true intention of the phraſe, *Gratiâ plena, full of Grace.* Certainely then, full ſhee was of, and repleniſhed with grace, not onely reſpectively of him with whom ſhee was conceived, hee beeing the true grace of God, who maketh all gracious, and repleniſheth all with grace, in every ſort, ſufficiently, as being the fountaine of all grace and goodneſſe, out of whoſe ſuperabundance all receive what they have, grace for grace; but alſo principally and primarily reſpecting her ſelfe, and the great things, as ſhee calls them, which hee who is Mighty, and holy his Name, had done for her. It is true, as I ſaid, ſhee was full of grace, being that woman propheciedof, who had encloſed a man; that is, having

The excellency of the bleſſed Virgin.

having conceived our Saviour at the inſtant of his creation in her wombe, a man, as *Ambroſe* and *Chryſoſtome* doe apply it. But this Truth could not be intended then, becauſe when the Angel uſed thoſe words to her, *Haile* Mary, *full of grace, the Lord is with thee*, ſhee had not given, as yet, her conſent, nor conceived him in her wombe; ſo that, then, as yet, a woman had not encloſed a man. Full of grace ſhee was, reſpecting thoſe gifts of Gods holy Spirit, and thoſe eminent endowments, which being in her, did adorne her in the ſight of God.

Three kinds of fulneſſe of grace, and how St. *Mary* is ſaid to bee full of grace.

51 *Full of grace* is a title elſewhere imparted unto others; and therefore though not every way peculiar unto her, in no caſe to be denyed her. Wee reade, ſaith *Bernard*, in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, that holy *Stephen* was full of, or repleniſhed with grace, and that the Apoſtles were filled with the holy Ghoſt; but in a farr different ſort from the Virgin *Mary*. For neither did the fulneſſe of Divinity inhabit corporally in them, as in *Mary*; nor did they (or could they) conceive of the holy Ghoſt as ſhee. Many were full of grace in their ſeverall times and degrees; not all *full* alike, nor with the ſame *grace* full. There is a certaine fulneſſe of grace common with, and imparted unto the whole body and ſociety of Saints, which conſiſts in a ſufficient endowment from God, according to exigencies and capacities for procuring the end, happineſſe in heaven. There is, ſecondly, a fulneſſe of diſtribution, to particularly reſerved ends; in which courſe there is a threefold grace exiſting in the Church; Firſt, *ſuperabundantiæ*, which may bee, and is had both eſſentially and virtually, in the higheſt degree and meaſure that grace can be had or received by any Donee from any Donor; both reſpecting the excellencie and condition of grace it ſelfe, and for extenſive diffuſion to all degrees of grace: this is *gratia Capitis*, grace for the Head, peculiar to Chriſt, and incommunicable to any creature. Depending upon this, and referring unto this, ſecondly, there is a grace of Abundancie in ſufficiency, imparted more or leſſe to every man according to his need and employment or capability; not as the Donor could conferre it, infinite in meaſure and manner, becauſe he is ſuch in power; but as in proportion the Donee can receive it: concerning which, in termes, God ſaid unto Saint *Paul*, *My grace is ſufficient for thee*: In this the bleſſed Virgin had her ſhare with others; herein Saint *Stephen* had his fulneſſe for his proportion, ſo had the Apoſtles for their exigencies, ſo have all Gods holy Saints for generall and ſpeciall ends, proportionably to his diſpenſation who ordereth all things in heaven and earth, *κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, according to the counſell of his will.* Thirdly, there is fulneſſe of Prerogative, which is the appropriated portion of the bleſſed Virgin, which is not ſo to be conceived, as if all and every particular occaſioned grace, or *χάρισμα*, of all and every particular holy Saint or Angel of God muſt needs be caſt, and reſt upon her, as ſome in curioſity have ſpeculated: againſt which fond and falſe aſſertion *Toſtatus* hath oppoſed to good purpoſe. But her due Prerogatives and peculiar, are incommu-

incommunicable; not of themſelves, for, what any creature is capable of, another creature may receive, if God would, as hee will not impart them to any elſe: But *gratia Capitis*, Chriſts indowment is not for any creature; nor men nor Angels can receive it.

52 Therefore for a generall Concluſion, excellent things have been ſpoken of her, done unto her, honourable and excellent things indeed. But ſuch Tranſcendencies as by ſome have been invented and caſt upon her, have no ground in reaſon, nor warrant in Piety and Religion. It hath been taught, that in her conception, the grace of Angels was conferred on her; by which is meant, if I miſtake not, Impeccability: for concerning the *ſubſtance* and *nature* of Angels, which is ſpirituall, I doe not conceive that any ſuppoſed her to have, who accounted her the daughter of *Joacim* and *Anna*; for ſo they might ſuppoſe ſhee came not of the loynes of *Adam* nor wombe of *Eve*, but had *Corpus cæleſte* infuſed into *Anna*, and came from her mother as *per canalem*. Secondly, it hath been conceited, that in the very inſtant of her conception ſhee had the actuall uſe of reaſon, which is not communicable with a meere creature: *Hoc eſt enim ſpeciale Privilegium Chriſti*, ſaith *Aquinas*; and therefore, as *Barradas* doth confeſſe, the wiſer ſort of Schoolemen oppoſe that Tenent. Cardinall *Baronius* ſeemeth well enough to approve of ſuch extravagances, and farre tranſcendent Attributes given unto her, *Sect.* 40. *in Appa.* Great without queſtion, and every way wonderfull, were thoſe ſignes which preceded the Nativity of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, the mother of God, ſuch as no words can ſufficiently expreſſe; nor is any man, I ſuppoſe, ſo devoid of common ſenſe and underſtanding, as to deny what I affirme, if he doe but remember and call to minde what great things God hath imparted to many of his ſervants. Hee that conſidereth what preceded the Nativity of *Sampſon*, *Solomon*, *Jeremy*, *John Baptiſt*, will preſently aſſent, that the bleſſed Virgin muſt have all theſe imparted unto her, and many moe, and more ample then theſe. For who can think ſo abjectly of God, that he will be more beneficiall to his ſervants, then to his mother; to the friend of the Bride, then to the Bride her ſelfe? So ſtrangely enlargeth hee upon the point; as if it were a ſound or tolerable inference, that unleſſe God conferred all, and every one of thoſe graces upon her, which at any time hee conferred upon any of his ſervants, hee ſhould not either keepe decorum, or doe her juſtice. Which will caſt upon her unavoidably, for any thing I ſee, the office of an Apoſtle, a Biſhop, an Evangeliſt, a Prophet; it will warrant her to Preach, Baptize, Adminiſter Sacraments. Without all doubt, God did greater things for her then for any other; in making choice of her to bee the mother of God, hee gave her a Prerogative above men and Angels: But yet the Cardinall for all this overlaſheth.

Divers attribute too much to the Virgin.

53 The Collyridian Hereticks (who offered cakes unto her as the Queene of Heaven,) taught, that ſhee was *expers humanæ Naturæ, & particeps Divinæ*: *had nothing in her of* Adam, *or humane nature*,

Some attribute too much, ſome too little to the bleſſed Virgin.

ture, but partaked of the Divine: To which riſe of hereſie they came up by no other way, but from doating upon ſuch tranſcendent indowments, as they conceived the Virgin mother had received, ὑπερβολῇ θαυμάζοντες τὴν ἁγίαν, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκπίπτουσι τῆς αἱρέσεως τὸ ληρωδέστατον. There bee ſome who impiouſly detract from her, as if ſhee were a woman but one of the multitude, as if themſelves or their wives were as good as ſhee. And there be who goe as farre wide upon the other ſide, as that ſhee was conceived without originall ſinne, that naturall concupiſcence, or that *fomes peccati* was not in her, that *Adam* in her offended not, that ſhee had originall juſtice which *Adam* loſt; and I marvell, they have not gone ſo farr, as to hold, that every way ſhee was as good as *Chriſt Jeſus*; that as hee came to redeeme and ſave mankinde, ſo ſhee came to ſave womankinde; that ſhe was aſſumed into the participation of the indiviſible Deity. Cardinall *Cuſan Lib.* 8. *exercit.* goeth farre; Onely the bleſſed Virgin, ſince *Adam*'s fall, was borne and brought forth into the world, not emptied of, or wanting originall righteouſneſſe, but fully ſtored and repleniſhed therewithall, as was *Eve* in the day of her creation; Nay rather, by farre exceeding *Eve*, and with farre greater endowments. Created ſhe was as Chriſt according to his humane nature, with abundant fulneſſe of all righteouſneſſe more then *Adam:* Which are ſtrange enhauncements, not only beyond enough, but beyond all meaſure, unto enormous and prodigious inducements.

The difference betweene the Dominicans, Franciſcans, & Jeſuits concerning the freedome of the bleſſed Virgin from originall ſinne.

54 The Queſtion was a long time canvaſed up and downe in the Church of Rome, about the immaculate conception of the bleſſed Virgin, and her immunity from ſinne; and that with impaſſionated virulency, and eager oppoſition betwixt the Dominican and Franciſcan Friars. *Sixtus* the fourth, Pope about the yeere 1465. being himſelfe a Franciſcan by profeſſion, though hee did not definitively determine the queſtion, for his fellow Franciſcans, againſt the Dominicans, yet did hee appoint a Feaſt to bee kept in memory of the immaculate conception of the Virgin upon the 8. of *December*, which is commonly held to bee the day of her conception; and ordained, that whoſoever did devoutly celebrate the conception of the immaculate Virgin, and bee preſent at the Maſſe or Service upon that day, and the Octaves of it, ſhould enjoy the ſame indulgences which they enjoyed who celebrated the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*: And afterward, in the 13. yeere of his Popedome (this Conſtitution being made in the ſixth, becauſe ſome Preachers (as hee ſaid, that is, the whole Order of Dominicans, or preaching Friars) did publickly teach and preach every where, that all ſuch as affirmed that the glorious and immaculate mother of God was conceived without ſpot of originall ſinne (as the Franciſcans taught) ſinned themſelves mortally, or were hereticks) he condemned them and their aſſertions, as erroneous, falſe, and impious, and renewed his former Conſtitution for the Feaſt of her immaculate conception. It is true, hee inhibited the contrary opinion to be taught as a point of faith: but from his Conſtitution

ſtitution for that Feaſt of her conception, *Vaſques* concludeth, it was his opinion, the opinion of many Popes; and though not the deciſion, yet the opinion of the Church; and ſo it continueth at this day, not *de fide*, but very neere thereto; the more generally received opinion, ſince Jeſuites have domineered in Schooles, though the Dominicans, as the better Divines, hold their owne; the Jeſuits, I ſay, deliver it with full mouth, *Concepta ergo ſacratiſsima proles*, ſaith *Caſtrio*, *Decembris menſis octavo die, ſingulari eſt Dei munere, gratia præmunita, quæ & animam ejus adeo pulchram redderet, ut jam indè Angelorum hominumque ſanctiſsimos quoſque ſuperaret; & tam robuſtam, ut non eam labem contrahere permitteret eam, quâ univerſa* Adæ *poſteritas infecta procreatur*: So *Vaſques*. *Communis, probabilior, & veritati magis conſentanea opinio eſt, beatam Virginem in ipſo momento ſuæ conceptionis ſanctificatam; ac proindè ita præſervatam à peccato originali, ut illud nunquam contraxerit*: It is therefore, hee ſaith, the common doctrine (but take him of Jeſuiticall and Franciſcan Schooles) that ſhee was not conceived in iniquity, nor in ſinne did her mother bring her forth. *Bellarmine*, their Oracle, next unto the Councell of Trent, delivers three Concluſions hereabout; Firſt, it is not held, nor to bee held, as *certum & de fide*, that ſhee was conceived without originall ſinne. Secondly, it is no error, much leſſe an hereſie againſt faith, to maintaine ſhee was conceived in originall ſinne. Thirdly, it is a pious and probable opinion, much more probable then the contrary, to beleeve ſhee was not conceived in originall ſinne. Thus hee, gently enough, but ſince it is enhaunſed to bee hereſie, nay blaſphemy, to ſay ſhe was conceived in originall ſin.

Melchior Canus and others opinion concerning her immaculate conception from ſome.

55 All holy men (ſaith *Melchior Canus*, one of the learnedſt Biſhops in the Councell of Trent) who ever had occaſion to mention or ſpeake thereof, doe, as with one mouth, confeſſe, that the moſt bleſſed Virgin was conceived in originall ſinne: And whoſoever ſhall teach or maintaine, that there is, or ever was any man or woman in this world, excepting the Mediator of God and man alone, who ſtood not in need of pardon and remiſſion of his ſins, opponeth the Apoſtle, and divine Scripture, who affirmes, that *by one man ſinne entred into the world upon all, and by ſinne death*. This doctrine of *Cano* had the unanimous conſent of all Antiquity. The firſt Noveller againſt it, as *Medina* noteth, was *Scotus* the ſubtle Doctor, a Franciſcan, and after him, the whole Schoole of Scotiſts, of whom *Vaſques* hath muſtered up an army. *Baronius*, in his notes upon the Roman Martyrologe, tels, that the Feaſt of the bleſſed Virgins conception began to be obſerved in *Bernards* time, about 300. yeeres before *Sixtus quartus* was Pope, by the Biſhop and Canons of the Church of Lions in France: which is hiſtorically true, and that preſumptuous act of theirs by Saint *Bernard* ſtoutly reproved; which was long before *Scotus* was borne. But this being onely matter of fact, and ſhut up within the cloſe of that Church of Lions, doth not croſſe the atteſtation of *Medina*, that *Scotus* was the firſt propugner of it. *Hie-*

rome is brought for voucher by ſome, in his Commentaries upon theſe words of the 77. *Pſalme*, *Deduxit eos in nube diei*, *Hee led them in the day-time by a cloud*: where hee interprets *nubem levem a thin cloud*, to bee *corpus Virginis nullo humano ſemine pragravatum*, clogged and accloyed with no humane ſeed. But firſt, thoſe Commentaries are not held for *Hieromes*. Secondly, hee expounds *nubem levem* to bee the body of our Saviour, not the Virgins, *Quia nullo peccato pragravatum fuit*, and then inferreth, *aut certè nubem levem debemus ſanctam* Mariam *accipere*, *nullo ſemine humano pragravatam*, not her body, but her ſelfe: not for her non-conception in originall ſinne, but for her non-conceiving of humane ſeed; if hee will have it for her non conception of humane ſeed, hee is a downright Collyridian heretick, that ſhee was *expers humanæ Naturæ*, *& particeps Divinæ*, of which hereſie the Author of thoſe Commentaries, not *Hierome*, was. Next Saint *Auguſtine* hath been cited, who, *Cap.* 36. *de Nat.& Gra.* ſaith, Hee will have no Queſtion made concerning the bleſſed Virgin, when the point of ſinne comes to bee handled, out of awfull reſpect to her ſonne, our Saviour. To which I anſwer, he ſpeaks poſitively of actuall, not orginall ſinne; this may appear by thoſe words which occaſioned this ſpeech. *non modo non peccaſſe*, *ſed juſtè vixiſſe*: and ſo I grant his opinion was, That the bleſſed Virgin was freed from actuall ſinne after ſhe conceived our Saviour, not before; but not from originall ſin from the time of her conception in her mother.

Certaine concluſions concerning the Virgins being without actuall ſinne.

56 But concerning actuall, or life-ſinne, whether ſhee ever committed any by breach of any of Gods Commandements; it cannot be denyed, but Antiquity, out of reverend reſpect, and awfull regard unto the dignity and perſon of our Saviour, have beſtowed upon her that priviledge beyond and above all the ſons and daughters of men, that ſhee did not commit any groſſe or deadly ſinne, but by ſpeciall diſpenſation was preſerved pure and immaculate from all ſuch, at leaſt after conception of our Saviour. Touching which opinion, I put downe theſe Concluſions; She was not altogether uncapable of ſuch an endowment. Humane nature may, by ſpeciall diſpenſation, be ſo preſerved by God, if it pleaſe him. It is only his order, toleration, and diſpenſation of things, in, and according to the courſe of this world, that being as wee are, wee cannot chuſe but *in many things we offend all*. Impeccability, ſimply, is not that which cannot accrue in any ſort unto the nature, power, ſtate of man; for it was his actuall, originall indowment in ſtate of nature intire, and poſſible it was for him ſo to have continued in that ſtate ſtill. It ſhall bee his actuall indowment in ſtate of glory, without all poſſibility of defection or change. It is not mans indowment as yet, but may be, even now, and here, if it ſo pleaſe God. Secondly, I conſider, this was not from any courſe of kinde, or power of nature, or ſufficiency properly her owne, that ſhee continued ſo unblameable all her dayes; but it was out of ſpeciall grace, a peculiarly allotted priviledge unto her, which is not againſt faith or piety any way; but rather to the advancing of the

the praiſe of Gods glory, in goodneſſe unto her, for the honour of him whoſe mother ſhee was appointed to be. And therefore, thirdly, her immunity from actuall ſin in life, may bee conſidered two waies; *before, after*, the conception of our Saviour. So that, fourthly, reſpecting that peculiar office and honour ſhee was appointed unto, to bee the mother of that holy One of God, it hath probably and piouſly been held, that if not before, yet after ſhee had conceived the Saviour of the world, in whom was no ſinne, ſhee was freed from actuall, groſſe, or deadly ſinne, not committing any thing againſt the Law.

57 So *Ambroſe* is cited upon the laſt Octonary of the 118. *Pſalme, Receive mee*, not in that fleſh which fell in *Adam*; receive me, not from *Sarah*, but from *Mary*, an immaculate pure Virgin, but a Virgin ſo preſerved by grace from all taint of ſinne. And *Auguſtine*, without queſtion, was of that opinion, *cap.* 36. of his Book *de Natura & Gratia*, againſt the Pelagians; where, having recited a Liſt of holy and good women remembred in Scripture, his concluſion is, Except onely the moſt holy *Mary*, touching whom, when wee have any ſpeech of ſinning, in regard unto our Lords honour, I will put no queſtion. For thence wee know, out of that reſpect, more grace was conferred upon her to conquer ſinne utterly and wholly, becauſe ſhee was held worthy to be mother of him, who, wee are aſſured, had at all no ſin; excepting therefore this Virgin, &c. *Bernard, Epiſt.* 172. to the Biſhop and Chapter of Lyons, having refelled and rejected her conceiving without originall ſin, addeth, concerning actual ſin, *Meet it was, and congruous, that the Queene of Virgins ſhould, by ſingular priviledge, paſſe the courſe of life in holineſſe, without all ſinne; For ſhee who was to beare him that muſt deſtroy both ſinne and death, had rightly conferred on her in free gift, life and righteouſneſſe.* Thus have learned Antiquity declared their opinions in this point; wherein three things are delivered, but not as *de fide*, or abſolute neceſſity to ſalvation; but onely of opinion and credibility, to be held as convenient, and according unto piety: Firſt, That the bleſſed mother of God was free from guilt or taint of all actuall ſin. Secondly, That this immunity was therefore after ſhee had given her conſent, in *Bee it unto mee according to thy word*. Thirdly, It was out of ſpeciall diſpenſation from particular grace, out of reſpect unto him whoſe mother ſhee became; which required more reſerved care and protection in the courſe of her life. So doth *Anſelme* determine the manner and reaſon of it, *de excellentia Virginis cap.* 3. *No man doubts but her moſt chaſte body, and moſt ſanctified ſoule was by unceſſant and continued protection of aſſiſtant Angels, preſerved throughly untainted of any ſpot of ſinne, as being that Chamber in which the Lord of themſelves, and Creator of all things, God, was corporally to inhabite and abide, by and in whom hee would aſſume man by his unutterable operation, into the union of his owne perſon.* This is all that is warranted to bee the Tenet of Roman Schools by the Councell of Trent; and therefore it is not againſt

Some fathers opinions of her impeccability, with three concluſions concerning it.

piety to ſay with *Caſtrio* here, *Hoc uno, gratia Virginis* Adæ *gratiam, & Angelorum adhuc viatorum ſuperabat: quòd hæc vim illis conferebat, ne poſſent peccare ſi vellent; at gratia Virgini data eſt, ne poſſet velle peccare. Ita, quod Chriſtus habuit à natura, Virgo, ipſius mater, ex ejus habuit gratia ſingulari*: which ſpeciall, ſingular priviledge is no prejudice to faith. And ſo much concerning her conception, above the ordinary courſe of kinde, not for impeccability, but for the old age of her parents, who obtained a childe of God. Wee proceed to her birth, which was according to courſe of kind, wherein ſhe had no priviledge above her fellowes.

A Chronology of the time of the Virgins birth, and her age when ſhe bare Chriſt.

58 Firſt it is to be taken into conſideration, when, or at what time ſhee was borne, according to the ordinary accounts then in uſe, by Greek Olympiads, and Roman Conſuls; concerning which wee cannot ground infallibly, but onely Hiſtorically; becauſe there is in Scripture no direct mention of it, nor upon the by, by infallible collections. Secondly, wee have not delivered any uncontrolled or generally conſented unto reſolution thereabout in Antiquity. Thirdly, there is for it no perpetuall tradition of the Church. It cannot bee vouched uncontrollably, nor is it delivered conſtantly, of what age ſhee was when ſhee conceived and bare our Saviour. The moſt generally received opinion is, that ſhee was full fifteene yeeres compleat at the eighth of *September*, which was her birth-day, next preceding that 25. of *December*, wherein ſhee brought forth the Lord of Life and glory. *Sethus Calviſius*, the laſt and beſt eſteemed Chronologer amongſt Proteſtants, agreeing with that related Tradition, ſaith ſhee was borne *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* being Conſuls; *Salianus* and *Caſtrio*, a brace of Jeſuites, conſent. This was in the firſt yeer of the 191. Olympiad, after the Sea-fight at Actium or Lepanto ſixteen yeers compleat, 30. yeers after *Julius Cæſars* death, in the 25. of *Herods* reigne, from the Creation 3974. from the Floud 2417. from the Promiſe to *Abraham* 2020. from *Exodus* 1590. from the beginning of *Davids* reigne 1153. from the Captivity 583. from their returne 513. So *Calviſius* delivereth theſe rootes of Times, take them or reject them as you pleaſe; for Chronologie, or calculation of Times is a thing moſt intricate and uncertaine. *Baronius* doth but ſeeme to diſſent; for hee grants her fifteen yeers complete, when in her ſixteenth ſhee bare Chriſt. But hee fixeth Chriſts birth one yeere ſooner then *Caſtrius*, *Salianus*, *Petavius*, and the moſt learned, who following *Onufrius*, the father of Hiſtory, rightly caſt it upon the Conſulate of *Auguſtus* 13. and *M. Plautius Sylvanus*, which is the true yeere of our Saviours birth, upon which *Baronius* did once alſo faſten in his firſt Editions; but afterward changed, as many do, for the worſe. This conſidered, diſchargeth old *Marianus Scotus* from that imputation which *Baronius* caſts upon him, of diſſenting about her age when ſhee bare Chriſt; hee diſſents not from *Baronius*, more then *Baronius* doth from *Salianus*: but as hee draweth downe the birth of our Saviour two yeeres lower then *Ba-*

ronius

ronius ſets it, ſo doth hee withall draw downe, not the age of the Virgin, but the yeere onely of her birth in proportion. His opinion is the ſame with *Baronius* and the reſt, that ſhee conceived Chriſt in her fifteenth yeer, and bare him current her ſixteenth, as much as from the 8. of *September* to the 25. of *December*.

59 To put this opinion out of doubt, wee have expreſſe and infallible Teſtimony, in the Cardinals judgement, of one who lived with her, at leaſt might have known her when ſhee lived; it is *Evodius* Biſhop of Antioch, ſucceſſor to Saint *Peter*, as they ſay, and predeceſſor to *Ignatius* the Martyr, he, in an Epiſtle called *Lumen*, *Light*, remembred by *Nicephorus*, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 3. writes thus concerning the bleſſed Virgin, When ſhe was three yeers old, ſhee was preſented in the Temple by her parents; ſhe lived eleven yeers in the Sanctuary or moſt holy place; then was ſhe by the Prieſts delivered unto *Joſeph*, as to a Guardian; in his houſe ſhe having abode four moneths, ſhe received thoſe glad tidings from the Angel, and in the fifteenth yeer of the world brought out him, the Light of the world, upon the 25. of *December*: So is *Evodius* his tale, and if the teller whereof were of authority, it could not be contradicted; of authority hee ſhould bee, were wee aſſured that this tale was told by *Evodius*: But the man is ſuſpected, and for his honeſty called into queſtion by *Baronius* himſelfe, who appeales unto him, though it bee in gentle and ſoothing words: I never heare (ſo hee ſaith) that ever any ancient Writer took any notice, or made any mention of *Lumen*, compoſed by *Evodius*, or made any mention of the Worke, Title, or Author, and I verily beleeve there is no ſuch Work of his; a ſhrewd ſigne that hee was but a counterfeit, and though the name bee *Lumen*, *Light*, yet hitherto the Work hath walked in darkneſſe, not in light; it never was iſſue of any the children of light, but was the miſ-begotten, and miſ-born changeling of an hereticall father, and is of no credit alone to paſſe the thing queſtioned, the Virgins age. The common opinion that then ſhe had fulfilled fifteen yeeres of her age; this, though not certaine, though not becauſe one *Evodius* hath it, is yet probable, not for *Evodius* his teſtimony, or *Nicephorus* his report of what he found; therefore not of faith, nor as ſuch to bee touched, but as a generall opinion of moſt men. And yet the ſame *Baronius*, who hath no better opinion of him and his honeſty, doth uſe and make much of him and his authority in a point of more conſequence and materiality, then of what age the Virgin was when ſhe bare our Saviour, namely, for the manner and courſe of her childhood and education.

The Epiſtle called *Lumen*, that goeth in *Evodius* his name, is none of his; what is that about the Virgin.

60 Firſt, for her preſenting in the Temple when ſhee was three yeers old, it is not unlikly but might ſo have been done, as being not againſt Decency, ground of Nature, Scripture, Polity, much leſſe any analogie or rule of Faith; nothing therein is reported, but a carefull performance, by her pious parents, of a religious vow, lawfull, which might bee made, of dedicating her unto Gods Service, in a ſolemne, publick, and accuſtomed manner, according to the Law of the firſt-borne.

A falſe tale that ſhee lived 11. yeers in the Temple.

borne. Had theſe Narrators made a ſtand here, without further proceſſe, they had found nor contradiction, nor diſcommendation; but that which by ſome is over-added, for all be not alike impiouſly ridiculous, nor in all points alike fabulous, deſerves with themſelves to walke in Norboniam. *Germanus*, ſometime Patriarch of Conſtantinople, a great undertaker againſt the *Icanoclaſtæ*, ſhameth not, being a man learned for his time, to tell us, that from the time of her preſentation in the Temple, ſhee made her abode in the moſt holy place, being left there by her parents. So much, in effect, ſaith the Author of the Tragedy, not *Gregory Nazianzene*, *Chriſtus patiens*, who, by Poeticall licence, I take it, addeth, that Angels continually miniſtred unto her there. I may very well retort the words of *Germanus* upon himſelfe for this loud lye: Who ever heard of ſuch a thing before this? what man now, or ever living, knew a woman live in the Sanctuary? the place was ἄδυτον, ἄβατον, unacceſſible, none did, or could come there but the High Prieſt, once every yeere, as *Philo*, *Joſephus*, and the Apoſtle tell us, *Heb.* 9. 7. And yet theſe bablers ſay, the Virgin lived 11. yeeres there. *Caſtrius* was aſhamed of it, and yet what will not hee ſay? *Bullenger* rejects it; *Barradas* accounts it *alienum à veritate*; yet *Baronius* vouchſafes it a plauſible relation, and could finde in his heart to have it current, for thither tends his invective againſt Proteſtants; No Orthodox Writers ever diſſent (and hee means from his recited Authors of this tale) but Innovators, which yet all learned Jeſuits doe deny.

It is probable ſhee, as a firſt-born, was preſented in the Temple.

61 And all Chriſtians, who underſtand any thing of Jewiſh affaires, though they grant her preſenting at, and reſiding in the Temple; And yet concerning that, It is one thing to ſay it might be, (which all confeſſe) another thing to prove it was done, which will coſt *Baronius* ſomewhat to prove it, though hee comes not off very handſomely, that it might bee ſo. Wee know, ſaith hee, it was written and ordained in the Law, that children, male or female, conſecrated to God by their parents, were redeemable by paying a yeerly tribute of certaine ſhekles unto the Sanctuary. For warrant, hee ſends us to *Levit.* 27. were wee finde *votivas perſonas*, male and female, and divers prices of redemption ſet and taxed upon them, referring unto ſex and age; A man of 20. yeeres old or upward had a price ſet of 50. ſhekles, a woman of 30. If he were under 20. and above 5. his rate was 20. ſhekles, the womans 10. If above a moneth, and under 5. yeers, his was five ſhekles, and hers three; ſo were the valuations in the Law. This ſhekle was a ſilver coyne amongſt the Jewes, repreſenting upon one ſide the Pot of Manna, on the other the Rod of *Aaron* blooming; the common ſhekle was preciſely ii. s. vi. d. as our learned Countrey-man M. *Brierwood* hath caſt it; the ſhekle of the Sanctuary was double, by which theſe valuations were aſſeſſed. It was no annuall Tribute, as *Baronius* fancieth, but was paid once in life time for all by the poll. If the Virgin were not the onely childe, yet was ſhee the firſt-borne to her parents, we will grant: howſoever, if wee would

would bee perverſe, *Baronius* could not eaſily prove it. In that ſhee was the eldeſt, ſhee was the Lords without any vow, holy and conſecrated to the Lord, as *Exod.* 13. 13. where man, is in extenſion, all borne to man, male or female, the plea God makes unto them ſhews it. *When thy ſonne ſhall aske thee in time to come, ſaying, What meaneth this? thou ſhalt anſwer him, With a mighty hand did the Lord bring us up out of Egypt, from the houſe of bondage. For when* Pharaoh's *heart was hardened, and hee would not let us goe, the Lord ſlew all the firſt-borne in the land of Egypt, from the firſt borne of man to the firſt-borne of beaſts: Therefore I ſacrifice unto the Lord all my firſt borne, and the firſt-borne of my ſonnes I doe redeeme.* Wherefore, to ſacrifice, is not onely to ſlay, but to conſecrate or dedicate; and by ſons, all children are underſtood; becauſe not onely males, but females alſo in Egypt were ſlaine, unleſſe it can be proved a prerogative of the Egyptians, that all their firſt-borne were ever ſons, and no daughters; and where it is ſaid by way of explication, that there was not an houſe wherein one was not dead, it were a miracle if all ſo dead were ſons. But when all the firſt-borne of Egypt were in this ſort ſlaine, not any of Iſrael died, nor their beaſts nor children; but becauſe they were ſpared, God for them took the firſt borne of Iſrael to himſelfe; the owners of the beaſts, the parents of the children were to redeeme them: this was the Law of primo-geniture in Iſrael. But yet in caſe of ſuch redemption, all men in kinde were firſt to bee brought and preſented to God in the Temple at Jeruſalem; and there to remaine as conſecrated to God if their parents would not redeeme them, or to be returned home unto their parents upon the price paid for them; it was at the parents choice to doe either, the precept is not peremptory, Thou ſhalt redeeme them, as it was for uncleane beaſts not to be ſacrificed; but arbitrary, If thou wilt redeeme them: and ſome did not redeeme them, but left them with the Prieſts as Gods part, to doe him ſervice; ſo *Samuel* was not redeemed, but given to God at three yeeres end, when hee was wained, and that upon ſpeciall vow and promiſe, though hee were the firſt-born of his mother: and the bleſſed Virgin being the firſt-borne, might in this ſort have been given unto God by ſpeciall vow. Men and women, if firſt borne, were Gods part; of men not redeemed wee have inſtance; there is none againſt, or for the redeeming of women: and wherefore might not the Virgin be in that rank? *Multa enim fuerunt in Judeorum moribus, quæ ſilentur in Scripturis ſacris; The Jewes had many cuſtomes, whereof no mention is in holy Scriptures.*

62 It hath been objected, Lawyers will not ſpeak without Law: but by his favour who ſaith it, they will, and againſt Law too; and ſo do Divines, for that is the Reddition, ſpeak at leaſt without a text of Scripture, if not againſt it. But no ſuch tye lies upon any man, as to have Scripture warrant for every particular thing hee doth or ſaith. It is not intended Lawyers ſhould vouch a book caſe for every ſpeech; but in point of deciſion or reſolution ſpeake Law they muſt. Not is

Probable, that ſhee ſerved there as *Samuel* did.

is it neceſſary in a Sermon to cite a text for Purple, Blue, or Goats haire; but in caſes fundamentall, morall, of life and manners, in caſes of controverſie about points of Faith. It is further objected, that at the Temple there was no Colledge, Brotherhood, Guild, or Society of perſons ſo conſecrated, men or women, to make up a Corporation; *Qualia ſunt hodie corpora Monachorum per ſodalitates coeuntium.* Which is but a captious objection; for who ſaith, or needs ſay, there were ſuch Fraternities perpetually ſtanding, or incorporated amongſt the Jewes? and yet two great learned men *Scaliger* and *Cauſabon* are of that opinion, that the Herodians, mentioned in the Goſpel, were ſuch a Collegiate Society amongſt the Jewes: but the caſe of the firſt-borne requires not that. In the ſervice of the Temple, the parties conſigned to God might miniſter without any ſuch Society; they might reſide at ſome friends houſe, or in ſome Hoſtell in the Towne, as wee ſee it done every where; *Samuels* caſe is, for ought I know, the onely Scripture inſtance of this point; concerning him there is no more ſaid in generall, but that hee miniſtred before the Lord: in what ſort or faſhion hee lived or miniſtred, it is not expreſſed. That Societies were, thoſe learned men confeſſe; that there might be as many dedicated to Gods ſervice as might make a Society, is not improbable; that women daily, and duly frequented the Temple and Gods ſervice, is undenyable, *Luk.* 2. 27. in the caſe of *Anna* daughter of *Phanuel*, which is enough; for it cannot bee conceived ſhee never went out; or as Angels in heaven, was continually praying to, and praiſing of God, *in actu exercito.* Many naturall, civill, occaſionall receſſes and impediments croſſe ſuch conceits: *Zadoc*, *Abiathar*, *Eli*, *Samuel* did no more but ſerve God in the Temple as the exigence of ſervice required.

That about the Temple were houſes for the Prieſts, as now about Cathedrals.

63 *Maldonate* commeth up neerer to purpoſe; *It is not ſaid, Shee departed not from the Temple, as if ſhee had dwelt and lodged in the Temple; for it was not lawfull, nor permitted unto women to dwell there:* Which, firſt, caſts off that impious and ridiculous folly of her reſiding in the moſt holy place. Secondly, Dwelling in the Temple is of large ſignification; it may referre to all the parts and cloſes of the Temple: In no part of the Temple properly called, did women or men make abode any longer then their ſervice required; as the High Prieſt only into the Sanctuary one time in the yeere, with bloud to make interceſſion and expiation: the Prieſt whoſe lot it was in the time of his courſe, to burne incenſe in the holy place twice every day, morning and evening: the Prieſts and Levites who offered the daily Sacrifices, into the Prieſts Ile: the cleane amongſt the people, into the peoples Court to doe their Devotions, heare the Law read and expounded, to receive benediction from the Prieſts, &c. In all which ſeverall roomes was no lodging or dwelling. But take the Temple in a large ſenſe, including all the bounds, liberties, limits, the cloſe and verge of the Temple, and ſo it is not true, there was no abiding or dwelling in the Temple. The High Prieſt had his Palace within that

that precinct: the Prieſts attending their ordinary turnes, had a Colledge, Society, a Commons, Lodging and Manſions during their ſervice within the Temple; as Biſhops, Deanes, Canons and Vicars in Cathedrall Churches have. *Baronius* brings an inſtance for womens ordinary reſiding there, out of 4 *Reg.* 11. 2. where it is ſaid, That *Joſaba* wife to *Jehojada* the Prieſt, hid *Joas* and his Nurſe ſixe whole yeeres together in the Temple, from the ſearch of *Athalia*, when ſhee deſtroyed all the Royall ſeed. To which it hath been anſwered, ſhee did nothing but with conſent and direction of her husband; which is not to purpoſe: It is not the Queſtion, by whoſe direction ſhee did it, but what ſhe did; that is apparent, ſhee hid him in the Temple. Secondly, it is ſaid, *Joſaba* was no Votary, either of tye, or ſpeciall devotion; this is as much impertinent, not ſo much as dreamed on by *Baronius*, who had confeſſed it, ſhee was a married woman, wife to *Jehojada*, High Prieſt, as hee ſuppoſed, whoſe Palace was within the Temple, or the cloſe; and ſhee dwelt, as was fitting, in her husbands houſe. Hee ſaith, ſhee hid *Joas* in ſome ſecret vault or reveſtry of the Temple; but I rather take it, of her owne houſe, being within the Temple; and herein, peradventure, *Baronius* was out; but without peradventure, in that hee ſaith, ſhee hid him in Gynæceo, in the womens Cloyſter; which if hee could prove, it would evict what hee deſires, That women had a Colledge within the Temple: but as hee propoſeth it, hee doth but beg the queſtion, and yet even ſo wee come not home: For the Quære is not about Prieſts, their wives, children, family, dwelling within the cloſe of the Temple; but, Whether within that cloſe there were any ſpeciall lodgings for receit of women dedicated to God by Primogeniture, Vow, or otherwiſe, which is not proved, nor can bee out of *Exod.* 38. 3.

64 Which is a third inſtance of *Baronius*, where mention is of women, watching and waiting in the Aſſemblies; at the doore of the Tabernacle of the Congregation: the like manner of ſpeech is in 1 *Sam.* 2. 22. upon which paſſages hee ſuppoſeth that there were adjoyning unto the Temple certaine lodgings in which thoſe women dwelt, who either had vowed themſelves unto Gods ſervice, or had been ſo conſecrated by their parents, or by right of Primogeniture belonged unto God; *Aben Ezra* is cited for verification, who upon the fore-remembred place of *Exodus*, writeth thus, *There were in Iſrael women ſerving God, who deſpiſing all worldly vanity, did offer up their looking-glaſſes unto the Lord, as by them caſt off, as having no uſe for them; they repaired daily to the doore of the Tabernacle, to ſay their devotions, to heare the Law read unto them:* which doth not prove any thing for lodgings at the Temple, but proves directly they might ſo attend, and yet have no lodgings: for certaine it is, at the Tabernacle of the Congregation they had none; nay, ſaith the text, they repayred thither; therefore, doubtleſſe they dwelt not there. The Tabernacle had no manſions in it, nor ſo much as about it for *Moſes* or *Aaron*:

The bleſſed Virgin was not a Nun there, as ſome would have it.

Aaron: and ſo was the faſhion when the ſonnes of *Eli* wrought folly in Iſrael; the Arke of the Lord as then dwelt in Tents, but the women ſpoken of had their reſidence and lodging in their owne Tents, where they were quartered with their owne Tribe, under one of the foure Standards of *Juda, Joſeph, Dan, Ruben*; from thence they came, and repaired daily at morning and evening Sacrifice, as *Anna* long after did unto the Temple, but made not their habitation there. So *Jonathan, ben Ugiel* the Paraphraſt, *Alternis rem Divinam, & familiarem curabant*, and ſo could not be Aſcetæ, Votaries, or profeſſed Nuns. It is poſſible, that at the Temple there were ſome Virgins, ſome Widowes, ſome Wives deputed for ſome ſpeciall ſervice, but onely for a time, none for ever; nor is it unlikely that of ſuch there might be Societies and Combinations; nor is there any reaſon to quarrell that interpretation of *excubantes*, which is a military phraſe, and *Num.* 4. 23. is rendered λειτουργεῖν, which is the word for Gods ſervice in the new Teſtament. Gods ſervice in Iſrael was firſt whereſoever the Arke was fixed before the building of the Temple; and after it was built, at Jeruſalem: In both, devout women conſecrated themſelves more ſpecially unto divine ſervice; but what manner it was, how performed, it cannot be reſolved, for we are not taught.

The Authors own opinion concerning her education.

65 But for practice in Iſrael, of later yeers, wee are referred to 2 *Mac.* 3. 19. *And the women girt with ſack-cloth under their breaſts, were flocking every where in the ſtreets; The Virgins alſo ſhut up in their Chambers, ranne ſome unto the gates, ſome unto the walls, others looked out at the windowes:* Which is no more to our purpoſe, then a private houſe belongs unto the Temple, or a civill cuſtome to divine ſervice. For the parties were young maides unmarried, kept within doores, from gadding, goſſipping, or walking abroad, as was the cuſtome of the Jewes; theſe houſe-keepers, upon the ſudden noiſe of that uncouth action there remembred, forgat themſelves, and did as is there remembred. *Baronius* was deceived, who took them for Cloiſterrers. Beſide, there was a rule amongſt the Jewes, For a woman to converſe with Prieſts in the Temple, or to be ſeene in that holy place amongſt men, nor Law, nor gravity doth permit. Nor were men and women intermingled pell mell in their Synagogues at divine ſervice, no more then afterwards in the Primitive Church. For my owne opinion, I take it, the bleſſed Virgin was the only, and the firſt-born childe of her mother; that ſhee was not vowed unto Gods ſervice, nor brought up in the Temple, but redeemed for the price appointed in the Law, brought up at home in her fathers houſe, under the diſcipline of her parents, being an honeſt, godly couple. By her parents, or her guardians (her parents were dead) or by ſome of her kindred, who had the tuition and bringing of her up, and not by the Prieſts at Jeruſalem, was ſhe affianced with intent of marriage unto *Joſeph.*

Caſtrio his fabulous narration of the Virgins eſpouſals to *Joſeph.*

66 For we are told by fablers, that when ſhee came of age, *Joſeph* was by the Prieſts thought upon to be her husband: Thus they in generall, but differ in particulars; ſome ſay it was by lot, others that by direction

direction and advice; a third, that *Joseph* was well knowne unto the Priests, having lived amongst them, for an honest and a sober man. *Castrius* out of all those Relators hath compiled us a Story, which is this; When the holy Virgin came to marriageable yeeres, and the Priests, to whose oversight, charge and custody shee was committed, thought upon bestowing her in marriage, and advising upon whom they might resolve, they took occasion at the Feast of Dedication to conferr with her kindred and friends thereabout, many of them being then in Town. For being, as she was, a faire young maiden, grown in stature, and to yeeres of discretion, they accounted it unseemly to have her converse any longer with Priests, so certainly resolved to give her in marriage; with which their purpose she was made acquainted: but her answer was with all modesty and respect, that in no case she would grant her consent; first because her parents had vowed her to Gods service: Then, because herselfe had solemnly vowed to live a Virgin. The Priests receiving such an unexpected answer, thought it deserved to be taken into further consideration: for, the person and presence, the vertuous behaviour and deportment, the great sanctity of life universally observed in the young maiden, gave them cause to surmise, God had some secret intent and purpose for her. Enforce her to marriage they durst not, resolve what to doe suddenly they could not. They held it sacriledge, as it was indeed, to passe that away to anothers right or possession, which was given and consecrated unto God; but not to bestow a young maid in marriage, being of growth and yeers marriageable, was against the ancient custome of the Jewes. Should they marry her to a Priest, in their opinion, by so doing they satisfied her own, and her parents intent, to bequeath her, howsoever, to Gods service; but because shee was an heire and inheretrix, it was against Law to marry her out of her owne Tribe. Being thus in suspence, and not knowing what to do, they thought best referr it unto God and Divine dispensation, and to consult the Oracle; which accordingly they did, and received answer, that they should cause to convene and meet together all unmarried men of the Family of *David* that were then come up at the Feast, and that party upon whom the lot should fall must be her husband; but upon condition with resolution not to know her by right of marriage, but solely to be a guardian of her Virginity. *Interim*, she often and earnestly besought God in her praiers, not to suffer any change of purpose or intent in her self: and from him she was willed not to feare, but referre her selfe unto God and his providence, who would dispose of all things for her best behoofe, and to be ruled by the Priests. At the appointed time the unmarried men of the House of *David* met, and lots being cast, by Gods disposition she fell to *Joseph* of Bethlehem, a Carpenter by his trade, a man of yeers, an honest, godly, religious man, a man no otherwise affected to single life then her selfe, who had hitherto knowne no woman: Of him, a man so affected, did God in his secret counsell make especiall choice; and then, as the fashion was for espousals in Israel, one of the Priests taking her by the

hand, delivered her over unto *Joseph* for his Wife, by putting her right hand into his. This was in *December*, the 16. yeer of her age current, as much as from the 8. of *September*. These espousals so celebrated with generall approbation, and joy upon all hands; *Joseph*, at the end of that Feast of Dedication, delivered her unto her friends and kinsfolks, to returne with them to Nazareth, to her owne house, which as heire unto her parents, did belong unto her; Himselfe went home to Bethlehem, where he dwelt, there to take order for, and dispose of his affaires, and to provide for all things against the day of marriage.

Whether *Joseph* by lot was chosen for her husband.

67 Thus hath *Castrius* contrived us a fine smooth Narration about the Virgins espousals unto *Joseph*, out of those Romancies who formerly have legended concerning the point. Some of them are probable and may be so; others be meer hereticall fictions; as of her espousall by the Priests with lot, of her virginity vowed before her marriage; lots to be cast are not so much suspected, as to bee cast by the Priests. *Epiphanius* is not against them, whose words are these, *Joseph*, an old man, and a widower, lots being cast upon the widowers and bachelors of every Tribe, for the bestowing in marriage of such Virgins, as being the first born, male and female, had in the Temple been dedicated unto God and his service, did light upon the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and accordingly had her for his wife. From whence hee had this narration, I cannot say, but most likely out of some Apocryphall writings, such as many were obtruded in very ancient time upon the Church. But what need a lot to be cast (for generall custome of the Jewes we know none) when her parents and her guardians could determine it, with her own approbation and consent: though, had her breeding and bringing up been true, it might have well been committed to God by lot to determine; for so by lot, that is, by a visible signe was *Aaron* and his sons chosen Priests, so was *Achan* discovered, so *Jonathan* taken, so *Saul* appointed to be King, and *Matthias* substituted into the roome of *Judas*: were I perswaded as *Baronius* is, the passage was true, I should hold it with *Castrio*, most probably to have been by lot.

Whether *Joseph* was a bachelor or widower, or had any children.

68 Next for his state and calling when he married the Virgin, it is by them concluded, hee was a Carpenter; this is infallibly true, the Scripture saith it, *Mat.* 13. 53. *Is not this the Carpenters son?* whose trade was no disparagement amongst the Jewes; for, as *Baronius* notes truly out of *Josephus*, the Jews in contracting or bestowing of their children, did not so much regard means, wealth, greatnesse of temporall estate, as they did (to the shame of Christians) honest life, and good conditions. But whether he were a widower, or a bachelor, it is not so soon determined: I find two severall opinions amongst the Ancients; the one originally proceeding from *Hierome*, the other held, but not invented by *Epiphanius*; *Hieromes* was thus, *Helvidius*, an impious and prodigious heretick, denyed the perpetuall virginity of the blessed Virgin, holding that she had other children beside our Saviour; *Hierome* opposing this blasphemous wretch, in the heat of opposition affirmeth, that *Joseph* was not only a single man, but a maid, never knowing woman,

man, as never being married before. Thou saist that *Mary* did not continue a Virgin; I goe farther, and dare say of *Joseph*, that he also was a Virgin, that a perfect Virgin-child might bee borne in true wedlock, wherein man and wife were both Virgins. For if that holy man never did, as doubtlesse he never did, commit fornication, because hee is said to have been a just man; and if it bee not found remembred in Scripture, that he had any other wife besides *Mary*; and if he were assumed rather as a guardian unto the blessed Virgin, then an husband, it remains that he who had the honour to be called our Lords father, was both then and ever, living and dying, a pure Virgin. So *Hierome*, with great vehemency and passion, as he useth, but with as many weak proofs almost as words. Concerning that most blessed above women, there is no Christian but doth constantly beleeve and professe, that shee lived and died a most pure, immaculate Virgin, *Joseph* never knew her, shee never had childe beside our Saviour; but for *Joseph*'s perpetuall Virginity, which it may be was so, and is not materiall whether it were so or not, *Hieromes* proofs are very poor, that both must be Virgins, *Mary* and *Joseph*, because Christ was to be a perfect Virgin. It might rather be said, Christ was therefore borne in that state of marriage, in which wedlock and virginity meet together, that so being born in that estate, he might honour and sanctifie both estates, which are both ordained by God, and both are honourable in the sight of God. Secondly, if that reason hold sufficient, why were not *John Baptist* or *John* the Evangelist both so born, who both lived and died pure Virgins? much rather, why was not the Virgin herselfe so borne, who above all others lived and dyed so, who was such both before, and after, and in child birth? Next, what an argument is this? *Joseph* was a just man, therefore never committed fornication: I verily beleeve *Joseph* was a just man, and as verily beleeve hee never committed fornication; but his not committing fornication, will not follow upon his being a just man: for *Hierome* cannot say, No just man ever committed fornication; *David* was a just man, in my apprehension, a man *secundum cor*, made as God would have him; yet *David* did more then commit fornication, he committed adultery and murther both. This is inconsequent; that is inconvenient, to say, it is not written, therefore it never was; St. *John* saith expressely, *Jesus* did many things which are not written. Indeed we may chuse whether we will affiantly beleeve any thing that is not written; but to say positively, It never was, because it is not written, is unworthy *Hieromes* learning, and is elsewhere by him rejected, out of the humour of opposition. But lastly, it is his private fancy and opinion, not heard of before, nor followed afterward, untill *Bede* took it up, who writeth thus; *There want not some who teach and professe, that* Joseph, *husband to the sacred & immaculate Virgin* Mary, *had, by a former wife, divers children, named in Scripture the Lords brethren; and some others impiously do teach, that after the birth of our Saviour, he had other children by the B. Virgin. But we, beloved, must know, and without scruple confesse it, that not only the immaculate mother of our Lord, but also her husband, spouse, or ra-*

ther cuſtos *of Virginity*, *was altogether unacquainted with any matrimoniall act*; thus *Bede*: and after him *Petrus Damiani*, *Anſelme*, *Rupert*, and others have brought it to be the common Tenent of the Roman Schools; *Auguſtine* is alſo cited by *Baronius* for the ſame opinion, *Serm.* 14. *de Nat. Dom.* but S. *Auguſtine* was not Author of that falſed Homily; the learned *Molanus*, with the Divines of Lovaine, have rejected it, and cenſured it, to be, as it is, the work of an unlettered Novice. *Theodoret* is alſo relyed upon by the Cardinall, who *in cap.* 1. *Epiſt. ad Galat.* ſaith, that S. *James* was not the ſonne of *Joſeph* by *Mary*, which is moſt true; nor yet by any former wife; but he who is named the brother of our Lord, was the ſon of *Cleophas*, and coſen to *Jeſus*, coſens being uſually in Scripture ſtiled ſons or brethren; which might ſo be, and yet *Joſeph* have children by a former wife: and if *James* were not, in *Theodorets* opinion, the ſon of *Joſeph*, yet it followes not, hee was therefore of opinion none elſe were; other children hee might have, though not him.

Habe *Joſeph* cum *Maria* conjuge tua cõmunem virginitatem mẽbrorum; quia de Virgineis mẽbris virtus naſcitur Angelorum; ſit *Maria* ſponſa Chriſti in carne ſua virginitate ſervata; ſis autem & tu pater Chriſti cum caſtitate, & honorificentiâ virginitatis, ut de Virgineis membris genitricis, ſæculis Chriſtianis nulla ſit zelotypia. Guade itaq; *Joſeph*, nimiumq; congaude virginitati *Mariæ*, qui ſolus meruiſti virginitatem affectam poſſidere conjugii, quia per meritum virginitatis ita ſeparatus es à concubitu uxoris, ut pater dicaris Salvatoris.

Divers fathers that accord, that *Joſeph* was a widower, and had foure children.

69 Before *Hierome*, the opinion of *Epiphanius* was the generally received opinion, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Churches, that *Joſeph* was a widower, not a bachelor; that he had another wife, and children by her before he married the Virgin, and her name, they ſay, was *Salome*; they likewiſe name ſundry of his children by her; four ſons, all fellow Diſciples unto our Saviour, *Judas Thaddæus*, *Simon* the Canaanite, *Joſeph*, and *Iames*, of which, two were Apoſtles, the other two were not; and two ſiſters, *Salome* and *Heſter*. For this opinion elder Authors are vouchable then *Epiphanius*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, after him, or with him, *Chryſoſtome*, *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius*; amongſt the Latins, *Ambroſe* and *Hilary*, and *Origen* in *Mat.* 13. writes of it, as of an opinion elder then his time, *Fratres autem* Jeſu *putabant nonnulli eſſe, ex traditione Hebræorum, ſumptâ occaſione ex Evangelio, quod titulum habet juxta* Petrum, *aut ex libro* Jacobi, *filios* Joſeph *ex alia uxore priore, quæ convixerat ei priuſquam duceret* Mariam.

Concerning the Lords brothers, that they were children by another woman.

70 But *Baronius*, and ſuch as with him follow *Hierome*, ſuppoſe they have diſpatched the former opinion, if they can perſwade, for prove it they cannot, that he was no widower; and their perſwaſion is taken from telling us, that ſuch as be named the Lords brethren or ſiſters were his kindred at large, either by fathers or mothers ſide, and not the ſons of *Ioſeph*: to admit it, for grant it we do not, yet is it not therefore certain *Ioſeph* was no widower; the words *brother* and *ſiſter* be doubtfull I grant, and taken for kinsfolk, ſometime afarre off; *Abraham* ſaith to *Lot*, *We are brethren*, he was his uncle; *Ioab* to *Amaſa*, *How doth my brother?* they were ſiſters children; S. *Paul* of the Jews, they were his brethren, of the ſame nation; but not therefore is it ever ſo taken; the prime intention is a brother indeed, and that being grounded, other acceptions may hold, elſe not. And certainly there was ſomwhat

what in it, that only S. *Iames* is ſo frequently named the Lords brother, as if by a ſpeciall intereſt more then other. It is a point of indifferency, and ſo rather to bee left upon uncertainties, then peremptorily to bee concluded upon, with faction, oppoſition or virulency, in which ſort it was not anciently debated, though great difference in opinion was. For my part, I rather imbrace the eldeſt opinion, countenanced by men ſo many, and of credit, that *Ioſeph* was a widower, and had children by a former wife, who are named the Lords brethren, after popular apprehenſion, in which our Saviour was reputed for his ſon. It is cuſtomary for Gods Spirit to deliver and ſpeak according to the ordinary apprehenſion of men. That novell conceit of *Hierome*, that *Ioſeph* was a Virgin, is againſt their own intentionall purpoſe who ſo hold it, that *Ioſeph* was deſigned, not her husband, but her guardian. It had been a wrong done unto a man who never had iſſue by any woman, to have put him upon ſuch a marriage, whereby he never ſhould have iſſue, being of the tribe of *Iuda*, and family of *David*, in which poſterity was much made of, for many cauſes. Herein let every man abound in his owne opinion; yet in a point hiſtoricall, that may give light to ſome paſſages in holy Scripture, I will according to my poore reading, ſet downe the received opinion in the Church.

71 *Mat.* 13. 54. and *Mar.* 6. 3. the men of Nazareth offended at our Saviours doctrine, ſpeak thus contemptuouſly of him; *Is not thus the Carpenter, the ſon of the Carpenter, the ſon of* Joſeph, *of* Mary? *are not his brethren called* James, *and* Joſes, *&* Judas, *&* Simeon? *Are not his ſiſters here with us? whence then hath he all theſe things?* And in *Ioh.* 19. *There was ſtanding by the Croſſe, his mother, his mothers ſiſter*, Mary *the wife of* Cleophas; which texts have afforded much diſpute about the kindred of our Saviour: Firſt, for his aunt, his mothers ſiſter, *Mary Cleophe*, concerning whom we have relation, that *Anna*, *Maries* mother, had three husbands, & 3. daughters, by each husband one; her husbands are ſaid to have been *Ioacim*, *Cleophas*, *Salome*; the 3. daughters were all named *Maries*; that they married 3. husbands, *Ioſeph*, *Alpheus*, *Zebedeus*, that as the bleſſed *Mary* bare *Ieſus*, ſo the ſecond *Mary*, wife of *Cleophas* had 4. ſons, *Iames*, *Ioſeph*, *Simon*, *Iudas*; the third *Mary*, by *Zebede*, had *Iames* & *Iohn*; concerning which, *Poſtillers* afford us theſe ill Verſes, but right ſenſe:

Many queſtions about our Saviours kindred, drawne from *Mar.* 6. 3. *Iohn* 19.

Anna *ſolet dici treis concepiſſe* Marias,
Quas genuere viri, Ioacim, Cleophas, Salomeque:
Has duxere viri Joſeph, Alphæus, Zebedæus,
Prima parit Chriſtum, Jacobumque *ſecunda minorem*,
Et Joſeph, *juſto peperit cum* Simone Judam:
Tertia majorem Jacobum, *volucremque* Johannem.

72 This was the ancient opinion of the Roman Schools & Pulpits, but abandoned in the latter. *Baron.* who is not traverſable for hiſtorical narrations, aſſures us confidently, that *Anna* never had but one husband *Ioacim*, but one child by him, *Mary* the mother of our Saviour; and his opinion is probable againſt the former: firſt, *Salome* was nor hers, nor any other womans husband, it is the name of a woman, not of a man.

Anna had not 3. husbands, for *Salome* (who is reckoned one) was not a man, but woman.

In *Josephus* *Salome* is wife to *Alexander* King of the Jewes; *Herods* ſiſter was another *Salome*, *Herod* had a daughter of that name, the dancing damſell, *Herodias* daughters name, was *Salome*, and *Mar.16. Mary Magdalen*, *Mary* the mother of *James*, and *Salome* brought ſpices; who was the mother of *Zebedees* children, elſewhere: ſo *Origen*; *Si autem oportet opinari, & dicere nomen matris filiorum* Zebedæi, *dico quoniam quod hæc ipſa fuerit* Salome, *Pacifica appellata*; for ſo the name importeth: to whom agreeth *Chryſoſt. Homil.28. in Mat.* the Author of the imperfect work *Hom.35. Epiphanius*, *Theophylact*, *Euthymius*, and holy Scripture compared, puts it out of doubt. For whereas we read in *Mat.* 27. 56. *Among whom was* Mary Magdalen, Mary *the mother of* James *and* Joſes, *& the mother of* Zebedees *children*: S. Mar. 15.40. in the ſame paſſage writes thus; *Amongſt whom was* Mary Magdalen, *and* Mary *the mother of* James *the leſſe*, *and* Joſes, *with* Salome. Shee was therefore a woman, not a man; *Cleophas* was a man, I grant, but not husband unto S. *Anne*; for *Joacim*, by themſelves, who will have him her husband, is ſaid to have been her firſt husband, ſo that *Mary*, our Lords mother, daughter to *Joacim*, muſt have been elder then *Mary* the daughter of *Anna* by *Cleophas*, her ſecond husband, which *Mary*, they ſay, was mother to *Simeon* and his brethren; but it is cleer by *Euſebius*, that *Simeon* was 11. yeeres elder then our Saviour, and yet our Saviour was borne before his mother was fully 16. yeers old; ſo that *Mary*, *Cleophas* his daughter was forwardly married, and a mother before ſhe was 5. yeers old. The truth is, *Mary Cleopæ* was his wife, not his daughter, and ſurvived at the Paſſion of our Saviour. *Hegeſippus*, an ancient Eccleſiaſticall Writer, remembred by *Euſebius*, *lib* 3. *cap.*31. ſaith thus; *Some there were who accuſed* Simon *the ſon of Cleophas*, *to have been of the houſe of* David, *and allyed unto our Saviour*; *wherefore he was put to death under* Trajan, *aged* 120. *yeers*; and ſo muſt needs have been at leaſt 11. yeers elder then our Saviour. Secondly, they who held that *Anna* had three husbands, whereof *Joacim* was the firſt, do ſay ſhe was of good age before ſhe bare the B. Virgin; and that being naturally barren, miraculouſly by prayer ſhe obtained a childe from God. But for a woman of her naturall complexion to marry again in her old age twice, and in her almoſt decrepit age, to have children afterwards by both her husbands, muſt alſo be a miracle, and produce a multiplying of miracles, without juſt cauſe, which is not warrantable, cannot be expected, nor be exemplified in holy Scripture; Τὰ μὲν τοι τοιαῦτα, ὡς ῥυπάσματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁρῶμεν, wee read ſuch relations, as blemiſhes in the Church, ſaith Saint *Baſil* in his Canons to *Amphilochius*.

Mary Cleophas was not ſiſter to the Virgin; coſen germans called brothers, &c.

73 If then *Cleophas* could not be ſecond husband to S. *Anne*, after *Ioacims* deceaſe, nor *Salome*, becauſe a woman, could not be her husband at all, then doubtleſſe was *Ioacim* her only husband, and in all probability the B. Virgin her only child: nor is this impeached by that text of S. *Iohn*, *And there was ſtanding by the croſſe of* Jeſus, *his mother*, *and the ſiſter of his mother*, Mary *the wife of* Cleophas. She is not either there or elſewhere ſaid to be the daughter of *Anna*, but ſiſter to his mother: ſi-

ſter

ſter ſhe might be, thus; *Joſeph*, husband unto the B. Virgin, had a brother named *Cleophas*, his wives name was *Mary*; Their two wives are named, as they were, ſiſters; that *Ioſeph* and *Cleophas* were brothers, *Hegeſippus* ſaith it *lib. 3. cap. 2.* in *Euſebius*, that after the martyrdome of S. *Iames*, Biſhop of Jeruſalem, and finall deſolation of the Temple, thoſe Apoſtles who were then alive, thoſe Diſciples who had been with the Lord, and others of his kindred met together, about electing of a Biſhop in his place, and that all, upon great deliberation, with unanimous conſent, made choice of *Simeon*, ſon of *Cleophas* to ſucceed, who was reputed the Lords kinſman, becauſe *Cleophas* and *Ioſeph* were brethren: the place of *Euſebius* is, *Poſt martyrium, rumor eſt, Apoſtolos & Diſcipulos Domini de eo concilium cepiſſe, quem ad hoc dignum judicare deberent, qui* Jacobo *ſuccederet; atque ita cunctos unâ & eâdem ſententiâ* Simeonem, Cleopæ *filium, cujus & Evangelica Hiſtoria meminit, ſede paraciæ Jeruſolymitanæ dignum judicaſſe, quem conſobrinum Servatoris dicunt:* Hegeſippus *enim* Cleopam *fratrem* Joſephi *fuiſſe ſcribit.* To whom agree *Theodoret in 1. ad Galat. Epiphanius, Hæreſ. 66. & 78. Theophylact, Euthymius, Nicephorus, Bede*, and others; and therefore *Euſebius* ſaith againe, *lib. 3. cap. 26.* If any man ſay, that *Simeon* beheld our Lord with his eyes, heard him with his eares, he hath good cauſe to ſay ſo; for not only his long life conſorts with that aſſertion, but the Scripture confirms it, where mention is made of *Mary Cleophas.* And it may be this *Cleophas* was that Diſciple of whom mention is *Luk. 24.* that he ſaw our Lord after his reſurrection, and knew him in his breaking bread. *Hierome* againſt *Helvidius* nameth *Mary*, wife of *Cleophas*, mother of *Iames* and *Ioſes*, our Lords aunt, as ſhe was by affinity, in common reputation, as *Iacob* was held his father. Therefore howſoever *Mary Cleophæ* was not properly ſiſter to the B. Virgin, as daughter of *Anna*; yet might ſhe be called ſiſter, and her four ſons, *Iames, Ioſes, Iudas, Simeon* the Lords brethren; for coſen germans, ſiſters or brothers children, are uſually ſtiled brothers and ſiſters: and if that *Cleophas* was *Ioſephs* brother, and *Ioſeph* commonly reputed Chriſts father, why might not his children be named Chriſts brethren?

74 Four things may be talked of, and with ſome probability be concluded, concerning ſuch as in Scripture bee named the Lords brethren: 1. Who was their father. 2. Who was their mother. 3. Who they were themſelves, and how many. 4. What ſiſters they had. For their father, ſome ſay they had but one & the ſame; all others, that they had two: That one is ſaid to have been *Ioſeph*, the Virgins husband, whom they affirme to have had children by a former wife. So *Hilary Can. 3.* upon *Mat. Ergo & conjugis nomen ſponſa ſuſcepit; & poſt partum, in conjugem, re cognitâ, tantum Ieſu mater oſtendatur. Ut quemadmodum juſto* Joſeph *deputaretur e. juſdem* Mariæ *in virginitate conjugium, ita venerabilis ejus oſtenderetur in* Jeſu *matre virginitas. Verum homines praviſſimi hinc præſumunt opinionis ſuæ authoritate, quod plures Dominum noſtrum fratres habuiſſe ſit traditum: quaſi* Mariæ *filii fuiſſent, ac non patris* Joſeph *ex priore conjugio: Therefore being eſpouſed, ſhee took the name of wife; and after child-birth ſhe was acknowledged by her husband only the mother of* Jeſus; *to the intent, that as her virginity*

Whether *Cleophas* was brother unto *Joſeph*, and why *James* peculiarly is ſo often called the Lords brother. Foure things may probably be concluded.

virginity was to be reputed marriage with righteous Ioſeph; *ſo her admirable virginity ſhould alſo be accounted of in the mother of* Jeſus. *But profane men impiouſly preſume to ſtrengthen their opinion, that our Lord had other brethren, as if they had been* Ioſephs *children by* Mary, *and not by a former wife.* Therefore *Helvidius* was not the firſt who blaſphemed, that *Mary* by her husband *Ioſeph* had other children beſide *Ieſus*; which is alſo apparent out of *Ambroſe, in* 1. *ad Gal. Quidam ducti inſaniâ, hos veros Domini fratres, de* Maria *natos, impiâ aſſertione contendunt. Ambroſe* and *Hilary* were elder then *Hierome*, who make *Helvidius* firſt Author of it. *Ambroſe*, for his private opinion holds with *Hilary*, that the brethren and ſiſters of our Saviour were children of *Ioſeph* by a former wife. *Hic* Jacobus *filius fuit* Joſeph, *qui ideo pater Domini appellatus eſt, quia &* Joſeph *pater ejus, etiam Domini pater appellatus eſt. This* James *was ſonne unto* Joſeph, *who was named our Lords brother, becauſe* Joſeph *his father was named alſo our Lords father.* Herewith agreeth *Epiphanius in Hæreſ.* 28. 29. 51. 78. *Nyſſen Serm.* 2. *de Reſurrect. Chryſoſt. Serm. de Annuntiatione* and many moe: upon which premiſſes, *Petavius* the Jeſuite may be queſtioned, who thoſe *cæteri omnes* were, oppoſite in this to *Epiphanius* ſome few, in part may be ſo; as they who make *Alpheus* their father, becauſe *Iames*, who more punctually and frequently is ſtiled the Lords brother, *Mat.* 13. *Mar.* 3. 18. *Act.* 1. 13. is ſaid to have been the ſon of *Alphei*; *Iames* the ſon of *Alphei*, ſaith *Bede*, is the ſame who is called in the Goſpel our Lords brother; for *Mary*, wife unto *Alpheus*, was ſiſter unto *Mary*, mother of *Ieſus*; her S. *John* nameth *Mary Cleophæ*, peradventure, becauſe *Cleophas* and *Alpheus* are both one; or becauſe *Mary*, after the death of *Alpheus*, by whom ſhe had *Iames*, married *Cleophas*, and bare him *Simeon*, our Lords coſen, becauſe he was ſon to *Cleophas* brother unto *Ioſeph*: where yet *Bede* is for that which *Hierome* & others will not grant, that *Ioacim* by *Anna* had other children beſide our Lady. *Abdias*, who is ſaid to have written the Apoſtles lives, beſtowes upon the foure brethren foure ſeverall fathers, and ſo makes them coſens, not brethren: *Ioſeph*, hee ſaith, was father to *Iames*, and meaneth by a former wife, which might be the cauſe why *Iames* is peculiarly ſtiled the Lords brother; *Alpheus*, he ſaith, was father to *Simon* and *Iudas*; and yet *Iudas* himſelfe doth, by appropriation, ſtile himſelfe the brother of *Iames*: ſo that, in all likelihood, hee was neerer to *Iames* then *Simon*, whom they make his brother by father and mother: but *Abdias* forgat to tell us who was father to *Ioſes*, and yet had hee named him, wee ſhould have had but three fathers to foure brethren.

Concerning other kindred of our Lords by the mothers ſide, eſpecially whether there were two or three *Jameſes*; whether *James* the Lords brother was an Apoſtle: not only the 12. were called Apoſtles.

75 Further, there be who tell us, that *Ioſephs* firſt wives name was *Eſcha*, after whoſe death he married *Mary*: ſo reports *Hierome* upon *Mat.* 12. A fellow that pretends to be *Hippolitus* Biſhop of Portua in *Nicephorus*, and *Nicephorus* himſelfe *lib.* 3. *cap.* 16. ſaith, *Salome* was his firſt wife, and that *Salome* was daughter to *Aggei*, brother of *Zachary* the Prieſt, father to *John Baptiſt*: *Ioſeph* the Carpenter, by his wife *Salome*, who was the daughter of *Aggei*, brother to *Zachary*, a Prophet, and father to *John Baptiſt*: *Zacharias* and *Aggei* being ſons to *Barachias* the Prieſt, had four

ſons

ſons, *Iames*, *Simon*, *Iudas*, *Ioſes*, and two daughters, *Eſther* and *Thamar*; ſo that *Salome* and *Iohn Baptiſt* were brothers children: *Aggæus* was ſon to *Barachias*, and uncle to *Iohn*; alſo *Zachary* was brother to *Aggei*, and uncle to *Salome*, *Ioſephs* wife. When I name *Salome*, I doe not meane *Salome* of Bethlehem, the midwife, who was coſen to *Eliſabeth*, and to the holy Virgin *Mary*, as S. *Luke* declareth in his Goſpel. *Abdias* ſaith, that *Mary*, daughter of *Cleophas*, bare *Simeon* and *Iudas* to *Alpheus*; and after his deceaſe was married againe to *Joſeph*, a Carpenter of Nazareth, and by him had *Iames* the leſſe. *Theophylact*, and others be of opinion, that *Salome* marrying *Ioſeph* after her firſt husband was dead, had by him all thoſe foure ſons. *Hierome* againſt *Helvidius*, in ſo great difference, concludeth thus, I will not herein be contentious; Let *Mary Cleophas* be one woman, and *Mary Iames* and *Ioſes* be another, if ſo be they yeeld, that *Mary* our Lords mother was mother to none of them: And ſo ſay I. Thirdly, we may conſider theſe our Lords brethren two waies: Firſt in generall, all of them together: then in particular, every one apart. Generally it is upon all hands confeſſed, that thoſe four, *Iames*, *Iudas*, *Simon*, *Ioſes*, are often named the Lords brothers, and that their mothers name was *Mary*, and that *Iude* the Apoſtle was brother to *Iames*; but what *Iames* he was, there is queſtion: *Iude* himſelf is ſaid to have been a married man, his wifes name *Mary*, by whom he had two ſons, *Iames* and *Ioſes*: ſo *Niceph. lib. 1. cap. 53.* It is ſecondly much queſtioned, whether *Iames* the Lords brother, and *Iames* the ſon of *Alphei* be the ſame man: If they bee the ſame, they muſt needs have the ſame father, then *Cleophas* and *Alpheus* are one perſon; if they were not the ſame, then was *Iames* the Lords brother none of the Apoſtles, becauſe there be but two, not three *Iameſes* amongſt the Apoſtles; and divers ancient Writers doe acknowledge only two *Iameſes*, the ſon of *Zebedee* and brother of *Iohn*, and *Iames* the Juſt, called our Lords brother, ſon of *Alpheus*; and this ſeemeth to bee true: for, in *Gal. 1.* we read, *Other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none, but* James *the Lords brother:* he was an Apoſtle then; but in the liſt of the 12. Apoſtles there were only two of that name, the ſon of *Zebedee*, and the ſon of *Alphei*, as *Mat. 10. 2. Mar. 3. 16. Luk. 6. 14. Iames* the Lords brother was not ſon of *Zebedee*; therefore if he were an Apoſtle, as S. *Paul* ſaith hee was, he muſt needs be the ſon of *Alphei*. And the Church hath but two ſolemnities for but two *Iameſes*, upon July 24. for *James* the elder, ſon of *Zebedee*; upon May-day with S. *Philip*, for *Iames* the leſſe: now if he were not the ſon of *Alphei*, then is an Apoſtle without a feſtivity in the Church, which cannot be conceived. And yet *Hierome* in his Catalogue talks of moe then two: and upon *Eſay 17.* he relates the opinion of many, who held *James* the Lords brother to be none of the Apoſtles, and therefore not *James* the ſon of *Alphei*. *Chryſoſt.* and *Euthymius* out of him would make us beleeve, that *James* ſon of *Alphei* was a Publican, brother to S. *Matthew*: which is more, the Lords brethren, in the Goſpel, be conſidered of as apart from the Apoſtles, as *Mat. 12. 46.* It being told Chriſt, *Behold thy mother and thy brethren ſtand without, deſiring to ſpeak with thee*; *Hee ſtretching out his hands to his diſciples, ſaid, Behold my mother and my brethren:*

brethren: but Disciples and Apostles be not the same. 2. He meant Disciples there present, some might be absent. 3. Brethren might be kinsfolks, *Joh.* 2. 12. *After this he went down to Capernaum, himselfe, his mother, and his Disciples*; where is no mention of his brethren at all: but *Joh.* 7. 3. there is mention of them by way of distinction from his Disciples; for his brethren said unto him, *Depart hence, that thy Disciples may also see thy works*; for neither did his brethren as yet beleeve in him: and *Act.* 1. 14. the two *Iameses* being included in the list of the Apostles, it is added, *All these perseuered with* Mary *the mother of* Jesus, *and with his brethren*: and S. *Paul* 1 *Cor.* 15. puts a difference betwixt *Iames* the brother of our Lord, and the 11. Apostles, *After this he was seen of the* 11. *Apostles, then of* 500. *brethren at once, then of* James, *then of all the Apostles*; wch yet rather ranks him with the 11. then excludes him: twice he appeared to all the Apostles jointly, and once to *Iames* his brother, severally. Lastly, it is objected, that all the Apostles were ordained Bishops by Christ himself; but *Iames* was appointed Bishop by the Apostles: which is a meere fallacy; he was with them ordained Bishop by Christ, ἀπολύτως, indefinitely, as well as they: but hee was by their generall consent specially assigned to Jerusalem, as *Paul* saith, *the Circumcision was given to* Peter, *as the Gentiles to* himselfe. Not exclusively; for then, what function had the other Apostles, all the world being or Jewes or Gentiles? but principally; and so was Jerusalem assigned to *Iames* his care; Howsoever it is true, that the word *Apostle* is not confined to the 12. only, for *Paul* and *Barnabas* were Apostles both; and *Hierome* saith, that in a generality, whosoever had seene our Lord in the flesh, was held and accounted an Apostle, and so doth hee understand that of 1 *Cor.* 15. *Hee was seene of all the Apostles*. *Hieromes* words are, Now whereas the title of an Apostle is conferred upon some other beside the 12. Apostles, the cause is, that custome whereby all that had seene our Lord in the flesh, and did afterwards preach the Gospel, were commonly said to be Apostles. Afterwards, in processe of time, others beside those who were ordained Apostles by our Saviour, were stiled Apostles, which that speech of the Apostle unto the Philippians doth sufficiently declare; *I thought it necessary to send* Epaphroditus, *our fellow-souldier, and fellow-labourer unto you, who is your Apostle, and the minister of my necessities*. So 2 *Cor.* 8. 23. Others, *the Apostles of the Churches, and the Glory of Christ*: *Silas* and *Iudas* are named Apostles by the Apostles themselves. Thus discourseth *Hierome*, that *Iames* the Lords brother might be stiled an Apostle, and yet none of the 12. which is true, but not much to purpose. That text of S. *Paul* admits no elusion, *Other of the Apostles saw I none, but only the Lords brother*, James. And so much for our Lords brethren and kindred by his mother. Now wee come to *Ioseph* his reputed father, of whom it is questioned, whether he were a widower, a father of children, or a single man when he married the blessed Virgin; and of what age he might be.

What *Ioseph* was; that he was a just man, but not borne without sin.

76 *Ioseph* in Scripture hath three titles given him; 1. a just man, 2. the husband of *Mary*, 3. the father of *Iesus*. No doubt, saith *Bernard*, this *Ioseph* was a good, a faithfull, an honest man unto whom the mother of our Lord

Lord was given in marriage; a faithfull and wiſe ſervant, no doubt hee was, whom our Lord gave, made, and appointed a comforter and ſolace to his mother, and the foſter-father of himſelfe incarnate. And without all queſtion, God, in honouring him with ſuch a wife as the moſt excellent amongſt women, did not the leaſt therein reward his vertuous life, his honeſt converſation, his goodneſſe towards God and towards men, according to that of the ſon of *Sirach*, *Eccl.* 26. 3. *A vertuous woman is a noble gift, who ſhall bee given for a good portion unto ſuch as feare the Lord. For an honeſt woman maketh her husband to have a joyfull heart, and ſhee ſhall fill the yeers of his life in peace.* But though God did much for him, yet he did not all. We muſt take heed of enlarging even in good things. Some *Poſtillers*, and others, having once broken up the Barriers of modeſty, goe blindely on, God knowes whither; they cannot be contented to advance the bleſſed Virgin above meaſure of mortality, to bee borne without guilt of originall ſin, but *Joſeph* muſt withall come to be partaker of ſanctification in the wombe. Fooliſh men, and idle, thus vainly to talke: God might make him an Eunuch, or chaſte from his birth, preſerve him a Virgin all his dayes; but he never preſerved him altogether without ſinne. I yet could never fancy *Hieromes* conceit, that *Ioſeph* was a Batcheler, or a Virgin, much leſſe this impiety, that he was not conceived in ſinne, nor did his mother without iniquity bring him forth: old and new Writers of diſcretion be againſt it. Of Nazareth hee was native, a Towne in Galilee, there he dwelt, and kept houſe, and had his children borne unto him by a former wife, *Are not his brethren and his ſiſters with us*, ſay the men of Nazareth? originally his Anceſtors were Bethlemites, as were the Virgins, being both iſſued from *David*, but dwelt not there, as our fablers report: a Tradeſman he was, of a manuary Trade; but of what Trade in particular, it is not agreed on, becauſe the word τέκτων is ambiguous for any maker, framer, builder, contriver: the moſt ancient opinion is, he was a Plough-wright; the moſt common, that hee was a Carpenter, whereof wee have already ſpoken; that hee was a Carpenter is the opinion of our Church, for ſo we tranſlate τέκτων in the Goſpel.

77 For his age there is no *conſtat* in Antiquity, either how old hee was when he married the bleſſed Virgin, how long he lived with her, or when he died; the Scriptures are ſilent utterly, more then that hee ſurvived to the 12. yeere of our Saviours life, which S. *Luke* alone hath left upon record, when hee tels of our Saviours diſputing in the Temple: though it is probable, hee lived after our Saviours miniſtery begun, as I ſhall ſhew in due courſe of Story. When he married the Virgin, if wee beleeve *Epiphanius*, hee was about foureſcore yeeres of age at leaſt: *Et poſt multos annos accepit* Mariam, *viduus, agens annum viduitatis ſuæ, fortaſsis octuageſimum & ultra: After many yeeres hee tooke* Mary *for his wife, himſelfe being a widower, and as it is probable, having lived a widower* 80. *yeers or upward*; rather, as it is very much improbable, and incredible. For a man of that age was unfit to be a Guardian and Tutor, as it were, to the bleſſed Virgin, being not much above twelve yeers of age, which

Joſephs age, and uncertain death. He concludeth that all theſe things are but apocryphall Traditions and Uncertainties.

which is the reaſon aſſerted by *Epiphanius* and others, why ſhe was betrothed unto *Ioſeph*; and not with any hope or purpoſe to have children by her. I hold it very probable, hee was of growne, able, and confirmed yeers, whether about forty or fifty, in his full ſtrength, being able to undergo that labour, travell courſe, which we know he was after put unto. Next, as uncertain it is, when he died: Some imagine him alive at our Saviours Paſſion; which, if it be ſo, and he were 80. yeers a widower when he married the Virgin, he muſt needs be of a decrepit old age. Probable it is, hee was not then alive, becauſe our Saviour from his Croſſe commends his mother to *John*. Others dreame he was dead before our Saviours miniſtery begun, becauſe there is no memory of him afterward. *Epiphanius* againſt the Antidicomanitæ writes thus, Joſeph *ſurvived the returne out of Egypt many yeers*; at which return our Saviour was four yeers old, and *Joſeph* then 84. We are ſure he ſurvived eight yeeres after that: for when *Ieſus* was twelve yeeres old they went up to Jeruſalem, they loſt him, they ſought him, they found him in the Temple. After theſe yeers (but how long? how many? when?) *Ioſeph* died; and wee reade not at all after this any mention made in the Goſpel of his father, but onely of his mother and his brethren; as, *Thy mother and thy brethren ſtand without*: and, *Are not his brothers and his ſiſters with us?* And if *Ioſeph* had ſurvived at his Paſſion, (beſide that it is probable wee ſhould have heard of him) doubtleſſe our Saviour would have recommended his mother unto him, as being her *husband*; and not to the Diſciple whom hee loved. I conclude of all theſe fore-priſed paſſages, They are no points of piety or religion; it is not of faith or eternall ſalvation to hold one way or other concerning *Ioſeph*, his age, his country, his death; concerning his being a widower, a bachelor, a virgin, a father of children, or not. This we muſt beleeve, that, Children by the bleſſed Virgin hee had none: Her perpetuall virginity *before, in, after* the birth of our Saviour. And ſo we proceed from Uncertainties, the doubtfull relations of apocryphall Traditions, unto certaine paſſages and narrations upon aſſured grounds laid downe in holy Writ, concerning the Incarnation of our Saviour, which Saint *Luke* alone deduceth, ἄνωθεν, as himſelfe phraſeth, from afar, beginning with the proceſſe of our Saviours Fore-runner, *Iohn* the *Baptiſt*.

FINIS.